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VENEZUELA-BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARY ARBITRATION

THE COUNTER-CASE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA

BEFORE THE

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

To Convene at Paris

UNDER THE

Provisions of the Treaty between the United States of Venezuela and
Her Britannic Majesty Signed at Washington February 2, 1897

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COUNTER-CASE OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

Pursuant to Article VII of the Treaty of Arbitration signed at Washington on the 2nd day of February, 1897, between the United States of Venezuela and Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Agent of Venezuela, before the Arbitral Tribunal, has the honor to submit the present Counter-Case, accompanied by an Appendix, in two volumes, and an Atlas. Said Appendix, pursuant to the provisions of the Treaty of Arbitration, contains additional documents, correspondence and evidence in reply to the Case, documents, correspondence and evidence heretofore presented by Great Britain.

Submission of
Counter-Case.

At later stages of this proceeding, and in compliance with the provisions of Article VIII of the Treaty of Arbitration, Venezuela will present to the Arbitral Tribunal printed and oral arguments in support of its contentions.

The object of the present Counter-Case will, in part, be to examine the statements of the British Case with a view to ascertaining the attitude of Great Britain towards the present controversy.

Purpose of Coun-
ter-Case.

Incidentally some of those statements will be refuted; yet this will not be the main purpose of the examination. The important thing, at present, is to discover where Great Britain stands; what exactly is her theory of the pending controversy. Her formal stand is well known: she claims the disputed area because she alleges

Purpose of Counter-Case.

it to have been Dutch; Dutch in its occupation, Dutch in its settlement, Dutch in its control. But it is believed that this is far from being a complete statement of her position.

The British Case contains admissions, denials and allegations. Certain of these *admissions*, because they relate to facts of first-rate importance which have heretofore been in controversy, constitute an acknowledgment that further controversy over them is useless. Certain of the *denials* and *allegations* are clearly of the nature of formal pleadings, made without regard to the evidence: they should be accepted as such. Thus viewed they serve to indicate points which Great Britain regards as strategic—to be maintained at all hazards. These admissions, denials and allegations taken together disclose the defenses behind the line. If the British Case has been rested upon these defenses because no others were available, if the position taken is one of constraint and not of choice, as indeed appears to be the case, then these defenses are full of significance. The primary object of this Counter-Case will be to ascertain that significance.

It has been said that *incidentally* some of the statements of the British Case would be refuted. It should be noted in this connection that, so far as disclosed by the two Cases already submitted, the two Governments are substantially agreed as to many important facts.

Such agreement is, indeed, not always immediately apparent, for the same fact assumes quite different aspects according to the manner of its presentation and the significance accorded it. With regard to other facts real differences exist, and as to these an appeal can lie only to the evidence itself.

The consideration of this evidence and the reasons to

be urged in support of the contentions of each government will be proper subjects for the printed and oral arguments to be submitted later. For the present, as already stated, what is sought is to throw light upon Great Britain's *attitude* rather than to refute the statements in her Case.

Purpose of Counter-Case

In doing this it will be necessary to consider and briefly to comment upon some of the allegations of that Case; to note some of its admissions; to supplement some of its statements; and to correct some assertions which, if unchallenged, might tend to create confusion. So far as possible, however, repetition of what has been set forth in the Case already submitted by Venezuela will be avoided. That Case it is believed contains a sufficient expression of Venezuela's views regarding the questions in controversy; and in view of that fact it is not deemed necessary to make any formal traverse at this time of such allegations in the British Case as may be inconsistent with those views.

The present Counter-Case is submitted for the purposes thus stated.

II.—GEOGRAPHICAL.

In the Case heretofore submitted by Venezuela the facts out of which the present controversy arose were set forth in a sequence which was believed to be both logical and convenient.

Introduction.

The present statement being in the nature of an answer to the British Case, its purpose will probably be better served if the special facts to which it is proposed to invite the attention of the Arbitral Tribunal be treated more nearly in the order in which they are presented by that Case. That order will, in the main, be followed; yet, as the allegations to be considered are isolated statements taken from the connected story of which they form a part, it will not always be possible to adhere strictly either to the order of those statements or to the narrative itself.

The first section of the opening chapter of the British Case presents little difficulty in this regard, since its purpose is merely to give a geographical description of the territory in dispute. The significance of that description will be better appreciated if it be considered in connection with some of the maps submitted with it.

Map No. 3 of the British Atlas divides the entire territory into *drainage basins*. One of these, therein designated as the *Barima-Waini Basin*, is bounded on the west by a line drawn about midway between the Amacura and the Barima rivers. This is a distinct recognition of the Amacura as a part of the Orinoco Basin, and constitutes a claim that the Barima and the Waini together form a different and independent basin by themselves.

Division into
drainage basins.

Division into
drainage basins.

Whether or not this claim be sound *theoretically*—and the evidence is certainly against it—it is difficult to see what *practical* value can attach to a boundary which in every other respect must be purely fanciful. That it is fanciful, and for all practical purposes worthless, is testified to by no less an authority than Sir Robert Schomburgk himself, who in his report of June 22, 1841, after establishing to his own satisfaction the “undoubted right of Her Majesty to the Barima, with all the tributary streams which fall into it,” thus continues:

Schomburgk's
estimony.

“But as in the demarcation of a territory it is of great importance to fix upon a line of boundary which is permanent and fixed in nature, and which cannot be destroyed by human hands, I thought it advisable to claim the eastern or right bank of the River Amacura, preserving for Her Majesty, or for such of her subjects as may deem it advantageous for their purposes, the same rights to the navigation and fisheries of that stream as the Venezuelans may claim hereafter.”¹

The action of the British Government in subsequently adopting the Schomburgk Line as the boundary in this locality proves that it too is of opinion that this line between the Barima and the Amacura is a purely artificial one, not “permanent and fixed in nature,” nor opposing any obstacle to the westward or eastward march of empire.

Orinoco delta.

The statement of the British Case itself on this point is entirely in line with this suggestion of Map No. 3. That Case alleges that the Orinoco Delta is bounded on the east by the main stream of the Orinoco and that,

“The low land on the coast to the east of the Orinoco has no connection with the Orinoco delta, having been formed by the detritus brought down by the rivers to the eastward of the Orinoco, and carried westward under the influence of the westerly current and the prevailing wind on that coast.”²

¹ British Case, Appendix, VII, p. 13.

² British Case, p. 8, lines 8-14.

Orinoco delta.

The correctness of this statement is certainly challenged; but in any event, Venezuela considers that, whether correct or not, this theory can have no possible influence upon the present controversy. In the Case of Venezuela it was stated that *at present* the region there designated the *Orinoco Delta Region*, is *geographically* and *politically* a unit.¹ If its *present* unity, from a *geographical* and *political* standpoint be admitted, it can be matter of small consequence whether in remote ages, before the advent of man, *geological* forces were at work upon one or upon two drainage basins. The title to a delta region is not derived by following the detritus to its place of deposit, but is rested upon the relation of the delta to the security of the nation that possesses the river. Whatever importance may be attached, under the general principles of International Law, to the division of a country into drainage basins, that importance must rest, not upon theoretical but upon practical considerations; it is not imaginary but real barriers that are to be sought for.

In the case of the Amacura and the Barima, a glance at the map must remove any doubt as to the present relations of those streams to each other. Whatever their geological history, it is a fact that *to-day* they form with the Orinoco, Imataca, Aguire, Arature and Waini, a single network of waterways. So completely interlaced are the water courses in this delta swamp, so flat and featureless is the district, so variable is the run off in its sluggish bayous and sloughs, that, within the limits of tide water, natural drainage basins do not exist. The joining of the Barima and Waini into one, under the designation of the Barima-Waini Basin, and the separation of this from the Orinoco Basin, is purely fanciful.

¹ Venezuelan Case, p. 24.

Cuyuni forest region.

The Geographical part of the introduction to the British Case presents another point worthy of notice.

Map No. 3 of the British Atlas shows the limit of the Cuyuni savannas. According to evidence herewith submitted¹ it appears that the forest region extends some leagues west of the great bend of the Cuyuni river. It appears then that Spanish posts of the last century, notably the Curumo Fort, had penetrated beyond the savannas and into the forest region. These posts had, therefore, crossed this seeming barrier of wood; had pushed well into the tropical jungle, and had crossed the Cuyuni river. On the southern bank of that river, in the very heart of the forest, a military post had been erected; a post from which Spanish control continued to make itself felt throughout the entire Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin down to the lowest falls of those streams. This Spanish occupation and control of the Cuyuni-Mazaruni forest is significant.

That all geographical matters may be disposed of together, a statement in the next section of the British Case may profitably be anticipated here. The following is the statement referred to:

"In 1628 assistants were engaged 'to lie on the *Wild Coast*'—a name by which the coast between the Essequibo and the Orinoco had become well known."²

Definition of "Wild Coast."

This definition of the phrase "*Wild Coast*" is an inadvertence whose repetition cannot be too earnestly protested against. Not "the coast between the Essequibo and the Orinoco," but the *whole* coast of Guiana, *from the Orinoco to the Amazon*, was what the Dutch called the *Wild Coast*. For this, as every scholar knows, it was their current and accepted name. No case has ever been adduced, no case *can* be adduced, of

¹ Affidavit of E. J. Monge, in *Venezuelan Counter-Case*, vol. 8. British Case, p. 25, lines 29-32.

its use in any narrower sense. It is important that this Definition of
"Wild Coast." be from the outset clearly understood.

Before passing to the next chapter it will be well to inquire whether the present one throws any light upon Great Britain's attitude towards the controversy. What, for instance, is the significance of the separation claimed to exist between the *Barima-Waini Basin* on the one hand, and the *Orinoco Basin* on the other? Great Britain's
attitude regarding
coast region.

If Venezuela be correct in maintaining that no such separation exists; that the so-called "Barima-Waini Basin" is wholly fanciful; that the separation itself is based upon a misconception as to the *present* relations of the coast streams which flow into the Orinoco and which mingle their waters together; that a division between the Barima and the Waini would be quite as logical as a division between the Barima and the Amacura; that in fact the division relied upon by the British case is wholly without practical value; then the fact that such division is alleged, and that, in part, the British Case rests upon it, is full of meaning.

It discloses a recognition on the part of Great Britain of the necessity for a barrier between the Orinoco, on the one hand, and the Barima and Waini, on the other. It shows a realization of the fact that but for such barrier the constructive occupation of the latter rivers by the Spaniards of Santo Thomé cannot be excluded. It brings to light a well-grounded fear that if the Barima and the Waini shall be held to be *one* with the Orinoco, the two smaller streams must perforce go with the larger. The present unity of these rivers is not ventured to be questioned; and, the fact that an appeal should have to be made to ages gone by, and to conditions which if they ever existed have long since passed away, is itself the best possible proof that no such separation exists to-day.

Great Britain's
attitude regarding
coast region.

The attempt to prove the existence of two separate basins may fail, but the fact that the effort has been made throws light upon Great Britain's attitude. It shows an appreciation of the paramount importance of divorcing the Barima from the Orinoco, if the British hold upon the Barima is to continue. Dutch settlement in that region cannot be made the basis of British title for no Dutch settlement ever existed there. The physical conditions of to-day cannot be invoked to cut the region loose from the Orinoco and to link it to the Essequibo, for those physical conditions bind the region to the Orinoco so closely that, if in times gone by, they were ever two, all traces of such duality have vanished. A theory of geologic origin is alone left. It is not strange that this theory should be seized and built upon; but the house thereon erected is a house which cannot withstand the winds and storms of controversy, for it is a house built upon the sand.

III.—HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ.

The Geographical part of the introduction to the British Case is followed by a section entitled *ethnological*, and this again by another section which is entitled *historical*,—which latter constitutes a *résumé* of many of the points in controversy. Introduction

This historical *résumé*, as well as the section immediately preceding it, deals also with certain special subjects, which in this Counter-Case will be treated later by themselves. These subjects include Dutch trade, and the nature and effect of Dutch, British and Spanish relations with the Indians.

Other subjects touched upon in this *résumé* are dealt with more at length in the succeeding chapters of the British Case, and their consideration may therefore be postponed until those chapters shall have been reached. A distinct advantage, however, is to be derived from an examination of this introductory British bird's-eye view of the entire question; and to this, therefore, the present chapter will be devoted.

As already stated, it is gratifying to note that upon many important points the two governments are substantially agreed.

It is admitted, for instance, that the Spaniards were the first to discover and the first to settle Guiana; that the earliest Dutch voyage to that coast was full two years *after* the founding of Santo Thomé on the British Admissions

¹“The first navigator who sighted the coast of Guiana was a Spaniard.” British Case, p. 20, lines 9–10. “In 1591, Antonio de Berrio came down * * * the Orinoco * * . Berrio's actions gave the Spaniards their first footing in Guayana, and led to the settlement of Santo Thomé.” Same, p. 20, lines 23–35.

British Admissions. south bank of the Orinoco;¹ that the Dutch attacks on Santo Thomé and Trinidad in 1629 and 1637 were mere raids which resulted in the pillage and burning of Spanish settlements, but which were ineffectual to dispossess their Spanish occupants;² that the title of the Netherlands to the Dutch establishments on the coast of Guiana was confirmed by Spain through the Treaty of Münster;³ that the attempted Pomeroon colony of 1658 came to an end at the hands of the British in 1666;⁴ that the second attempt at a similar colony in 1686 was frustrated by the French;⁵ that the Spanish missions in the Cuyuni savannas resulted in the gathering in of the Indians under missionaries, in the subjection of these Indians to Spanish control, and in their instruction and employment in cattle-farming;⁶ that the Dutch Cuyuni Post of 1754-1758 was destroyed by the Spaniards;⁷ that Dutch smugglers and sojourners—dignified in the British Case by the more imposing but quite unwarranted title of *settlers and residents*—were ejected from the Barima by Spanish officials sent

¹“The site of the village [Santo Thomé] * * * was visited in 1595 or 1596 by Keymis. * * * In 1598, the Dutchman Cabeliau arrived on the coast of Guiana.” British Case, pp. 20-21, lines 33-1, 33-34. After the advent * * * of the Dutch in (at the latest) 1598.” British Case, p. 23, lines 29-31.

²“In 1629, and again in 1637, they [the Dutch] sacked the settlement of Santo Thomé, and in the latter year they also raided the Island of Trinidad.” British Case, pp. 12-13, lines 45-47, 1.

³“In 1648 * * * the States-General obtained from Spain, by a special Treaty at Münster, etc., * * * and were confirmed in the possession of all the * * * country which they then held.” British Case, p. 18, lines 14-20.

⁴“In 1658 * * * the Pomeroon was settled * * * the whole Colony, including Pomeroon and Essequibo, was occupied for a short time in 1666 by British forces.” British Case, p. 18, lines 25-34.

⁵“This new [Pomeroon] settlement was in 1689 destroyed by the French.” British Case, p. 18, lines 40-41.

⁶“In these Missions [of the Catalanian Capuchins] the Indians were gathered together and employed in cattle farming.” British Case, p. 14, lines 41-43.

⁷“In 1758 the Spanish authorities * * * sent a secret expedition, which surprised and destroyed the [Dutch] Post [on the Cuyuni]. British Case, pp. 14-15, lines 49-50, 1-2.

there to clear them out;¹ and, finally, that the sole title of Great Britain to British Guiana is the title conveyed to her by the Dutch in 1814.² British Admissions.

These facts are now undisputed, but beyond these the British Case contains other admissions, some of them too important to pass unnoticed.

For instance, it is stated that

“After the conclusion of the Treaty of Münster *great extensions* of their possessions in Guiana were made by the Dutch;”³ Dutch Extensions after 1648.
and again that,

“In addition to these indications of actual possession, the Dutch throughout the period of their occupation were continually increasing their political control.”⁴

The importance and significance of these admissions it would be difficult to overestimate: By the Treaty of Münster the Dutch received from Spain, in 1648, a quit-claim to what they *then* possessed,⁵ not to any subsequent *extension* of those possessions at Spanish expense. By that Treaty also the Dutch agreed to respect Spanish possessions, and to acquire no more Spanish territory.⁶

¹“The Spaniards from time to time conducted raiding expeditions down the coast. * * * They raided the property of Dutchmen settled in Barima, and Spanish vessels several times arrested Dutch fishing vessels in the Orinoco on charges of smuggling.” British Case, p. 16, lines 38-44.

²“It [the Dutch Colony of Essequibo] was formally ceded to them [the British] after the general pacification in 1814. They have remained in possession of it ever since.” British Case, p. 17, lines 15-17.

³British Case, p. 13, lines 23-25.

⁴British Case, p. 15, lines 37-40.

⁵“Each one, that is to say, the said Lords, the King and States respectively, shall remain in possession of and enjoy such lordships * * * and countries * * * which the said Lords, the King and States respectively hold and possess.” Treaty of Münster, Art. V in Venezuelan Case, vol. 8, p. 7. “Each [*i. e.* Spain and Holland] shall remain effectively in the possession and enjoyment of the countries, towns, forts, lands and dominions which he holds and possesses at *present*.” Same, Art. iii in Venezuelan Case, vol. 8, p. 6.

⁶“Comprising also the spots and places which the said Lords, the States hereafter *without infraction of the present treaty* shall come to conquer and possess.” Treaty of Münster, Art. V. in Venezuelan Case, vol. 8, p. 7.

Dutch *Extension*
after 1648.

At that date the title to the region between the Essequibo and the Orinoco was and continued to be vested in Spain, and hence "*great extensions of their (the Dutch) possessions in Guiana,*" if these extensions were west of the Essequibo—and no other region is here in question—prove a breach of treaty obligations by the Dutch, and the use of the phrase constitutes an admission, that in 1648 the Dutch did not possess in that region all they subsequently claimed.

British Denials

This *historical* section of the introduction to the British Case is significant almost as much in what it denies as in what it admits. As was suggested in the Introduction to this Counter-Case, denials which bear the imprint of formal pleadings, made without regard to the evidence, should be accepted as such, and should be regarded as indications of strategic points. For instance, it is asserted in the British Case that Santo Thomé "was until 1723 the only possession of the Spaniards in Guiana."¹ This can hardly be intended literally, for however the presence of the Spaniards in the Essequibo prior to the Dutch advent may be regarded, that presence was certainly sufficient to entitle the Essequibo to be classed as a Spanish "possession" in those days.

Spanish Settlement in Essequibo.

Some new evidence of this Spanish occupation was, indeed, published for the first time by Venezuela in the Appendix to her Case,² but the British Government has, nevertheless, long been cognizant of the testimony, on this point, of Keymis, of Thomas Masham,³ of Unton Fisher⁴

¹British Case, p. 12, lines 20-21.

²Venezuelan Case, vol. 2, pp. 263-264.

³See Hakluyt, edition of 1811, vol. iv; also United States Commission Report, vol. i, p. 47.

⁴U. S. Com. Report, vol. i, p. 48, foot-note.

and of Sir Walter Raleigh; and to entirely ignore their testimony amounts to an admission that it cannot be successfully controverted. Spanish Settlement in Essequibo.

Not only so; over and above this, and more important still, this purely formal denial proves that Great Britain recognizes the importance of the early Spanish settlement in the Essequibo, and that she hesitates to meet the issue thus raised. Deny it specifically, she does not and cannot. To admit it would be to admit that Spain, before the arrival of the Dutch in the Essequibo, had by occupation and settlement completed her title to that very river; and that if possession of Kykoveral by a mere trespasser can be made the basis of a claim to the entire drainage basins of the Essequibo, Cuyuni and Mazaruni, with vastly more reason might the same claim be urged in favor of the nation that first discovered the country and that first built the fort upon which the trespasser in question subsequently squatted.

It was also stated in the Introduction to this Counter-Case that certain purely formal allegations which, like certain denials, partake of the nature of mere formal pleadings, constitute admissions that the points thus sought to be established are essential to British success and must be alleged at all hazards. British Allegations. The *résumé* under examination contains certain allegations which may be said to come under this category. They can therefore serve but to emphasize the voids which they are intended to fill, and to disclose a just appreciation by Great Britain of the necessity of filling them.

For example, it is alleged, that "Between 1621 and 1648 * * * the Dutch commanded the whole of the coast of Guiana and as far as Trinidad."¹ Dutch Command of Coast.

¹British Case, p. 12, lines 87-89.

Dutch Command
of Coast.

A sufficient refutation of this allegation will be found in the following facts:

Before 1632 the Dutch founded colonies on the coast of Guiana, but by or before that year¹ these had all been abandoned. Only the trading post in the Essequibo, which the West India Company (the Nineteen) then voted to abandon, was kept up at its own instance by the Zeeland Chamber;² and Berbice was still maintained by its patroons. At the same time, according to a British contemporary witness, both French and English were settling on the coast at "Wiapoco," "Cayan," "Meriwina," "Suramaco," "Suranam," "Curanteen," and "Comonina," all these being places on the coast and east of the Essequibo.³ No claim to the whole of this coast was ever made by the Dutch⁴. There is indeed a statement in the British Case which would seem to imply that the Dutch not only claimed the whole coast, but that their settlements reached to the very Orinoco. The assertion is not made directly, but instead there is quoted the statement that *in 1613 there were three or four settlements between the Orinoco and the Amazon*.⁵ This may or may not have been so; but in any event it is well known that the westernmost of those "settlements" was on the Corentine, 300 miles east of the Orinoco and 120 miles east of the Essequibo. This westernmost Dutch settlement was by the Spanish Governor of Trinidad, Don Juan Tostado, deemed within his *jurisdiction*, and by reason "of the mischief" done by the Corentine Dutch, the settlement was destroyed by the Spaniards from Trinidad.

¹Cayenne was abandoned in 1631. Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 71.

²U. S. Com. Report, vol. ii, p. 65 and foot note.

³British Case, Appendix I, pp. 169-170.

⁴Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 190.

⁵British Case, p. 22, lines 19-22.

It will thus be seen that the allegation that "between 1621 and 1648 * * * the Dutch commanded the whole of the coast of Guiana and as far as 'Trinidad,'" must be regarded as a mere formal pleading, made because he who urges it sees the necessity of showing Dutch occupation of the coast from the Essequibo to the mouth of the Barima. If this be not shown, Great Britain has no other foundation for her claim to the Barima and Waini: even the theory of a separate drainage basin for those rivers could do no more than separate them from the Orinoco and keep out the constructive occupation of the Orinoco Spanish: it could not avail to join the Barima and Waini to the Essequibo, nor to give them a Dutch character by constructively extending Dutch occupation from the east. Hence the necessity of proving *actual* possession of the whole coast by the Dutch. Not only so; even *actual* possession, in order to be effective, must either antedate the Treaty of Münster (1648), or else be shown to have had all those qualities requisite for the creation of a prescriptive title. Therefore it is that, choosing the first horn of this dilemma, the allegation is made specifically to refer to the years "between 1621 and 1648."

Dutch Command
of Coast.

Again, it is alleged, that in 1637 and 1638, the Dutch were "settled" in the River Amacura.¹ Possibly a few of the Dutchmen who raided Santo Thomé in 1637 may have sojourned for a time in the Amacura; but that any importance should be attached to such an incident would seem to indicate that Dutchmen along that coast must have been very scarce in those days.

Dutch in Amacura.

The significance of the allegation consists rather in the evidence which it furnishes of the conscious need

¹ British Case, p. 13, lines 3-5, and p. 25, line 45.

Dutch in Amacura. of proving some Dutch control of this coast region, even though that control be but a shadow cast by the temporary presence of Dutchmen wandering along its streams. It is also significant that this shadow, if indeed it was even that, appears to have been cast not on the Barima, but on the Amacura, a stream which Great Britain admits to have belonged to Spain then, and to belong to Venezuela now. Great Britain's extreme claim reaches but to the eastern bank of that river.

The lines of the British Case which follow the above allegation, to wit: that "during the whole of this period they (the Dutch) were masters of the sea in the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Orinoco¹" are quite without foundation.

Dutch Presence
West of Moruca.

Passing on to the period after 1648, it will be seen that this need of proving Dutch presence or Dutch control west of the Moruca has been constantly kept in mind by the compilers of the British Case.

Dutch Shelter of
1683.

A single allegation will be cited. The proposition of Governor Beekman in 1683 for a "small shelter" at Barima, for the use of the Pomeroon postholder upon his proposed occasional visits to that river for purposes of trade, is once more made the basis of an allegation that "servants of the Company were *residing* in the Barima and in the Pomeroon in the year 1683"; and this, notwithstanding the fact that the proposition itself evoked a missive of the severest condemnation from the Company and that no Dutch representative ever *resided* at Barima.

Relations of Bar-
ima to Orinoco and
Essequibo.

It has been seen that one of the things which the British Case strives to establish is that *geographically* the Barima and Waini are independent of the Orinoco. This effort is supplemented by another intended to

¹British Case, p. 18, lines 6-8.

prove that the same two rivers (the Barima and Waini) were in fact under the political control of the Essequibo Dutch. The following are some of these allegations:

Relations of Barima to Orinoco and Essequibo.

“ The Essequibo Government thenceforward continued to control the district of the Pomeroon, and of the rivers and creeks connected with it, *including the Barima*,”¹

as though the Barima were one of these “ rivers and creeks ” and a mere appendage of the Pomeroon.

Again,

“ It (the Post) was situated sometimes on the River Pomeroon itself and sometimes on one or other of the neighbouring creeks, Wakepo and Moruka. It commanded the means of access to the Waini and Barima districts, which were commercially and politically controlled by the Postholder.”²

And,

“ By means of the Post at Moruka, the entry of traders into the Barima and Waini districts was controlled,”³ etc.”

These statements might have some value in the way of showing a dependence of the Barima and Waini upon the Pomeroon and Moruca, if the inference intended to be drawn from them were warranted, namely, that the Pomeroon commanded the *only* means of access to the Barima-Waini region. Of course this is not so, because that region may be reached with perfect ease from any point in the Orinoco Delta. But, while these two passages fail to accomplish the purpose for which they were apparently intended, they do accomplish another and a very useful purpose, which is to prove that the region lying east of the Moruca is so completely separated by natural barriers from the Barima-Waini region on the west, that a single post near the entrance to the narrow artificial channel which, during the rainy season,

¹British Case, p. 18, lines 44-47.

²British Case, p. 14, lines 5-10.

³British Case, pp. 15-16, lines 48-49, 1.

Relations of Barima to Orinoco and Essequibo.

renders possible a difficult communication between them, is enough to completely control the travel between the two.

These attempts to find some basis, be it geological or historical, for the division of what is essentially a single region into two basins, and for the union of what are essentially distinct basins into a single region, have a significance of still another kind. They contain an implied admission that no historical basis of actual and effective Dutch occupation or settlement is to be found to support a Dutch claim to the Barima-Waini Region. If Dutch title to the Barima must rest upon the ease with which the Dutch postholder on the Pomeroon or the Moruca could have gone to the Barima, or upon the control which he exercised in that river, it means that that is the only kind of control which can be alleged, and that there was neither occupancy nor settlement. The facts of control have been sufficiently set forth in the Case submitted by Venezuela. They need no repetition here. It is sufficient at this time merely to note that Great Britain presents no other grounds for Dutch title to that region, except perhaps that afforded by the occasional presence there of some Dutch smugglers or sojourners, whose existence is known to posterity only by the fact that they were expelled therefrom by Spanish officials.

The above examination discloses the attitude of the British Government towards the Barima-Waini Region. Passing from this to the Essequibo proper, the points which, for the moment, merit attention relate to the period prior to 1648.

Dutch in Essequibo.

It is alleged that there were Dutch settlers in the Essequibo in 1621;¹ that the Dutch West India Com-

¹British Case, p. 12, line 32.

pany "at once (1621) established there an organized Dutch in Essequibo. colony"¹; and finally, that the "Colonial Government" of the company was situated at Fort Kykoveral.

These statements might all be true without in any way detracting from the strength of Venezuela's claims. Spain having first settled the Essequibo, and having been in occupation of it until at least as late as 1617, it can make little difference whether Dutchmen who went there later arrived in 1621, or at any other date after the departure of the Spanish and before 1648. Whatever the date of their first appearance, it is well known that in 1632 the Company voted to abandon the post which was then there, and that that post was with difficulty kept alive until 1648. It may be added that the presence of Dutchmen in the Essequibo in 1621 is most unlikely; and that the statement itself is unsupported by contemporary evidence.

The second allegation, as to the character of this Dutch occupation, is an error. To speak of the first Dutchmen who went there as *settlers*, or to say that as early as 1621 the Dutch West India Company "established there an *organized colony*," is to make statements which are inconsistent with well known facts. From the first, the establishment was nothing more than a trading post, and even at the time of the Treaty of Münster it was altogether insignificant.

Reference to Fort Kykoveral as a site of a "*Colonial Government*," is incorrect, if it be the intention to include under that term any other part of Guiana than the Island of Kykoveral itself; even so, it is certainly a high-sounding title to apply to the few traders who lived on that island.

As the various allegations of the British Case in connection with the Barima-Waini region have made clear Dutch in the Interior.

¹British Case, p. 12, line 33.

Dutch in the Interior.

Great Britain's attitude towards it, so do similar allegations with reference to the interior of the country disclose her position there.

One of the first allegations in this connection amounts to a confession that in 1648 Dutch trade with the interior had not yet begun. The following is the allegation referred to:

"Besides their enterprise upon the coast, the Dutch had also *before the end of the seventeenth century* penetrated far into the interior. Negro traders were employed by the Company to travel among the Indians and obtain by barter the products of the country. *In 1683 and onwards* these traders are mentioned as periodically visiting the Pariacot Savannah, and as using the name of the Dutch Government to put an end to native wars on the Cuyuni, which hindered commerce¹"

Whatever the value of this kind of occupation, it is fair to conclude that it did not begin until about 1683. This means that at the date of the Treaty of Münster the interior was not visited by the Dutch, and that it was outside of Dutch control.

This allegation, with others which follow, is also useful because it shows the *kind* of occupation upon which the British Case relies to establish British rights to the interior. It was an occupation which consisted exclusively of trade and of relations with Indians. Both of these subjects will be considered later. For the present it is enough to note that if we except the temporary trading posts on the Cuyuni, from which the Spaniards ousted the Dutch, or which the Dutch abandoned for fear of the Spaniards, the whole British claim to the interior is made to rest, first upon the theoretical consideration of drainage basins, and second upon alleged trade and Indian alliances. Excepting for certain so-called "*Dutch residences*" shown in various

¹British Case, p. 14, lines 11-21.

parts of this region, in the first four maps of the British Atlas, for all of which evidence is wanting, there is no pretense that any Dutch *settlements* ever existed above the lowest falls of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni. It is well known that the only Dutchmen in those parts were wandering traders and smugglers, or else slave catchers disguised at times as Indians for the purpose of escaping capture at the hands of the Spaniards. This general reliance of Great Britain upon trade and Indian relations is illustrated by the following extract from the historical résumé of her Case:

Dutch in the Interior.

“Beyond the lands actually planted by agriculturists, the Dutch were, by their use and enjoyment of its resources, and by their exercise of political control, in possession of all the territory now claimed by Great Britain.

“The Dutch Posts were maintained on the Essequibo and Cuyuni, and in the district of the coast rivers, at Pomeroon or Moruka. The timber in the forests of Massaruni, Cuyuni, and Waini was granted out by the Government for felling, and mines were opened and worked in the range called the Blauwenberg, to the north of the Cuyuni.

“In addition to these indications of actual possession, the Dutch throughout the period of their occupation were continually increasing their political control.

“The Indians of the outlying districts were in alliance with them throughout the whole region from the Essequibo to Barima, and acted under them on many occasions against revolting or absconding negroes. Their Chiefs received badges and insignia as tokens that they were recognized by the Government.”¹

These allegations are denied by Venezuela. She asserts that the Dutch never exercised control, political or otherwise, over the region in question. Dutch posts were not *maintained* on the Cuyuni, but on the contrary such as were attempted invariably came to an end because the Spanish would not tolerate them there. Such

¹British Case, page 15, lines 23-47.

Dutch in the Interior.

limited timber cutting as was indulged in was surreptitious. The mining operations of Hildebrandt, already referred to in the Venezuelan Case, amounted to nothing and were abandoned almost as soon as begun; and Dutch relations with the Indians, as will be shown later, were never of such a character as to afford a foundation for a claim of Dutch sovereignty to the territory in dispute.

But, as before stated, it is not the purpose of this Counter-Case to traverse allegations of the British Case. These allegations are considered with a view to defining Great Britain's *attitude* toward the questions involved rather than to affirming or denying the truth of the allegations themselves. Viewed in this light, the passage above quoted is useful because it shows that there is no claim to *settlements* in the interior, and that Dutch title to that interior is acknowledged to depend upon the legal effect of these various acts alleged in the British Case itself to have taken place "beyond the lands actually planted by agriculturists."

The necessity of proving some tangible and actual occupation of land above the falls was doubtless appreciated by the compilers of the British Case; at least that is an inference which may fairly be drawn from the importance attributed by them to the Dutch posts which were vainly attempted to be maintained on the Cuyuni river. It is the only evidence of actual Dutch occupation to which any appeal was possible, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the most should have been made of it.

The facts as to all these posts have been fully recited in the Venezuelan Case; so also have the nature and effect of the Dutch remonstrances which were in consequence presented to the Spanish Court. Their

further consideration may, therefore, be deferred until a later stage of this controversy. Dutch in the Interior.

Having considered the allegations of the British Case as to Dutch control of the interior, it will be profitable to consider how Spanish control of the same region is regarded by Great Britain. Some of the statements in this direction, if considered by themselves, are calculated to discourage further inquiry. For example: Spanish control of the Interior.

“The Spaniards never exercised dominion on the Cuyuni; they never utilized the resources nor controlled the inhabitants of its valley in any way. Nor did they exercise any dominion or control in the Massaruni or Essequibo.”¹

And again:

“They [the Spanish Catalan Capuchin Missions] never reached the forest region or the valley of the Cuyuni.”²

These assertions, however, can hardly be intended literally, as the British Case elsewhere admits that the Dutch Cuyuni post of 1754 to 1758 was destroyed by the Spaniards, and that the Spanish Missions did eventually reach and cover the Pariacot Savannah.

To be sure the first admission is hedged about with many allegations as to the secret character of the Spanish expedition, as to its rapid retreat, the consequent remonstrance to Spain, and the *re-establishment* of “a post on the river.”³ But it is not stated, that the only secrecy about the expedition was for the purpose of preventing the escape of the Dutch postholder; that the destruction of the post was effected by the Spaniards under a claim of right; that its Dutch occupants were taken prisoners; that a Dutch demand for their release was refused; that a Dutch remonstrance against the destruction of the post was treated with contempt by the Spanish Court; that the Dutch never re-

¹British Case, page 15, lines 7-11.

²British Case, page 14, lines 39-41.

³British Case, pages 14, 15, lines 48-51, 1-6.

Spanish control
of the Interior.

established *that* post; that their remonstrances on the subject were finally abandoned; that the Dutch thus acquiesced in their ejection from the Cuyuni; and that posts subsequently attempted lower down the river were successively abandoned because of the Spaniards. Neither is any note taken of the following testimony of the Dutch Governor to the completeness of Spanish dominion on the Cuyuni:

“ In my previous despatches I had the honour from time to time “ to inform your Honours of the secret doings of the Spaniards “ and especially in my second letter by the ‘ Vrouw Anna ’ and “ in my letter by the ‘ Geertruida Christiana,’ did right circumstantially concerning the fatal and, for the Colony, most “ highly-perilous news of the River Cayuni. My opinion has “ always been that they would gradually acquire a foothold in “ Cayuni, and try to obtain the mastery of the river, *as they now “ practically have done at the end of the past year.*”

Extent of Spanish
missions.

The other assertion, above quoted, to the effect that the Spanish missions never reached the valley of the Cuyuni, is inconsistent with the later admission that “ In the course of the next seventy years [after 1724] these Missions were extended on to the Pariacot Savannah.”² As a matter of fact they were there within ten years. This assertion is furthermore inconsistent with the following statement of the Case itself, unless indeed the term *Cuyuni valley* is to be taken as restricted to the immediate banks of the stream itself:

“ Recognizing, however, the fact of the establishment of Spanish “ Missions during the eighteenth century on territory south of “ the Orinoco, in the neighbourhood of the River Yuruari, which “ Missions continued to exist up to the year 1817, the Government of Great Britain has never actively sought to press its “ claim to that portion of the district north-west of the Cuyuni, in “ which missions were actually situated.”³

¹ Venezuelan Case, Vol. 2, p. 188.

² British Case, p. 14, lines 87-89.

³ British Case, p. 6, lines 24-32.

But even as regards the Cuyuni river itself the as-
 sersion regarding the limits of Spanish occupation in the
 Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin cannot be accepted as true. The
 Curumo Fort, erected and maintained on the south bank
 of the Cuyuni opposite the mouth of the Curumo, in the
 midst of the forest region, was certainly an occupation
 of the *Cuyuni valley*; and the evidence discovered by
 Professor Burr regarding the existence of Spanish Mis-
 sions *on the Wenamu, in Queribura and at Marwakken*¹
 remains uncontradicted save by unsupported denials
 in the British Case.

Extent of Spanish
Missions.

The allegations thus made with a view to belittling the
 extended Spanish occupation and control of the Cuyuni
 valley, are supplemented by other allegations intended
 to minimize the control exerted by the Spanish mis-
 sionaries in the Cuyuni forests. There is, for example,
 the following statement:

Spanish control
of Cuyuni forests.

“Over the forest country and the Indians therein the mission-
 aries exercised no control whatever. On the contrary, the
 “Missions were frequently raided and destroyed by the Carib
 “Indians of that region.”

This is certainly a mistaken view of the matter. It
 was from these very forests that the mission Indians
 were gathered; and from 1748 on, the missions them-
 selves were almost exclusively of Caribs or Accoways
 taken from these Cuyuni forests. These undoubtedly
 revolted at times, and tried to throw off the Spanish
 yoke; but, although some individuals escaped, yet over
 the Indians as a whole the strong hand of Spanish control
 continued to make itself felt throughout the entire
 region, and throughout the entire period of Spanish
 domination.

¹Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 202.

²British Case, p. 14, lines 43-47.

Spanish occupation and control of Interior, and of the Orinoco.

The British denial of a Spanish occupation of the Cuyuni valley and of a Spanish control of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers cannot shake the evidence in favor of both or do away with the facts themselves. Equally futile are the allegations as to the weakness of Santo Thomé or as to Spanish abandonment of the Orinoco itself. The Santo Thomé of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can hardly be compared with a fortified city of the nineteenth century. The needs and possibilities of those days were not the needs or possibilities of these. Moreover, Spanish commanders found it to their interest at times to magnify their present needs so as to obtain desired supplies, and at other times to draw pictures favorable to themselves by placing their own achievements in contrast with the poverty of the past.

But, whatever may have been the numerical strength of the Spanish garrisons or the size of the Spanish town, one thing is certain, both were always equal to the emergency. Other nations were kept out of the Orinoco and out of the interior. While the Essequibo Governor was writing hysterical letters to his company pleading for help from the extinction which at times threatened him; while a few plantations on the banks of the Essequibo marked the extent of his domains; while in his helplessness he was turning to the savages of the forests for protection, Spain was building fortresses on the Orinoco and the Cuyuni; her missions and missionaries were penetrating into the interior; her vessels were patrolling the coasts, and everywhere she was demonstrating her ability to hold the territories which she had been the first to discover and to occupy.

Spanish claims

It is alleged by Great Britain that Governor Marmion at one time proposed to abandon the Orinoco for sixty

miles from its main mouth¹ and to treat the former **Spanish claims.** site of Santo Thomé as the frontier of the Spanish possessions. Such an allegation is wholly without foundation. Neither Marmion nor any other Spanish Governor ever made any such proposition; and Spain herself from first to last proclaimed her sole right to the whole of Guiana south of the narrow fringe of Dutch, French and English settlements along the coast. The Orinoco and the entire coast region as far east as the Essequibo she always regarded as her own.

¹British Case, page 16.

IV.—HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS.

The *Historical Synopsis* which constitutes Chapter II of the British Case, and which follows the *historical résumé* just considered, contains much in the way of detail which is not covered by the résumé; its allegations are, however, in general along the same lines. At the present time these details will be considered only so far as they happen to fall within the general scope of this examination. No attempt will be made to deal with them exhaustively nor singly, nor to traverse the allegations which they may involve. The purpose of this chapter is to continue the general examination already begun; and the further British admissions, denials and allegations, to be examined, will be considered only so far as they serve to throw additional light upon Great Britain's attitude.

As in the case of the historical résumé, the *Historical Synopsis* contains many statements, which, either by direct admission or by the character of their denial, prove that the two Governments are really in accord as to the controlling facts of this controversy.

1. The discovery and first settlement of Guiana by Spain is frankly admitted; and the value of that admission is in no way lessened by allegations as to *subsequent* Dutch voyages.

2. Spanish occupation of and settlement in the Essequibo is not in terms admitted; but, on the other hand, the earliest date at which the presence of Dutch traders in that river is ventured to be alleged is one *subsequent* to the time when Spanish title by *discovery* had already ripened into Spanish title by *occupation*.

Introduction.

British admissions.

Discovery of Guiana by Spain.

Spanish occupation of the Essequibo.

Basis for Dutch
claims west of Mo-
ruca.

3. Dutch claims to the coast west of the Moruca are acknowledged to rest, not upon any formal Dutch *occupation* of the region, but solely upon Dutch trade, Dutch fishing, Dutch relations with Indians, and the occasional presence of Dutch smugglers or sojourners. Nothing like a formal occupation by an authorized agent of the West India Company, or of any other Dutch authority, is even suggested.

Spanish control
of this region.

4. Spanish control of this same region is indeed denied; but this general denial is accompanied by so many admissions as to specific acts of control that the effect of the denial itself is completely nullified.

British occupa-
tion of coast.

5. British occupation of the entire coast, from the date of the earliest British possession of the Dutch colony, is formally alleged; but except for a survey claimed to have been made along the coast in 1781,¹ and for an alleged apportionment of lands in 1797, neither of which, even if true, could be strictly regarded as an act of occupation,² no occupation is either alleged or proved until long after the agreement of 1850 with Venezuela.

Limits of Dutch
occupation in the
interior.

6. That *actual* Dutch occupation of the interior was limited by the lowest falls of the three rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni and Mazaruni is admitted in effect, though denied in form; the only facts upon which the denial is based being the *mention* of "an annatto store at a Carib village above in Massaruni" (*i. e., up the Mazaruni*) in 1686,³ reference to a "dye store in the Cuyuni"⁴ in 1699, the alleged removal of the plantation Poelwijk to the head of the lowest Mazaruni falls in 1704,⁴ and the so-called Cuyuni posts of 1703, 1754-58, 1766-69 and 1769-72.

¹British Case, p. 57, lines 48-47.

²British Case, p. 62, lines 15-19.

³British Case, p. 81, lines 17-20.

⁴British Case, p. 81, lines 49-50.

When it is remembered that the mere *mention* of each of the so-called *stores* in a single Dutch document is the sum of present knowledge regarding them; that the correctness of the statement about the plantation Poelwijk is open to serious question, and that even if true the removal was only temporary; that the posts referred to were all for purposes of trade; that even the existence of the first of these posts is doubtful; that the second was destroyed by the Spaniards; and that the other two came to an end because of Spanish control of the Cuyuni; the mere enumeration of these facts would seem to be enough to show that, whatever Dutch rights in the interior may have been, Dutch *occupation* was never their basis.

Limits of Dutch
occupation in the
interior.

7. On the other hand the presence and control of Spain in this interior Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin is admitted. The admission is, indeed, a grudging one, accompanied by every possible and by many impossible qualifications; but the facts of Spanish occupation and control are nevertheless distinctly recognized. Santo Thomé may be depicted as a collection of cabins inhabited by negroes, mulattoes and half breeds; the missions may be pictured merely as things to be burned or destroyed by Caribs; the very existence of a Spanish fort on the Cuyuni may be ignored or even denied; but these very qualifications and denials are in effect admissions. They are an admission that, however weak the Spaniards of Santo Thomé may have been, they were yet strong enough to maintain Spanish sovereignty over the Orinoco; that, if Caribs revolted against the missionaries and destroyed the missions, it was because Caribs were there to revolt against an authority whose power they had been made to feel; and that, if Spain had no fort in the forests of the Cuyuni, her power there was yet

Spanish occupa-
tion and control of
interior.

Spanish occupation and control of Interior.

potent enough to destroy Dutch posts and to fill Dutchmen with a dread of her presence.

These seven general facts or groups of facts are, after all, the controlling ones in this controversy: willingly or unwilling, directly or indirectly, they are all admitted by Great Britain: it is only as to details, and as to the perspective in which the facts themselves should appear, that any real difference exists. The correctness of this assertion is so important that, in order to place it beyond question, it is proposed to consider, in rather more detail, each of the above paragraphs.

Discovery and settlement of Guiana by Spain.

1. The admission as to the discovery and first settlement of Guiana by Spain is made without qualification.¹ It is frankly acknowledged that during the sixteenth century the Orinoco was repeatedly navigated by Spaniards; that, at least below the junction of the Caroni, the interior of the country was explored by Spaniards; that these explorations had as their outcome the founding of Santo Thomé; that this took place prior to the visit of Keymis in 1596.² It is also admitted that the first Dutchmen who visited Guiana found the Spanish already settled there; that in 1613 a Dutch settlement on the Corentine was destroyed by the Spaniards;³ that Spain then claimed the whole of Guiana from the Amazon to the Orinoco; that she then declared her intention to expel all foreign intruders; that various Dutch and British expeditions against Santo Thomé, Trinidad and other Spanish possessions were unable to effect any permanent results, being mere raids into territory confessedly Spanish.⁴

These admissions are made because the facts them-

¹ British Case, p. 20.

² British Case, pp. 20-21.

³ British Case, p. 22, lines 12-17.

⁴ British Case, pp. 20-21.

selves are beyond dispute. The effect of these admissions is most important. The title of a discoverer and the title of a second comer stand on very different bases; and these admissions constitute a recognition of the fact that Spain was entitled to all the rights which, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were by civilized nations accorded to discoverers. They are, at the same time, an acknowledgment that Dutch rights are to be measured by a different and a much stricter standard. Whatever the extent of Dutch occupation, it was at best but the occupation of one coming *after*, an occupation in derogation of a higher title: that higher title may not be admitted to have been complete, but even if assumed to have been incomplete it had vigor enough to be a determining factor in limiting the acquisitions of intruders within the bounds of actual occupation.

Discovery and settlement of Guiana by Spain.

2. The Spanish settlement in the Essequibo at the close of the sixteenth century is again passed over in silence in this *Historical Synopsis* of the British Case, and even its existence seems, though only by implication, to be denied. At least the following words make such an inference possible:

Spanish settlement in the Essequibo.

“At this period the Spaniards were definitely excluded from the coast to the eastward of the Orinoco. This appears to have been frequented by them for trading purposes at the close of the sixteenth century; but after the advent of the English in 1595 and of the Dutch in (at the latest) 1598, and the succeeding years, it became more and more inaccessible to them.”¹

The testimony of Thomas Masham, Unton Fisher, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Duke of Lerma and others who contradict this statement has already been referred to.

The only other references which the British Case makes to this early history of the Essequibo, are first: to the fact that Cabeliau, the first Dutchman to visit

¹ British Case, p. 23, lines 24-32.

Spanish settle-
ment in the Esse-
sequibo.

the coast of Guiana, did not go to the Essequibo;¹ and second, the following :

"In 1619 Geronimo de Grados was sent from Santo Thomé to "reduce them (the Indians) to obedience, but, meeting with six "ships of the English and Dutch in the Essequibo, he was taken "prisoner. 'This was the last of the early Spanish voyages to the "cast of the Orinoco. Those who made them do not appear to "have explored the country or done more than visit the mouths "of the rivers." ²

But this is not a complete nor an accurate statement of even the occurrence here referred to. After entering the Essequibo and compelling the natives to submit, Geronimo de Grados went away, and later, returning, met at the mouth of the Essequibo six foreign ships manned, not by Dutchmen, but by Englishmen.³ The other allegations of this quotation have been already sufficiently denied.

While passing over in silence the early Spanish settle-ment on the Essequibo, the British Case offers two statements intended evidently to offset its effects.

Dutch in the Es-
sequibo.

One of these is that the Dutch Captain Groenewegel "despatched a small fleet" to the Essequibo in 1616; and that he then settled there and built Fort Kykoveral. This statement is made upon the authority of the noto-rious John Scott, whose reliability as a witness has been

¹ British Case, p. 21, line 43.

² British Case, p. 24, lines 1-9.

³ "Late in 1619 or early in 1620, the Arwaccas having slain six Spaniards, Fernando de Berrio sent out Captain Geronimo de Grados from Santo Thomé to chastise them. He went into the Barima [? Pomeroun] and compelled the natives to submit and to give him provisions; then into the Essequibo, where he did the same, and then into the "Verius," [Berbice]. At the mouth of the Essequibo, on his return thither, he found six foreign ships ("navios de enemigos"), manned by Englishmen, who seized him and sent word to Berrio to ransom him for 80 quintals of tobacco, March, 1620." Jameson (J. F.) in U. S. Com. Rep., vol. i, p. 51, following the contemporary Fray Pedro Simon.

questioned by Professors Jameson * and Burr.† Even the British Case itself after quoting Scott in support of Dutch in the Essequibo.

*Nearer in point of time, but open to objection on other grounds, is the testimony of a paper among the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum, of which portions (apparently nearly the whole) are printed in the Rev. H. V. P. Bronkhurst's "The Colony of British Guyana and its Labouring Population," London, 1883 (pp. 45-53). It appears to be of the year 1668, and is anonymous.¹ "The sixth colony," the author says, "was undertaken by one Captain Gromweagle, a Dutchman, that had served the Spaniard in Oranoke, but understanding a company of merchants of Zealand had before undertaken a voyage to Guiana and attempted a settlement there" (this no doubt refers to a preceding paragraph, which notes an abortive settlement of Zeelanders at Cayenne in 1615), "he deserted the Spanish service, and tendered himself to his own country, which was accepted, and he dispatched from Zealand, anno 1616, with two ships and a galliot, and was the first man that took firm footing on Guiana by the good likeing of the natives, whose humours the gentleman perfectly understood. He erected a forte on a small island thirty leagues up the river Dissekeeb, which looked into two great branches of that famous river. All this time the Colony flourished; * * * he was a great friend of all new colonies of Christians of what nation soever, and Barbados oweth its first assistance, both for food and trade, to this man's special kindness, anno 1627, at which time they were in a miserable condition; he dyed anno 1664, and in the 83d year of his age, a wealthy man, having been Governor of that Colonie forty-eight years. In this Colonie the authour had the good fortune to meet with some ingenious observations of the former Governor, of what had been transacted in Guiana in his time, to whom the world is obliged for many particulars of this story." A footnote relates how Capt. Thomas Powell, governor of Barbados from 1625 to 1628, "having understood the Dutch had a plantation in the River Dissekeeb," sent to his old friend Captain Gromweagle for aid, and how Gromweagle "persuaded a family of Arawacoes, consisting of forty persons, to attend Powell to Barbados, to learn the English to plant," etc. (Bronkhurst, pp. 46-48.)

The author of this paper can be proved to have been Maj. John Scott, somewhat famous in the history of Long Island and of New Netherland down to 1665. For he says (id., p. 50): "The same year [1665] in the month of October, the author having been commissioned Commander-in-chief of a small fleet and a regiment of soldiers, for the attack of Tobago, and several other settlements in the hands of the Netherlanders in Guiana, as Moroco, Wacopou, Bowroome and Dissekeeb, and having touched at Tobago, in less than six months had the good fortune to be in possession of those countries." Now, by reference to the "Calendars of State Papers, Colonial" (Vol. V, pp. 481, 529, 534), it will be seen, both by Scott's testimony and by that of another, that he was commander of this expedition.² John Scott (see the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VI, pp. 66-74) has not the highest reputation. Lord Willoughby writes to Secretary Williamson ("Calendars," p. 540) that Scott has perchance told Williamson some truth, but not all

¹ The results of Professor Burr's personal investigation of this manuscript will be found [in U. S. Commission Report, vol. II., pp. 138-138; and in *same*, vol. I., pp. 172-177].

² By reference to Professor Burr's statements [in U. S. Commission Report, vol. II, p. 134] it will be seen that the manuscript is undoubtedly by Scott, the original bearing his name.

Dutch in the Essequibo.

the above statement adds that "The date of the actual foundation of the Dutch Colony on the Essequibo is however somewhat uncertain."[†]

gospel. Netscher, to whom the document is anonymous, declares that while Aert Adriaenszoon Groenewegel (Scott's "Captain Gromweagle") was commandant on the Essequibo from 1657 to 1666, he certainly did not command there for forty-eight years. He also says, with justice, that the paper is inaccurate in other parts ("Geschiedenis," pp. 42, 43, 358). Yet it seems difficult altogether to discredit it. The Zeeland expedition of 1615 is historical. ("British Blue Book," p. 53, No. 8.) The passage regarding Barbados receives independent confirmation from a contemporary source, "The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith," London, 1630, in chapter 26 of which we read concerning Barbados: "The first planters brought thither by Captaine Henry Powel, were forty English, with seven or eight Negroes; then he went to Disacuba in the maine, where he got thirty Indians, men, women and children, of the Arawacos."¹

The indications given by Netscher and, in the last century, by the Zeelanders as to what is or was in the Dutch archives, coupled with the statements of Scott and Smith, are at any rate sufficient to show that by 1627 the Dutch had an establishment, probably Kykoveral, on the Essequibo, though De Laet makes no mention of any in his editions of 1625, 1630, or 1633. [U. S. Com. Rep., vol. i, pp. 62-65.]

[†]The other document which gives for the foundation of the colony of Essequibo an earlier date than 1621, lies in the library of the British Museum, where it bears the mark "Sloane MSS., 8662." It is a thin bound volume, lettered on its back "Var. Tracts on the E. and W. Indies." The book is, however, all written by a single hand, and the author has made no effort to conceal his identity, for the volume begins with an elaborate preface, to which he has signed, at the end, his name in full—"John Scott." It is an autograph fragment, or rather a collection of sketches and materials, belonging to an unpublished and probably never finished work on the islands and coasts of America, from Newfoundland to the Amazon, and its author is that Major John Scott, once of Long Island, who, after an all too prominent part in the politics of New England and New York, had fled to Barbados, and who while there had been chosen to lead the expedition which in 1665-66 captured for England the Dutch colonies in Guiana. Among the chapters here completed are those on Guiana and on the West Indian islands, Barbados, Grenada and Tobago. The first named of these chapters, with a long extract from the second, was a few years ago transcribed by a colonial scholar (though apparently without discovery of its authorship) and published in a Guiana newspaper. Thence it was copied into the book of a missionary, Bronkhurst, and so reached the world of scholars. Its reception by historians has not been flattering, and the name of its author will hardly add greatly to its weight, for Scott's reputation for accuracy of statement is not unimpeached. His facilities for information were, however, remarkable, and especially so for Guiana. For his statement as to the founding of the colony of Essequibo in 1616 by one Captain

¹But from certain documents (to which my attention has been called by Professor Burr), published in *Timahri* for June, 1891, it appears, on Powell's own evidence, not only that these Indians were carried off without any aid from the Dutch, but that Powell knew nothing of the presence of the Dutch in the river. Scott, therefore, is here clearly wrong.

The other of the two statements above referred to is that in 1621 when the Dutch West India Company was chartered, a Dutch Colony was already established in the Essequibo.[‡] This assertion, based, as it is, upon Hartsinck's testimony and upon the representations made by the Zeeland Chamber in 1751, has been fully refuted by Professor Burr.[§]

Dutch in the
Essequibo.

Gronwewegle, and for the reasons why it must be doubted, I may refer to the report of Professor Jameson.

I have only to add that my own examination of the manuscript records, while vindicating Scott in assigning to 1604 the death of Groenewegel, and while carrying back to 1645 that governor's advent in the colony, brings to light no earlier mention of him in the books of the West India Company, and convinces me that he could not earlier have been commandeur on the Essequibo. That in 1616 he or any other, built there a fort seems unlikely, from the fact that a fort needed to be built there in 1627. That he may in that year have come to some other Guiana colony is not impossible, though the records of the Zeeland admiralty for this and the adjacent years fail to show the name of such a captain. In view of the fact that Scott credits to Groenewegel's "ingenious observations" only a part of the particulars of this story, and in view of his demonstrable inaccuracy as to dates and names in what else he tells us of the beginnings of colonization in Guiana, I think it must be felt that, though there are doubtless elements of truth in his story, his authority is much too slight for a statement else so unsupported, and so inconsistent with facts better known. Is it not more probable that Scott has confused with the original establishment of the Dutch in the Essequibo the founding of the first colony of planters there—the *Nova Zeelandia* of the Walcheren cities—in 1658? Of the latter Groenewegel was, as we shall presently see, indeed the first Commander, and so in a sense the founder. [Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, pp. 62-65.]

‡ British Case, p. 28, lines 17-19.

§ British Case, p. 24, lines 87-89.

[That there is no credible evidence for the presence of the Dutch in this river prior to the year 1618 has already been seen. All assertions of their presence there before the foundation of the Dutch West India Company in 1621 go back to two documents alone. These are aught but confirmatory the one of the other; and each deserves a closer study. Longest known and implicitly (with more or less of distortion) followed by most later writers is the memorial submitted to the States-General, on August 23, 1751, by the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, in defense of its claim to the colony of Essequibo. Its aim was of course a thoroughly partisan one. In the report published in the same behalf a year earlier (in the autumn of 1750) by the provincial Estates of Zeeland, this Guiana colony was alleged to have been in existence and in the hands of the Zeelanders prior to the establishment of the West India Company in 1621; but the only document adduced in support of this was an account book of the year 1627, which could hardly prove anything of the sort. The Amsterdam Chamber, in the reply drawn up by it (January 9, 1751) at the request of the States-General, had passed lightly over this point, resting its claim on action of the Com-

Dutch rights west
of Moruca.

3. It seems to be admitted, as already stated, that whatever rights the Dutch may have had in the coast region west of the Moruca, those rights did not grow

pany at a much later period, and content with referring somewhat loftily to the published literature of the subject as showing that Hollanders, too, had traded to the Guiana coast before 1621. But the Zeeland directors felt the claim important, and in their answering memorial (August 28, 1751) came to its support with what seems fresh evidence and with the skill of finished casuists.

Beginning their argument with a reminder of the project of Ten Haeff in 1599, they bring into close connection with him a list of later Zeeland founders of American colonies, without feeling it necessary to point out that the earliest of these began his activity in 1626, and that they have but borrowed the names from an old West India Company record book covering the period 1626-1671. "It is true," they now add, in a sentence well calculated to muddle all later research, "that, as regards the colony of Essequibo, the name of the first projector and founder thereof we have not yet been able with certainty to learn; yet it is nevertheless more than probable that it was first visited and colonized by the Zeelanders, namely, so far as can be traced, by a certain Joost van der Hooge, who thereafter was also the first director of the Zeeland Chamber, and that, if not for several years before the creation of a General West India Company (a conclusion to which much color is given by a certain request presented to the Board of Nineteen in the year 1639 by Jan de Moor, wherefrom it becomes apparent that already as early as 1613, and so eight years before the charter was granted to the West India Company, the colonies on the Wild Coast were already in full existence), at least by the time of the beginning of that Company such an establishment must already have existed there, in view of the fact that in the first mentions of the river Essequibo in the books, registers, and minutes of the Company then brought into existence one finds this colony spoken of as of an already established possession, strengthened by a fort which then bore the name of Fort der Hooge, after an old noble Zeeland family near of kin to that of the noble lords van Borsselen, and shortly thereafter the name of Kykoveral, and yet without the slightest shadow of accompanying evidence that this had come about through the Company or at its order, as would in that case certainly appear in the resolutions of that body. and nevertheless the Zeeland Chamber was at that time in possession of that river and that fort, and also of the trade which was there carried on—these being, perhaps, brought into their hands by those individual founders themselves, who afterwards, as we have already seen, formed a part of the Zeeland Chamber of the said Company and were made directors thereof, as, for example, Messieurs Van der Hooge, Ten Haef, Elfsdyk, Van Peere, and others, who had theretofore traded to the aforesaid coast, were elected and installed as directors in the aforesaid Chamber."

"But be this as it may," they continue, taking breath in a fresh paragraph, "so long as from the side of the Amsterdam Chamber not the slightest evidence can be produced that the aforesaid colony and river, before or at the beginning of the Company, was traded to by the Hollanders or by any other inhabitants of the State except the Zeelanders, it may safely be concluded, on the hereinbefore specified and more than probable grounds, that the inhabitants of Zeeland alone and exclusively,

out of any actual Dutch settlement there, nor out of any continued physical occupation of land on that coast. Dutch rights west
of Moruca.

from the beginning on, have traded to the aforesaid river, erected there their establishments, and, under the care and direction of the Zeeland Chamber, have remained in continuous possession thereof. '*In obscuris enim inspicere solemus quod verisimilius est,*' and '*in pari causa, possessor potior haberi debet.*'"

Now, to anybody who reads with care (as few historians seem to have had the patience to do) these adroitly framed sentences, it is clear that we have here not a positive proof of the existence of the Essequibo colony prior to 1621, but a confession that no such proof can be found. And one needs to read but slightly between the lines to detect that the directors have lighted upon but two items of possible evidence—an uncertain allusion of the year 1639 to the existence of the Guiana colonies in general in 1613, and the mention in early records of the West India Company of a "Fort der Hooge" in connection with the Essequibo.

The alleged request of Jan de Moor in 1639 can not now be verified, for the minutes of the Nineteen for this year are lost; but there is no reason to doubt its existence or its verity. It is, however, clearly a mere reference to the Guiana colonies in general; explicit mention in it of the Essequibo there is confessedly none. It would even seem, from the cautious form of the statement, that its testimony to the Guiana colonies at all is rather inferential than direct.

What is urged as to a "Fort der Hooge" would be more serious were it borne out by the contemporary records on which it claims to be based. These very earliest records of the West India Company still remain to us, and in precisely the copies used by the Zeeland directors themselves. True, the very first volume of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber itself is now lacking; but there is much reason to believe that it was lacking when this memorial was written, and, had it been in this that the phrase was found, the memorialists would undoubtedly have cited volume and date, as they have done wherever in their memorial these minutes are used. That there is here no citation whatever strongly suggests that what is stated is only an impression. Now, in the extant minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, running without a break from 1626 to 1644, and making frequent mention of the Essequibo colony, there is never any mention of a Fort der Hooge at all; nor have I been able to find it elsewhere in the records of the Company. Nor is this colony at first spoken of, as alleged, as a possession strengthened by a fort; for, as appears from an entry of August 28, 1627, it had as yet no fort at all, though the Company then promises to send soon some men to build one. The name of the fort, Kykoveral, which does not appear in the records before 1644, is thereafter constantly met; and had there been earlier a Fort der Hooge named after a director of the Company, the Zeeland directors would hardly have shown to an influential colleague the discourtesy of constantly ignoring its title. Joost van der Hooge is, indeed, named first, at the organization of the West India Company, among the stockholders and directors of the Zeeland Chamber, and this has seemed to some a reason for accepting the story; but they forget that this place belonged to him, *ex officio*, as burgomaster of Middelburg. It is more probable that the place of his name suggested the tradition. There is nothing in the minutes of these bodies to connect him with Essequibo; and he was not one of those to whom matters relating to this colony were commonly referred. That the authors of the memorial were not writing with the

Dutch relations
to coast west of
Moruca.

The British Case does indeed contain the following general allegation regarding Dutch relations to that region :

“ At the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (1714) the Dutch had “established themselves as the masters of a great part of Guiana, “from various positions on the coast *as far as Barima*, etc.¹

But this wholly unfounded assertion is made without the citation of any evidence to support it.

The only specific acts which are relied upon to prove it are as follows :

“ In 1758 * * * Dutch traders were resident on the * * * “Paraman (Barama). In 1766 and 1768 Dutchmen were settled “in Barima. In 1769 the Prefect of the Missions reported that “a Dutchman had been eight years domiciled on the River “Aguirre * * * .” *

Again :

“There is little doubt that at this time there were Dutch plantations in the Aruka, a tributary of the Barima, and at Koriabo “higher up on the Barima. There are still visible traces of settlements at these spots, and they correspond with the description given of Dutch settlements then existing in the records of “secret expeditions made by the Spaniards to the Barima in 1760 “and 1768. In the latter year the Spaniards secretly and without “previous complaint made a raid upon Barima and destroyed

documents before them may be guessed from the fact that, of the three others whom they mention with Van der Hooze as Guiana patroons who had earned a seat in the Zealand Chamber by the transfer of their colonies, not all were original members of that chamber.

There is, too, another claimant to the name of Fort der Hooze, or Ter Hooze.

When in 1657 the control of the Essequibo had passed into the hands of the three Walcheren cities (Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere), and they had planted in its region their new colony and given it the new name of Nova Zeelandia, there stood on the bank of the Pomeroon, we are told, not only the fortress Nieuw Zeeland, and below it the village Nieuw Middelburg, but a little further downstream the “*Huis ter Hooze*”—believed to have been a fortified lookout. The Zealand Estates, in their paper of 1750, fell into the error of supposing the colony of Essequibo to have borne from its outset the name of Nova Zeelandia. This the Zealand directors corrected ; but is it not possible that they fell into the kindred error of forgetting the site and date of the Fort ter Hooze? [Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, pp. 58-62.]

¹ British Case, p. 32, lines 8-11.

* British Case, p. 48, lines 6-13.

'a Dutch plantation, which was probably in the Aruka, but they "did not themselves hold or occupy the district of the river." ¹ Dutch relations to coast west of Moruca.

And again :

"The traces of cultivation remaining in the Aruka and at Koriabo probably mark the sites of plantations, one of which was "probably that destroyed by the Spanish secret expedition in 1768 "and another that reported in 1760, but which was situated too "far up the Barima for the Spaniards to reach."²

These various passages contain allegations with reference to five possible incidents.

Incidents relied upon to prove Dutch occupation.

The first of these is that Dutch traders were *residing* in the *Barama*³ in 1758. To support this assertion the British Case cites Fray Benito de la Garriga; but Fray Benito makes no mention whatever of any Dutch *residents*; his reference is purely to Dutch *slave traders sojourning* in Tucupo, Capi and Paraman.⁴ This first incident therefore falls because the very evidence cited to support it contradicts it.

The second is that "there is little doubt that" in 1760 Dutchmen were settled and had plantations on the River Barima and on the Aruka, a tributary of the Barima.⁴ For this assertion there is not a word of evidence. In fact the account of the Spanish expedition of this date flatly contradicts it; and the existence of any Dutch plantation in the Barima at this time is not to be reconciled with what is known of the occurrences of 1766. It was only *slave traders* who were in question in 1760.

The third is that in 1766 Dutchmen were settled in the Barima. This statement has, for its only foundation,

¹ British Case, p. 51, lines 36-47.

² British Case, p. 68, lines 29-35.

³ *Paraman*, not *Barama* nor *Barima*. Garriga says "Numbers of Dutch * * * remain in the places called Tucupo, Capi and *Paraman*, to buy slaves. These places are in the interior, * * *" British Case, Appendix, II, p. 147, E.

⁴ British Case, p. 51, lines 36-39.

Incidents relied upon to prove Dutch occupation.

a quarrel between two Dutchmen in Barima resulting in the arrest of one of them, and in an order of the Court of Policy "*forbidding any one to stop in Barima.*"¹

The fourth is that in 1768 Dutchmen were settled in the Barima. While the evidence cited to support this allegation unquestionably shows that there were at that time some "foreigners clandestinely settled for commerce and traffic in the creek called the Creek of Barima, jurisdiction of this (Guiana) province,"² it nevertheless furnishes at the same time the most convincing proof of Spanish control there; it tells of the expulsion of those very foreigners by Spanish officials, of the destruction of their dwellings, and of the seizure and judicial sale of their effects.³ But apart from this there is every reason to believe, as Professor Burr has pointed out, that of these "foreigners" only one was a Dutchman, the rest being English from Barbadoes and French from Martinique,⁴ and even this one Dutchman was there in direct defiance of the authority of the Essequibo colony.

¹ British Case, Appendix, III, p. 132.

² British Case, Appendix, III, p. 168.

³ On the 18th April, 1768, * * * Don Francisco Cierito * * * having been questioned, * * * declared: "That the Commandant-General there present having received information that in the creek called the Creek of Barima * * * sundry Dutch families were established, dispatched him with instructions to warn them once, twice and thrice to quit the whole of that territory because it belonged to the said province (Guiana) in virtue whereof the declarant went in his vessel, * * * they only found the deserted houses and the effects, implements and utensils contained in the inventory, which they put on board the two vessels and then set fire to the said houses, in order that they should not form settlements in future," British Case, Appendix, III, pp. 170-171.

⁴ The Spanish testimony to this exploit speaks of "sundry Dutch families and of "the foreigners," and mentions the houses and plantations as if there were several establishments. But, had there been any other settlers from Essequibo, it seems probable that Storm would have learned it, if only from the widow La Riviere, and would have mentioned it to the Company. It is possible that the other settlers, if such there were, were from other colonies—not improbably French, or English from the islands. In the library of the British Museum, in that volume of the Egerton manuscripts calling itself *Papeles Tocantes á la Provincia de Venezuela, Vol. III, 1773-1798* (marked Press 542. G.); there is a copy of a letter, addressed by Andrés de Oleaga, Contador of Guayana, to Josef de Abalos, Intendente of Carácas,

The fifth is that in 1769 a Dutchman had been "domiciled with the Caribs more than eight years buying slaves from them."¹ There is some reason to believe that this Dutchman was from *Surinam* and not from *Essequibo*; certainly if he was there at all it was in no official capacity, but at best merely as a private individual engaged in the slave trade: what is even more to the point, the place of his sojourn is given as the *Aguirre*,² a river lying in territory confessedly Venezuelan, and far outside of Great Britain's present extreme claim.

Incidents relied upon to prove Dutch occupation.

Present traces of former plantations are appealed to by Great Britain to prove Dutch occupation. Schomburgk's testimony as to certain trenches "at the mouth of the Barima"³ is invoked, and living witnesses are made to tell of traces of former cultivation at various

which seems to throw a light on this. It contains this passage (fol. 70, lines 19-25): "Covetous of this spacious and attractive territory on the banks of the river Barima, the English of Barbados, united with the Dutch of Essequibo, established a colony, and in the year 1778 were dislodged by action of this government through the agency of the privateer boats of this place; and, in spite of the watch which has been kept, the English have continued to make great ravages on the timber." ("*Envidiosos de este grande y ameno territorio en la margen del Rio Barima, establecieron colonia los Yngleses de la Barbada, unidos con los Olandeses de Esquibo, y el año de 1778 fueron desalojados por disposición de este Gobierno por las lanchas corsarias de esta Plaza, y por mucho que se ha vigilado siempre han hecha grandes sacas de maderas los Yngleses.*") Now "1778" is here a quite impossible date; for the letter itself, though misdated "1777" (November 15), is an answer to one of August 14, 1778, and must have been written before the end of that year. Inasmuch as the Spanish purging of the Barima in 1768 answers so perfectly to the description in this passage, while none of 1778 is known from the records, it seems a fair conjecture that "1778" is here but an error for 1768, and that the other settlers then ousted from the Barima were therefore English. That Oleaga was likely to know whereof he spoke will appear from the fact that it was precisely he who in 1768 as Royal Accountant in Santo Thomé received and invoiced the confiscated property. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 8," pp. 274-280; Venezuelan "Documents," I, pp. 231-234.) Governor Storm at first believed the attack instigated by certain deserters from the Moruca post and plantation (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 8," pp. 148, 154; Extracts, pp. 440, 442); but there is no mention of these in the Spanish documents, and Storm himself later speaks of it as simply the work of the Spaniards (Extracts, p. 458). [Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 184.]

¹ British Case, Appendix, IV, p. 20.

² British Case, p. 48, lines 12-18.

³ British Case, Appendix, VII, p. 13.

Incidents relied
upon to prove Dutch
occupation.

other points. So far as Schomburgk is concerned, Professor Burr disposes of his theory of a Dutch post at the mouth of the Barima in the following note:¹

“The assumption of Mr. Schomburgk, so constantly repeated since, that it was at the mouth of the river, is without documentary warrant and improbable. No object for such a site—without water and remote both from the Caribs, with whom the Dutch wished to trade, and from their own colony—is easily conceivable. It is impossible that such a shelter could have left the remains which Mr. Schomburgk says Colonel Moody found there in 1807.² It is far more probable that these were remains of the fort built by the French in 1689.³ The Surinam expedition sent to the Orinoco in 1711 stopped at the mouth of the Barima, both in going and coming, and makes no mention of a shelter there, though its journal always mentions one when found.⁴ That site would have been a more natural one for the French, who, on their way from the islands to the Barima, would here first reach the mainland, than for the Dutch of the Guiana colonies, who came through the Moruca and reached the Barima by the Mora Passage. I have never yet found in any Dutch document a mention of Barima Point, and have no reason to believe that the Dutch ever attached importance to it. Not even the description of Hartsinck or the map of Bouchenroeder, though so often cited in support of the claim, place the traditional Barima post at the mouth of the river. Hartsinck speaks of it only as ‘on the river,’ and Bouchenroeder’s map places it above what must be meant for the Mora Passage. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that either had any definite knowledge as to the matter.”

As to the other statements regarding artificial canals and fruit trees, relied on to prove settlements of Essequibo Dutch, it is difficult to discern in them anything serious. If their origin be really European, their existence is entirely accounted for by the mongrel settlement of 1768 already mentioned—a settlement

¹ Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 124.

² British Case, Appendix, VII, p. 18.

³ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. II, p. 128.

⁴ U. S. Commission Report, Vol. ii, pp. 224–228.

made up of Englishmen from Barbadoes, of French from Martinique, and of the renegade colonist Jan la Rivière from Essequibo. It was a settlement which was not only not authorized by the Essequibo authorities, but was in defiance of those authorities, and was promptly and publicly suppressed by the Spanish officials. Apart from these outlaws it is not unlikely that "Mener Nelch" may have contributed his share to the fruit trees and ditches. He was a Dutchman who at one time was postholder in Moruca, but who having been discharged for incompetence probably wandered off and for a time lived with some Caribs on the Aruka.¹

Incidents relied upon to prove Dutch occupation.

¹There is never again mention in Dutch documents of the stay of any Dutchman in the Barima. A Spaniard, however, the young officer Inclarte, who in 1779, on his way to the Pomeroon, made a reconnoissance of the lower Barima, found in the Aruka, its lowest western tributary of importance, at the distance of a league from the Barima, a hill "which was a few years ago inhabited by a Dutchman from Essequibo called Mener Nelch and by certain Indians of the Carib tribe." At the foot of this hill he found the hulls of a large pirogue and of another craft, and was assured by an Indian that these had belonged to the Dutchman. On the hill he found survivals of coffee, banana, and orange trees. Further details he noted in a diary, which unfortunately is now lost.

"Mener" is doubtless *Mynheer*. It would be hard to represent its sound more accurately in Spanish. "Nelch," I suspect to be a distortion of *Nelis*. Diederik Nelis was a man well known to Essequibo records. In 1765 it was only the timely encounter with "the colonist Diederik Nelis coming from Barima" which saved three lost sailors from starvation. In August, 1767, Nelis was living in the upper Essequibo, "up near the plantation Oosterbeek." It was to him that the Caribs reported the desertion of the post Arinda; but before the end of that year he had been provisionally made postholder at Moruca, though the governor confesses his incompetence, and implies that he was a man addicted to drink. There he was kept until 1774, when he was replaced by the bylier Vermeere.

As postholder in Moruca at the time of the Spanish sack of the La Rivière plantation, and as himself expressly charged with attention to all that transpired in Barima and with the exclusion of Essequibo settlers, Nelis must have become more familiar with the place, and may easily have betaken himself thither on his release from his duties at Moruca. As the La Rivière plantation had already been cleared, and as the same considerations, agricultural and political, which would direct his choice of site and of soil must have influenced La Rivière before him, it is surely not improbable that the site occupied by Nelis (if "Mener Nelch" was really he) had been La Rivière's as well. [Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, pp. 184-185.]

Incidents relied
upon to prove
Dutch occupation.

The only other allegation of the British Case as to Dutch occupation of this region is the following:

"Two years afterwards [1676] the Spanish Council of War of the Indies brought forward the question of the Dutch Colonies on the Coast of Guiana, and suggested a remonstrance with the States-General on the ground that they were establishing new settlements in the Indies without informing the King of Spain, but it was resolved that to bring such a complaint before the States-General of the United Provinces was not advisable. It is to be noted that the attention of the Council was called to the fact that the Dutch at that time held the chief portion of the Coast of Guiana from Trinidad to the River Amazon, and had settlements in Berbice, Essequibo and Surinam."¹

The evidence cited in support of this statement shows that what the Spanish Council had under consideration was a proposed Dutch Colony at *Cape Orange* between the *Wiapoco* and the *Amazon*, about 500 miles east of the present disputed territory; and that, while it is true that the general and very exaggerated statement was made to the King that the Dutch possessed "the greater part of the coast from Trinidad to the River Amazon," this statement was at once qualified by the following phrase: "for they already have settlements in Barbiche (Berbice), Sequeibes (Essequibo) and Surinanite (Surinam)."²

Spanish control
of coast—Swedes in
Parima.

4. The visit of the Swedes to Barima, cited by the British Case as an instance of Dutch jurisdiction in that region, so far from proving *Dutch* control, furnishes instead a convenient introduction to the subject of *Spanish* control. As already stated, this Spanish control, while denied in general terms is nevertheless in fact recognized by the British Case, because specific acts of Spanish control are admitted without anything substantial to counteract their effect. Some of these

¹British Case, p. 29, lines 4-18.

²British Case, Appendix, I, p. 178 E.

specific acts will presently be mentioned : before passing to them, it is important to note that the conduct of Spain towards these Swedish intruders, so far from proving the *presence* of Dutch control in Barima, demonstrates the *absence* of that control, and the exercise there of Spanish sovereignty.

The statement of the British Case in this connection is as follows :

“In March 1732 a Swedish captain with a small vessel arrived in the River Essequibo. After his departure a rumour reached the Colony to the effect that he would return to take possession of a tract of land in the River Barima which, it was reported, the King of Spain had presented to the late Elector of Bavaria, who had been Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and who had in turn given it to the King of Sweden. Later in the same year a report reached the Spanish Island of Trinidad that the Swedes were founding a settlement in the neighbouring island of Tobago. Alarmed by this report, the Spaniards sent to enquire into the facts, and, not being satisfied with the result of their inquiries, dispatched an officer up the Orinoco to Guayana to obtain information. On his return he reported that he had learned from the Caribs of Barima, that a number of white men had been seeking to establish themselves at that point, and that a Carib Chief, with a large force, was established in the creek, who had received orders from the Dutch ‘not to show the Swedes a good place for their settlement, as they themselves would give them all they required.’ The King of Spain, on receiving this report, directed the Governors of Carácas and Margarita to take whatever steps they might consider necessary, but the Governor of Orinoco had, apparently, before receiving this order, written to the Governor of Essequibo a despatch, in which he suggested that the Dutch Governor should not tolerate the Swedes in their neighborhood. The Governor of Essequibo reported to the West India Company that, should the Swedes try to establish themselves between the Orinoco and the Colony of Essequibo on the territory of the Company, he should be obliged to try to prevent it.”¹

¹ British Case, pp. 34-35.

Swedes in Barima.

The evidence cited by the British Case in support of this statement warrants the following counter-statement:

On June 8, 1734, the Dutch Commandeur of Essequibo wrote to the West India Company that reinforcements had arrived for the Spaniards of Orinoco, and that, to quiet any apprehensions on the part of the Dutch, the Spanish Governor had written, explaining that these reinforcements had been sent to prevent the Swedes from carrying out a reported plan to found a colony on the River of Barima "lying *between* the Orinoco and *your Honours' Post at Wacquepo*."¹ The Spanish Governor had in the same letter suggested the inconvenience to the Dutch themselves of having the Swedes, not, let it be noted, on Dutch *territory*, but in the Dutch "*neighborhood*," the evident intent of this suggestion being to further quiet Dutch apprehension and to win Dutch approval of the action proposed to be taken by Spain herself.

In commenting upon this to the Company, the Dutch Commandeur bemoaned the weakness which would prevent his making any effective resistance in case the Swedes should establish themselves "*between* the Orinoco and this Colony." Though the claim of Spain to this territory between the Orinoco and the Dutch post at Wacquepo and her purpose to use her troops there were thus made known to the Dutch Commandeur and by him to the Company, the answer of that Company not only contains no words of protest against Spain's proposed action, but even the Commandeur's suggestion, to himself do something to prevent the Swedish settlement, is wholly ignored. In contrast to this indifference on the part of the Dutch authorities is the following order made by the King of Spain for the protection of Barima:

¹British Case, Appendix, II, pp. 17-18.

“In a letter of the 18th July of the year before last [1732] Swedes in Barima.
 “Don Rafael de Eslaba, President of my Royal Court of the city
 “of Santa Fé in the new Kingdom of Granada, having communi-
 “cated the representation made by Father Joseph Gumilla,
 “Superior of the Missions of the Orinoco, with respect to the set-
 “tlement which the Swedes were attempting to make in River
 “Barima, for whose ejection the Court of that Kingdom had
 “previously taken measures; and as soon as the said President
 “entered on his office, he requested, the said Father Joseph
 “Gumilla to repeat his former information, that he might take
 “the necessary steps; but thinking this a matter of considerable
 “gravity he sends an account of it for his reassurance. Having
 “considered the matter in my Council of the Indies, and taken
 “the advice of my Fiscal thereupon, I hereby command that with
 “what people you have and with the Capuchin Missions, you take
 “all proper measures to prevent the settlement attempted by the
 “Swedish nation from being established, and that you give me
 “an account of your proceedings herein at the first opportunity.”

The above is but one of many acts showing Spanish control of this coast region: they were numerous and constant; many of them have been set forth in the Case of Venezuela; some of them are admitted, in the British Case, in passages making mention of Spanish interference with Dutch fishing and capture of Dutch craft, particularly in 1746, 1760, 1762 and 1768.² A letter of the Director-General of Essequibo, dated June 1st, 1768, wherein it is distinctly declared that the Spaniards had by that time completely put an end to Dutch fishing near the mouth of the Orinoco, is quoted by the British Case.³ The explanation offered viz: that the interference of the Spaniards was always upon the plea that the vessels were not fishing but smuggling, even if true, tends to strengthen rather than to weaken the proof of Spanish authority; for it discloses a Spanish discretion

¹ British Case, Appendix, III, p. 82.

² British Case, p. 53.

³ British Case, pp. 52-53.

Spanish control in permitting certain acts and forbidding others. Besides this interference with Dutch fishing and smuggling, the British Case admits the Spanish expeditions of 1760 and 1768, which, it will be remembered, resulted in the flight or expulsion of such Dutchmen as had surreptitiously attempted to establish themselves in the Barima for purposes of trade or smuggling. These admitted acts on the part of Spain, especially in the absence of any Dutch acts of control in that region, warrant the statement heretofore made, that according to even the British Case itself the coast between the Orinoco and Moruca was under Spanish control.

British "occupation" of coast.

5. Apart from a general allegation to the effect that Great Britain controlled the entire coast from the earliest days of the British occupation of Essequibo, the only *specific* acts, prior to the agreement of 1850, cited to support this allegation are an alleged survey of "the captured Colony" "during the period of their occupation" [1781], and an alleged apportionment of lands in 1797. The first of these acts was anything but a survey of the "captured Colony." Writing about it in 1790 to the Count del Campo, Fermin de Sincinenea says, that *in anticipation of a war with Spain* the English, when in possession of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, had surveyed, or rather had taken soundings, along the coast from Essequibo to the Orinoco and *for even ten leagues up the latter river*. It is evident that this, so far from being a survey of a *Dutch Colony*, was rather a *reconnoissance of Spanish territory* preparatory to a hostile attack.¹

Neither can the alleged apportionment of lands by the English in 1797 constitute any evidence of British occupation. Great Britain and Spain had been at war with each other since October, 1796; a report reached

¹ British Case, p. 57; also, *Same*, Appendix, V, p. 76.

the Spanish Governor of Orinoco in 1797 that the English had apportioned the lands on the coast as far as Barima; but, instead of acquiescing in any such act, the Spanish Governor gives the following account of what he did:

British "occupation" of coast.

"Although this news is not as clear as an affair of so much importance demands, I have nevertheless considered it well not to despise it altogether, and, consequently, in order to assure myself thereof, in conformity with my duty, I have dispatched Captain Don Manuel Astor, with the assistance of His Majesty's revenue-cutter on this river, together with whatever boats and Indians he may consider necessary, to proceed at once to Point Barima, to reconnoitre it and make a scrupulous investigation into the truth of this matter, or obtain proof that it is unfounded. In case of finding any of the Notices that are said to be posted up, he is to bring one back with him for greater evidence, but on no account is he to go any distance from that point, on account of the danger of falling in with the enemy's cruisers, which are known to be cruising in the mouths of the river, or into an ambuscade which the English may have prepared. For the little force which he is taking to carry out his commission is not enough for a greater expedition."¹

The account of what followed shows that a Spanish reconnoissance was in fact made, but that whatever the English may have done *on paper*, the actual *frontier guard* was "placed at the mouth of the Moruca."² Of course no further action by Spain was called for at that time when actual hostilities were pending, and as Great Britain did not thereafter, either during the war or after the re-establishment of peace, take possession of any part of the coast west of the Moruca, no further notice was taken of the matter.

Prior to the agreement of 1850 the only other acts relied on by Great Britain to establish her right to Barima relate to certain visits there in 1838 of the newly

British jurisdiction in Barima.

¹ British Case, Appendix, V, pp. 164-165.

² British Case, Appendix, V, p. 165, E.

British jurisdiction in Barima.

created British "Superintendent of Rivers and Creeks," residing on the Pomeroon. These acts will be considered later in connection with the question of Indian relations: for the present it is sufficient to note two things; first, that the year 1838 is the earliest year in which any mention of such visits is to be found; second, that even then the evidence cited by Great Britain shows that the "Superintendent" had no thought of extending his jurisdiction to the boundary claimed by Schomburgk.

Of course Venezuela knew nothing of any of these visits, and hence made no protest against them; as soon, however, as Schomburgk's surveys made it known for the first time that Great Britain claimed the Barima-Waini region, a vigorous protest was made by the Venezuelan Minister in London;¹ and this resulted in the removal of the boundary posts erected by Schomburgk:² shortly thereafter the agreement of 1850 between Venezuela and Great Britain forbade any occupation of this territory by either nation.³

Agreement of 1850.

Great Britain admits that this agreement continued binding upon her until at least 1886,⁴ but she alleges that the granting of certain concessions by Venezuela constituted a violation of that agreement.⁵ The maps, reports and prospectuses, printed in the British Appendix in support of this allegation, were all private acts of the grantees of the concessions; and Venezuela can in no way be held responsible for them. The concessions themselves never specified any portion of the territory in dispute; they were always limited on the east by "British Guiana," without any other speci-

¹ Venezuelan Case, Vol. 8, p. 197.

² Venezuelan Case, Vol. 8, pp. 207-208.

³ Venezuelan Case, Vol. 8, p. 218.

⁴ British Case, p. 18, lines 36-42.

⁵ British Case, p. 73.

cation of boundaries ; and it is a mistake to attribute to Venezuela the maps referred to or printed by Great Britain in Volume VI of the Appendix to her Case, in the foot note on page 217, or opposite pages 222 or 237. It is also a mistake to attribute to her the statements contained in document No. 903 (p. 220) of the same volume, or the statements in any other document emanating from the grantees of the concessions referred to, or from the agents of such grantees. Such maps and documents were prepared and printed without any authorization, express or implied, from the Government of Venezuela.

Agreement of
1860.

6. Dutch occupation of the interior never went beyond the lowest falls of the three rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni and Mazaruni. The facts alleged in the British Case to disprove this statement themselves constitute the best evidence in its favor.

Limits of Dutch
occupation in the
interior.

To prove that from 1681 onwards
“ the area of actual plantation extended along the rivers Cuyuni,
“ Massaruni, and Upper Essequibo ”,¹

the British Case cites the fact that

“ In 1681, an island *in the mouth* of the River Cuyuni was
“ cleared and planted with cassava for the use of the garrison ; ”²
and that in 1694 the Dutch Commandeur reported that
he had

“ again begun to make here a new plantation *in the River Cuyuni above the fort.* ”³

In another place reference is made to an
“ annatto store at a Carib village above in Massaruni ” and to “ a
“ dye store in the Cuyuni. ”⁴

No further light is thrown upon the location or
nature of these “ stores ; ” and the reference to facts so

¹ British Case, p. 29, lines 40-43.

² British Case, p. 29, lines 42-45.

³ British Case, p. 29, lines 47-48.

⁴ British Case, p. 31, lines 17-20.

Limits of Dutch
occupation in the
Interior.

vague and unimportant would seem to indicate a dearth of more substantial settlements.

A single plantation, called Poelwijk, is stated to have been moved to "a position above the falls" in 1704:¹ this solitary experiment by the Dutch in cultivation above the falls, even if true, must have been short lived, for as the British Case itself states :

"In 1722 the officials of the Company were making explorations in order to ascertain the nature of the soil in the interior with a view to plantations, and a Report by Maurain Saincterre, an engineer of the Company, stated that the ground was even better above in the Rivers Essequibo, Massaruni, and Cuyuni than below, but that the rocks, falls, and islands had, up to that date, prevented Europeans from establishing sugar plantations there."²——

The settlement of the revolted creole slaves in 1738, referred to on page 35 of the British Case, was indeed on an island in the Cuyuni; but the island was *below* the falls; and this proves, if it proves anything, that even *below* those falls Dutch authority was too weak to maintain Dutch sovereignty, for these slave rebels had to be compromised with.

Dutch Post of
1754-1758.

The facts as to the various trading posts of 1703, 1754-58, 1766-69 and 1769-72 have been sufficiently set forth in the Case of Venezuela, and in an earlier chapter of this Counter-Case. The location of the second of these posts, namely, that destroyed by the Spaniards in 1758, has been very fully considered by Professor Burr, and his location of that post is certainly the most western which the evidence will warrant.³ The statement of the British Case that it was located "somewhere between the mouth of the Curumo and

¹ British Case, pp. 81-82, lines 49-50, 1-3. The falls referred to are the lowest in the Mazaruni. See Venezuelan Case, Atlas, maps 59, 60, 70.

² British Case, p. 83, lines 26-35.

³ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, pp. 155-165; also Atlas to Counter-Case, map 28.

that of the Acarabisi¹ is an abandonment of the claim which had been advanced by the earlier British publications that the site was *at the mouth of the Curumo*. In the map submitted with the British Case, the phrase "somewhere between the mouth of the Curumo and that of the Acarabisi," is made to mean a little *below* the mouth of the Acarabisi; and this without offering so much as a shred of fresh evidence or indeed any evidence, new or old, for such a site. Nor does it answer by so much as a word the arguments drawn by Professor Burr from the concurrent and explicit testimony of the contemporary witnesses, both Spanish and Dutch—the Dutch governor and the postholders, the Spanish raiders and the Capuchin prefect—as to the distance of the post from the Essequibo on the one side and the Spanish missions on the other.

Dutch Post of
1754-1758.

Not less important are the admissions of the British Case as to the Dutch post of 1766-69. In the first place, it is conceded that "the description of the work done upon it certainly is that of a new clearing in a new place," and that "there is little doubt that the site of this Post was lower down the river than that of the former Post." This conclusion harmonizes strikingly with the proofs and arguments of Venezuela showing the constant pressure exercised by the Spaniards in the Cuyuni in the interval between the two posts, and the terror in which they here held the Dutch and their Carib friends. Venezuela accepts, therefore, without question this concession of Great Britain.

Dutch Post of
1766-1769.

In the second place, the advanced site claimed by Mr. Schomburgk, and by others after him, for this post, is definitely abandoned by the British Case. There is no mention, by the Case, of the Island of Tokoro (Tocro,

¹ British Case, p. 47, lines 46-48.

Dutch Post of
1766-1769.

Tokoro-patti) or of the Indian testimony which placed there a Dutch postholder. Discarding this, the British Case places the post of 1766-69, not on an island, but "on the banks of the river," and close (as is clear from the context) to the island of Toenamoeto "at the rapid of Tonoma," just at the head of the Cuyuni gorge, where the Dutch postholder made his last stand.¹

This conclusion, too, falls in wholly with the evidence urged by Venezuela as to the Spanish advance in this quarter; and the position taken by the British Case as to the site of the post of 1766-69 she fully accepts. The importance of these concessions to the question of the control of the Cuyuni basin it would be hard to overrate.

Dutch Post of
1769-1772.

Of course the final post of 1769-72 was lower down still, as is admitted by the British Case in the following words:

"it is probable that the Postholder had come nearer the settled districts, for Storm van 's Gravesande states that he would have liked to move the Post gradually higher up the river."²

Extent of Dutch
occupation.

In spite of all these Dutch failures at occupation above the falls, the British Case makes the following impossible claim:

"At the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (1714) the Dutch had established themselves as the masters of a great part of Guiana, from various positions on the coast as far as Barima, to the Pariacot Savannah beyond the River Cuyuni in the interior of the country, and they were already opening up the higher reaches of the Essequibo. Their plantations and settlements

¹ "After trying a site on the banks of the river, the Postholder in 1769 moved the post to an island between two falls which he called Toenamoeto. . . . Toenamoeto is at the rapid of Tonoma."—(British Case, p. 52, lines 7-15.)

It is true that the map accompanying the British Case still places this post at Tokoro; but this must be an oversight, as the text shows.

² British Case, p. 52, lines 11-15.

“lined the banks of the Essequibo, Massaruni, and Cuyuni for
 “some distance from the junction of the three rivers.” ¹

Extent of Dutch
 occupation.

More nearly in accord with the real facts is the following later statement of the British Case :

“Upon the Essequibo, the Massaruni, and the Cuyuni, plantation was not extended at this period [1840-41], the soil above the estuary not being sufficiently fertile. But in 1831 the country was described as settled to the falls of the three branches of the Essequibo, namely, the Essequibo, Massaruni, and Cuyuni.” ²

What is thus admitted to have been the situation above the falls in 1831 and in 1840-41, may with entire truth be said of every other period. Neither Dutch nor settlements passed above the lowest falls of these rivers British until long after the agreement of 1850; and then it was in violation of that agreement that they passed them.

7. Spanish strength on the Orinoco and in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin is made light of by Great Britain, but that strength is a fact which she admits and tries to explain away, not a fact which she denies. About Santo Thomé itself, no question is or can be raised. At times, doubtless, its population was small and its houses few; yet it always served as a base for Spanish operations into the interior; and the communication between it and Trinidad required and resulted in the maintenance of Spanish control over the entire Orinoco river to its mouth. Santo Thomé was itself at times surprised and pillaged by foreign freebooters; but the Spanish strength in the Orinoco was always adequate to prevent these from gaining any permanent foothold upon its banks.

Spanish strength
 in Orinoco.

As to the missions, while their importance and extent

Spanish Missions.

¹ British Case, p. 32, lines 8-18.

² British Case, p. 65, lines 5-11.

Spanish Missions. are conceded, a strenuous effort is made to minimize as much as possible both of these facts. The "peaceful development" of the Essequibo colony is contrasted with the "severe struggle" of the Spanish settlement:¹ the mission villages are pictured as always on the defensive against the Caribs: the existence of some missions is denied even where the documents accompanying the British Case tell of their location and history.

That a contrast existed between the conditions of the Dutch and Spanish colonies is very certain; but that contrast was not the one pictured in the British Case. It was a contrast between Dutch fear of extinction and Spanish power; between Dutch influence on behalf of barbarism and Spanish influence on behalf of civilization; between the final withdrawal of the Dutch to the mouth of the Essequibo, and the gradual spread of Spanish settlement over the interior. This contrast reached its climax when direct conflict ensued between Dutch and Spanish strength, resulting in the destruction of Dutch posts, in the expulsion of Dutchmen from the Cuyuni, in the prevention of Dutch fishing, in the capture of Dutch vessels, and in the flight of even Dutch smugglers and slave catchers from the Barima-Waini region.

The facts in support of these statements have been already fully set forth in the Case of Venezuela, and are confirmed by the evidence which Great Britain has herself submitted.

Carib attacks.

The Carib attacks on the missions are proof of Spanish strength rather than of Spanish weakness. The Caribs who made these attacks were of two kinds: in the first place they were of those who had been gathered by the Spaniards into the missions, and who, restive under Spanish authority sought to throw off the

¹ British Case, p. 37.

Spanish yoke ; in the second place they were of those who, still wandering through the forests in search of human prey with which to furnish the Dutch market, felt, even there, the power of the missions to obstruct that trade. Had this form of obstruction not been felt, the wild Caribs of the woods would never have molested the Spanish missionaries. These Carib attacks and revolts were at times successful, but in the end all Caribs were either reduced to subjection or else driven out of the Cuyuni by Spain. Up to 1750 none of the Capuchin missions had been destroyed by Caribs, and notwithstanding the attacks of 1750 and of later years these missions were exceedingly prosperous.¹

Carib attacks

The dates of foundation of the missions, the number of these, their location and extent eastward, are often greatly confused or misstated by the British Case. For instance, in the following lines, the missions of Caroni and Suay are confounded :

Spanish Missions.

“The first Mission founded in this territory was La Purisima Concepcion del Caroni, more commonly known as Suay, in “1724.””²

Now Caroni and Suay were not the same. The mission of Caroni, founded directly after Suay, was called San Antonio until the suppression of Suay in 1762, when it took the name of La Purisima Concepcion. It was several miles west of Suay, as will appear, for instance, from the Capuchin Map of 1735,³ or from the report of the Spanish Governor in 1743.⁴

Again, the mission of Mutanambo, which was one of those destroyed by the Caribs in 1750, is alleged by the

¹See, as to this, Venezuelan Case, vol. 2, pp. 286-290, where extracts are given from a report by Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, Governor of Cumaná, and Venezuelan Case, vol. 3, pp. 369-372 for further details by the same Governor.

²British Case, p. 38, lines 38-40.

³Venezuelan Case, Atlas, map 72.

⁴Venezuelan Case, vol. 3, pp. 369, 370.

Spanish Missions British Case to be mentioned "nowhere" except in a letter of Fray Benito de la Garriga of July 6th, 1769;¹ but the British Atlas² itself contains the maps of Cruz Cano and of Surville, in both of which the mission is given.

As to the "most easterly" mission at various dates, the British Case is seriously in error. It makes seven allegations as to this, every one of which is wrong.

1. It states that in 1734 "the most easterly Mission appears to have been Alta Gracia."³ If by this is meant to be implied that Alta Gracia represented the farthest advance of Spanish missions into the region in dispute it is an error; even the British atlas (map 1) shows Cupapuy as over the divide and in the savanna region.

2. In speaking of the year 1746 it says:

"In 1746 the Mission of San Miguel del Palmar seems to have been founded, and in the same year a rumour reached the Dutch as to the progress of the Spanish Missions. It was reported to the Commandeur 'from up the Cuyuni' that the Spaniards had established a Mission above on the said river, and had established a fort there. The Spanish documents which have been above referred to show that the Missions had advanced no nearer than Divina Pastora and Palmar."⁴

The documents referred to fail to show this. The Curumo Mission, which was much further east, was the one which caused the Dutch so much disquietude in this year. Whether it was formally *founded* in 1746 or not, is possibly doubtful; but, whether *founded* or not, it was in existence. It is well known that the preparations for a mission often occupied two or three years, sometimes more, before its formal *foundation*.

¹British Case, p. 41, lines 37-44.

²Maps 27 and 29.

³British Case, p. 39, lines 9, 17-18.

⁴British Case, p. 39, lines 20-29.

Thus a settlement (Tupuquen) was being planned in 1743¹ though not "founded" till February, 1748.² Cunuri was started in 1743, a year before its formal "foundation" in February, 1744.³ Yuruari (Aima or San Joseph de Leonisa) was in June, 1754, already "in a very good state of *restoration*," though not formally *founded* till February, 1755;⁴ and Tumeremo is known to have been in existence for some years before its *founding* in 1788. The *founding* was, in fact, only the formal opening after the equipment with church regalia by the Spanish Governor at the cost of the State; and friction between the friars and civic authorities might cause great delay in this. Governor Marmion expressly complained that he was not promptly informed regarding the new missions.⁵

3. For 1748 the British Case makes this statement:

"In 1748 the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Monseratti del Miamo was founded near the River Miamo, a tributary of the Yuruari. This but slightly advanced the frontier of the Missions, which were still many leagues from the Cuyuni."⁶

This is to ignore altogether, not only Curumo, but also Tupuquen, far down the Yuruari, which latter was founded in this same year.⁷

4, 5 and 6. Referring to the year 1770 the British Case mentions, as frontier missions, Miamo, Carapo, Yuruari, Divina Pastora, and Avechica, and then adds:

"These documents show beyond question that Missions had not come within a long distance of the Cuyuni."⁸

¹Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, pp. 194-195.

²Venezuelan Case, Vol. 3, p. 378.

³Venezuelan Case, Vol. 3, pp. 371, 378.

⁴Venezuelan Case, Vol. 3, p. 426.

⁵Blue Book, Venezuela, No. 3 (1896), pp. 335-336.

⁶British Case, p. 40, lines 8-13.

⁷Venezuelan Case, Vol. 3, p. 378.

⁸British Case, p. 46, lines 39-41.

Spanish Missions

In line with this, and therefore to be considered with it, are the following statements of the British case :

“The foregoing facts show that between the years 1750 and 1770, the Missions had not extended nearer to the Cuyuni than the junction of the Miamo and the Yuruari.”¹

And again :

“It appears from the journal of Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who in 1788 ascended the Curumo from the Cuyuni, that the River Mutanambo enters the Curumo just above the point upon the latter river where the forest of the Cuyuni Valley gives place to the savannah, and that a league higher up he came to what is called specifically ‘the Savannahs of the Curumo.’ This point was reached by De la Puente after eight days’ journey, partly by water, and partly by land, from the mouth of the Curumo. In the map by Cruz Cano y Olmedilla the site of Mutanambo is marked upon the banks of the river of that name some distance above its confluence with the Curumo, and upon the Curumo itself at a corresponding distance above the mouth of the Mutanambo there is marked the site of a Mission to which no name seems given, but which may fairly be supposed to be that of Curumo.

“Upon the whole the evidence as to the situation of these two Missions is conclusive against their having occupied any such positions as those which are marked on the Maps of Storm van’s Gravesande. In estimating the value of the evidence there are two other considerations which must not be lost sight of. In the first place, it is in the highest degree improbable that either of these Missions was beyond the Savannah region. All the other Missions were certainly situated in the savannah, to which alone their organization and economy seem to have been suited. In the second place, the journal of De la Puente distinctly suggests that the lower Curumo was before his time unknown to the Spaniards. He gives it out as a discovery of his own that the channel of the river was navigable throughout its whole course. He himself made the mistake of abandoning his canoes and marching through the forest, where he suffered greatly through the want of provisions.”²

¹ British Case, p. 47, lines 9-12.

² British Case, pp. 41-42, lines 49-50, 1-40.

These various statements ignore altogether the Missions Cunuri, Tupuquen, Mutanambo and Curumo, which were destroyed in 1750¹, to say nothing of Cavallapi, or of the Mission on the Cuyuni itself at the mouth of the Curumo river opposite the site later occupied by the Curumo Fort, or of the other missions in Wenamu, Queribura and Mawakken evidenced by Dutch records.²

The statement regarding De la Puente's expedition and the location of Curumo mission ignores entirely the fact that in 1788 the Capuchin prefect expressly declared that "the site of Curumo was less distant from the Cuyuni"³ than was Tumeremo's; and it ignores also the fact that missions are shown lower down the Curumo by Surville's map. The argument implied by what is said about the location of the savannas would hold also against Tumeremo, if it would hold at all.⁴ As to De la Puente's having made a "discovery of his own that the channel of the river was navigable throughout its whole course," the discovery may indeed have been new to him, but it could hardly have been new to others, for long before his expedition, which was some thirty years after the abandonment of the Mission of Curumo, the Capuchin prefect, Fray Benito de la Garriga, had called official attention to the use of the stream by smugglers and slave traders, and Fray Caulin had made much of this in his history of Guayana.⁵

7. The concluding statement under this head is very sweeping. It is that

"The Mission stations south of the Orinoco, in the neighbourhood of the Yuruari never extended further to the east than Cura and Tumeremo."⁶

¹ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, p. 195.

² U. S. Commission Report, Vol. 2, 370.

³ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, p. 196.

⁴ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, pp. 195-196.

⁵ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, p. 197, note 4.

⁶ British Case, p. 79, lines 3-6.

Spanish Missions. Of course, this is to ignore Mutanambo and some of the others already mentioned, especially Curumo.¹

Closely connected with the question of the missions is the question of the Curumo Fort, the facts regarding which were set forth in the Venezuelan Case, and have already several times been referred to in this Counter-Case. The existence of this fort is denied by Great Britain, although it is admitted that frequent recommendations were made to establish it.²

Curumo fort. In the Appendix to the Case of Venezuela (Vol. III, p. 400), is printed a note appended to a letter of Governor Marmion of July 10, 1788. This same note was mistranslated in the British Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 3," p. 322), where the word *Curumo* appears as *Orinoco*. It is again mistranslated in the Appendix to the British Case, Vol. V, p. 63. In the Appendix to this Counter-Case is printed a photographic copy taken from the original document showing that the name is in fact *Curumo* and not *Orinoco*. Even if *Orinoco* had appeared it would have been a manifest clerical error, as the Cuyuni and Orinoco nowhere meet, and as the "new town" which was projected was in fact the one at the junction of the Cuyuni and Curumo rivers. The British Case, in a footnote on page 58, says:

"The copy of Marmion's Report of 1788, from which these extracts are taken, is stated to have been made by him in 1793. "*Vide* App. V, p. 67."

This statement of the British Case is most important, for it serves to fix the date of the note above quoted and thus to confirm what has before been maintained by Venezuela, that the Curumo Fort was in existence as early at least as 1793. It was the ruins of this very

¹ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, p. 195.

² British Case, p. 47, lines 81-86; p. 59, lines 28-32.

fort, on the *south* side of the Cuyuni river, that Schomburgk saw when he visited the spot in 1843.

Curumo fort.

While, however, all of these facts respecting the location and dates of these missions and of this Curumo Fort are of interest, they are, after all, questions of mere detail. The incorrectness of the British statements regarding them is beyond dispute, and the accuracy of Venezuela's counter-statements rests upon impregnable foundations; but, even so, it can make no difference at all whether Alta Gracia or Cupapuy was the easternmost mission in 1734, or whether the Curumo mission was founded before, during or after 1746, or whether Tumeremo or any other mission was the one nearest the Cuyuni at some other date. Even the Curumo Fort itself is after all nothing more than cumulative evidence of a well-known and at that time well recognized fact, namely, that Spain was mistress of the whole interior. Venezuela does not need for one moment to rest her title to that interior upon the location of her missions or of her forts. That interior was Spain's before ever the first Dutchman rested his eyes on American shores; it was Spain's when, in 1615, Spaniards tilled the soil of the Essequibo for the "Governor of Trinidad and Orinoco;" it was Spain's when, a century and a half later, she expelled the Dutch and their Carib allies from the Cuyuni; it was Spain's when the Dutch finally conveyed to the British "the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice." That interior was discovered by Spain; it was settled by Spain; it was neither discovered nor at any time settled by any other nation; and the whole of it was always under exclusive Spanish control. Under such circumstances one mission or one fort more or less can make no difference at all. It was not necessary that every square foot of ground should be physically

Basis of Spanish title.

Basis of Spanish
title.

occupied by Spain; her title was not that of an intruder upon another's property; it was that of a discoverer and first settler. Therefore it is that the admissions of Great Britain, even if the evidence itself went no further, are counted as sufficient by Venezuela; for, while denying mere details, she admits the main fact. Whether or not Spanish forts and Spanish missions had ever reached or crossed the banks of the Cuyuni, Spanish forts and Spanish missions were erected and maintained in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin, and Dutch intruders were expelled therefrom. This was the history, the admitted history, of that region from the earliest days until the British gold expeditions of 1880—for over two centuries and a half. It is upon that broad fact that Venezuela rests.

V.—POLITICAL CONTROL.

The third chapter of the British Case, entitled *Political Control*, might almost be regarded as a plea in confession and avoidance. The necessity for it on the part of Great Britain constitutes an admission that the facts of occupation are against her.

Introduction.

It will be the purpose of the present chapter to point out how completely the attempt to prove this Political Control fails to supply the need which is thus acknowledged to exist.

The chapter to be examined is divided into three sections, entitled respectively *Dutch Administration*, *British Administration* and *Area Controlled*.

The theory upon which this British claim of *Political Control*, appears to be based, is sufficiently disclosed by the first of these sections. This theory will be considered first, and afterwards the facts alleged in its support will be examined in the order presented by the British Case.

BRITISH THEORY OF POLITICAL CONTROL.

The British theory of political control, so far as is disclosed by the British Case, rests upon certain general propositions which may be summarized under the following heads:

British theory as disclosed by British Case.

1. Dutch trade in Guiana, its nature, regulation, extent and results.
2. Dutch control of timber cutting.
3. Dutch maintenance of the peace.
4. Dutch jurisdiction over Dutch settlers.
5. Dutch protection of and jurisdiction over Indians.

British theory as
disclosed by British
Case.

That the propositions referred to may be presented, as far as possible, in the words of the British Case, the following extracts have been selected as expressive of Great Britain's position with respect to each of these subjects :

Nature of Dutch
trade.

1. As to the nature, regulation, extent and results of Dutch trade:

"The existence in any region of trade carried on by the Dutch *systematically* and *not on sufferance* excludes the idea of Spanish political control, while it naturally, and in fact, *led to* political control by the Dutch. It is from this point of view that it is important to see over what region the Dutch traded *systematically* and *as of right*."¹

Again,

"The trade of the Dutch with the Indians *led* naturally to control by the Company of the territory in which this trade was carried on.

"The Company, under their charter, had a right to a monopoly of trade. By sailing Regulations, issued from 1632 to 1648, they reserved for their own ships the right of visiting the coast to the east of the Orinoco."²

Dutch timber cutting.

2. As to Dutch control of timber cutting:

"Closely connected with trade, but involving still more direct exercise of dominion over the country, is the assertion by the Dutch of the right to control the cutting of timber."³

Dutch "maintenance of the peace."

3. As to maintenance of the Peace:

"As early as the seventeenth century and thenceforward, the Company found it necessary, not only to regulate trade itself, but also to exercise control of a political nature over the district in which trade was carried on. It was imperative that the Indians with whom the trade was carried on should be prevented from making war upon one another, and should be protected from outrage at the hands of Europeans."⁴

¹ British Case, p. 90, lines 17-24.

² British Case, pp. 82-83, lines 47-50, 1-4.

³ British Case, p. 83, lines 31-34.

⁴ British Case, p. 84, lines 41-49.

4. As to Dutch jurisdiction over Dutch settlers :

Dutch jurisdiction
over settlers.

“ The necessity of protecting the Indians from strangers and
 “ from one another gave rise to the exercise of regular jurisdic-
 “ tion by judicial Tribunals, which the Indians themselves be-
 “ came ready to invoke.”¹

5. As to Dutch protection of and jurisdiction over
Indians :Dutch jurisdiction
over Indians.

“ The Company was obliged in very early times to interfere
 “ to protect the natives from the whites.”²

And,

“ While thus exercising criminal jurisdiction over its own set-
 “ tlers on complaint of the Indians, the Court did not hesitate
 “ to deal with crimes committed by the Indians themselves.”³

Again,

“ It was of course essential for the maintenance of police
 “ and justice that the Indian Chiefs should be induced to support
 “ the Dutch Administration, and marks of distinction conferred
 “ on them by the Commandeur became as time went on tokens
 “ that the Chiefs were recognized by the Dutch Government as
 “ men having tribal authority.”⁴

And again,

“ The Dutch considered the Indians of Guiana as their sub-
 “ jects, and the Indians, on their part, looked to the Dutch
 “ Government in the Colony for protection against any ill-treat-
 “ ment at the hands of the Spaniards.”⁵

Many of the extracts which have been given are
 statements of fact rather than propositions regarding
 “ political control”; but, even so, they disclose with con-
 siderable accuracy the grounds upon which Great
 Britain bases her claims to control.

It will thus be seen that trade is made the foundation
 of the whole fabric. It is admitted that trade itself

British theory as
disclosed by British
Case

¹ British Case, p. 85, lines 37-41.

² British Case, p. 85, lines 18-20.

³ British Case, p. 86, lines 14-17.

⁴ British Case, p. 90, lines 7-14.

⁵ British Case, p. 97, lines 23-27.

British theory as
disclosed by British
Case.

did not constitute control, but it is claimed that Dutch trade in the disputed territory *led* to that control. It is admitted that to produce such a result the trade in question must be shown to have been carried on "*systematically and as of right*"; "*systematically and not on sufferance*"; and the allegations regarding charter rights and "sailing regulations" constitute a recognition of the further qualification, that the trade must also be shown to have been a *monopoly*.

The *nature* of the control itself, to which this supposed trade is said to have led, is undefined except that, control of timber cutting, maintenance of the peace, and jurisdiction over both Dutch settlers and Indians, are given as instances of its exercise. It is fair to assume that if *trade*, which merely *led* to control, must be *systematic, as of right, not on sufferance and exclusive*, so also must the resulting *control* partake of each of these qualifications. Upon Great Britain's own statement of her case, therefore, she must prove that the Dutch actually exercised jurisdiction over the whole of the disputed territory; and that that exercise was "*systematic,*" "*as of right*," "*not on sufferance*" and "*exclusive.*" It is safe to say that neither the specific acts which she alleges in her Case nor the evidence which she offers in her Appendices support a single one of these propositions.

A brief examination of the three sections of Chapter III of the British Case will suffice to show the correctness of this statement.

DUTCH ADMINISTRATION.

Following the heads above set forth, the subject of Dutch *trade* will be first considered.

1. DUTCH TRADE.

The Treaty of Münster, as pointed out by the British Case itself¹, forbade Dutch trade to Spanish territory. In preceding chapters it has been shown that at the date of that Treaty all territory west of the Essequibo was Spanish. Dutch trade to that territory was therefore in violation of the Treaty of Münster and could not be carried on "*as of right*." Dutch trade in the *disputed territory* was something which began *after* 1648, and which could therefore receive no sanction from a treaty of that date. The earliest specific instances of such trade which the British Case has ventured to allege are for 1673¹ in the Barima and for 1680 in the interior.²

Dutch trade and the Treaty of Münster.

Possibly to supply some basis for a claim of right to trade, and avowedly as proof of territorial limits and monopoly, the British Case makes repeated appeals to the Charter of the Dutch West India Company and to certain "Sailing Regulations." The following are the passages in which these appeals are made :

Charter and Sailing Regulations.

"The trade of the Dutch with the Indians led naturally to control by the Company of the territory in which this trade was carried on.

"The Company, under their Charter, had a right to a monopoly of trade. By sailing Regulations, issued from 1632 to 1648, they reserved for their own ships the right of visiting the coast to the east of the Orinoco." ³

Also :

"On the 10th August in the same year [1648] the States-General again issued trading regulations more specific than any which had been previously published. By the first Article of these regulations unchartered vessels were forbidden to trade on the Wild Coast, and the mouth of the Orinoco was again made the point at which the liberty to sail and trade granted to vessels

¹ British Case, p. 80.

² British Case, p. 81.

³ British Case, pp. 82-88, lines 47-50, 1-4.

Charter and Sailing
Regulations.

“ other than those belonging to the Chartered Company was to
“ commence :—that is to say, the whole of the coast between the
“ Orinoco and the Amazon was treated as belonging to the West
“ India Company.” ¹

And again :

“ In 1674 a new Chartered Company was formed with the
“ same rights and limits as those possessed by the former Dutch
“ Company.” ²

The fallacy of each of these statements has been fully exposed by Professor Burr in his report to the United States Commission.

The States-General of the Netherlands, by the charter which they granted to the Dutch West India Company in 1621, granted to that Company only such monopoly of trade as it was in their power to grant, to wit, a monopoly against other Dutchmen, not a monopoly against the world. The territorial limits of that monopoly were no less than the whole of North and South America and a good part of Africa. It will hardly be contended that the States-General claimed to control the trade of those continents ; much less can it be maintained, as intimated by the British Case, that the Company was, by virtue of the charter, vested with a monopoly of trade as against other nations. That intimation by the British Case is clear, because only an international monopoly could possibly be made the basis of an international title ; and because, while alleging a monopoly as such basis, the British Case appeals to the Charter, and to it alone, in proof of it.

The so-called “ Sailing Regulations ” of 1632, and others which followed, when they are brought under the light of investigation, vanish as quickly as the Charter. They were not regulations of the Company for its own

¹ British Case, pp. 26-27, lines 43-47, 1-7.

² British Case, p. 28, lines 46-48.

trade, but regulations of the States-General forbidding *Dutch war ships* from visiting the coast of Guiana. It is unnecessary to add that they could not and did not prohibit the vessels of other nations from going there. The trading regulations of 1648, which were drawn up prior to the Treaty of Münster, though promulgated a little later, threw open to free trade the Spanish coast of the Caribbean and the Gulf, and the Orinoco served merely as a point of departure for these, there being still reserved to the Company, not Guiana only, but the entire remaining coast of America and that of West Africa.

-Sailing Regulations.

The British Case concludes that this Regulation treated the whole coast between the Orinoco and the Amazon as belonging to the West India Company; but, as Professor Burr very pertinently says, "were this a territorial claim it would imply Dutch ownership of all America and Africa."¹

The new Charter of 1674 is also appealed to by the British Case, it being alleged that the new company of that year "was formed with the same rights and *limits* as those possessed by the former Dutch Company."²

Charter of 1674.

This is a grave misstatement. The limits of the Company's monopoly were cut down to a small part of "those possessed by the former Dutch Company." On the mainland of America *nothing* was granted except *Essequibo* and *Pomeroon*; and that is why these were specified.³

So far as the new Charter showed any limits at all between the Spanish and the Dutch possessions in Guiana, it showed that the Dutch were limited to "Essequibo and

¹ Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 28.

² British Case, p. 28, lines 46-48.

³ Venezuelan Counter-Case, vol. 2, p. 19, especially foot note: also British Case, App. I, pp. 178-5.

Charter of 1674. Pomeroon;" and if the new Company traded beyond these it did so without authority from the Dutch Government.

So much for the monopoly and territorial limits of Dutch trade on *paper*. Was it in *fact* either *systematic*, or *exclusive* or *as of right* or *not on sufferance*?

Was it systematic?

Dutch coast trade. In support of this, the British Case makes the following allegations with regard to the *coast* trade:

1. That "in 1673 the Dutch were trading to Barima for crab oil."¹ In proof of this it cites the following instance of a single boat going there:

"Peace had been made with the Caribs in Barima and the Arawaks, and they had intercourse with each other, and *he was going to send a boat after carap oil*, intending in the meanwhile to make trial of the linseed oil."²

2. That between 1673 and 1684 "there are several other references in the Dutch Records to trade carried on between Essequibo and this district."³

In proof of this it cites the following instances of Dutch trade:

(a) With the *Spaniards* of Orinoco in 1677.⁴

(b) With the *Spaniards* of Orinoco in 1678.⁵

(c) With the *Spaniards* of Orinoco in 1679.⁶

(d) The proposed "shelter" at Barima in 1683, which was disapproved of by the Company.⁷

(e) The following:

"Just previously Captain Gabriel Bishop, with his barges from Surinam and Berbice, coming into the Barima in order to trade there in annatto, letter-wood, etc., being sur-

¹ British Case, p. 80, lines 34-5.

² British Case, App. I, p. 173.

³ British Case, p. 80, line 36, p. 81, lines 1-2.

⁴ British Case, App. I, p. 181.

⁵ British Case, App. I, p. 181.

⁶ British Case, App. I, p. 182.

⁷ British Case, App. I, pp. 185-6; also Venezuelan Case, Vol. 2, pp. 48-51; also Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, pp. 118-123.

“prised and overtaken by the Caribs aforesaid, he, with fifteen Dutch coast trade.
 “of his men, was slain, and the barque was cut to pieces and
 “sunk to the bottom.”¹

3. That in 1726 the postholder of Wakepo was instructed “*to endeavour* to obtain them (slaves and balsam) in the Aguirre”² in case he was refused permission by the Spaniards to obtain them from “up the Orinoco.” The Aguirre is beyond Great Britain’s extreme claim and is confessedly Venezuelan territory.

4. That “in 1730 a Dutch trader is mentioned in the *Aguirre*.”³

5. That “in 1735, 1754, 1757 and 1760 Dutch traders were in the Barima.”⁴

The incidents referred to in this last allegation are :

(a) That of one Couderas who went to Barima to get slaves for some one else, and who having gotten them ran away “with some Frenchmen from Martinique, *who likewise traded there*.”⁵

(b) That of some “*Surinam* wanderers” who went from the Barima to the Waini.⁶

(c) That mentioned in the following extract :

“Complaints having been repeatedly made *by the Commandant of Orinoco* concerning the evil conduct in Barima of the traders, “or wanderers, *as well from Surinam as from here*, I have written “circumstantially to the *ad interim* Governor there, Mr. I. Nepvew, whose reply is awaited daily.”⁷

(d) That of five Dutchmen from *Surinam* and Essequibo, who were there gathering slaves, and who were forthwith expelled by the Spanish officials.⁸

¹ British Case, App. I, p. 187.

² British Case, p. 81, lines 8-9.

³ British Case, p. 81, lines 10-11.

⁴ British Case, p. 81, lines 11-12.

⁵ British Case, App. II, pp. 20-21.

⁶ British Case, App. II, p. 100.

⁷ British Case, App. II, pp. 131-2.

⁸ British Case, App. II, p. 187.

Dutch coast
trade,

6. That "in 1755, and again in 1758, it was reported to the Spaniards that Dutch and Carib traders were in the habit of passing by the Rivers Aguirre, Barima, and Waini to the territory upon the confines of the Spanish Missions."¹

The citations offered in proof of these irrelevant facts are two :

(a) The first is a document which treats of the movement of the Caribs, and which incidentally mentions two Dutchmen, one *Solomon Percico* said to have gone by the route above mentioned "in order to return to Essequibo" and "the Dutch fugitive" *Nicolas Colart* who "made his escape" that way.²

(b) The second document refers exclusively to slave traders, whose movements, it says, extended to the *Orinoco*, the *Aguirre* and the *Carapo*—all places which were confessedly Spanish—and of whom it says that "they have no fixed time for their journeys, for they come and go whenever they choose."³

7. That "in 1763 Governor Diguja reported that there were no foreigners navigating the Orinoco above Guyana, though below they did so freely,"⁴

What Governor Diguja *did* say is this :

"There are no foreigners navigating the Orinoco, that is, "above Guayana, for at its mouth and up to the neighborhood "of the said fortress they do so freely, *but without being able to* "land in the said provinces, nor do any more trade than the fort- "ress allows, and within the time explained in my note 13 of "my Book of Notes, and without the toleration therein stated, "which is absolutely necessary, they can do nothing."⁵

¹ British Case, p. 81, lines 12-17.

² British Case, App. II, p. 110.

³ British Case, App. II, p. 148.

⁴ British Case, p. 81, lines 18-20.

⁵ British Case, App. III, p. 35.

This, by the way, hardly looks as though, even when the Dutch did trade there, they did so "*as of right*." Dutch coast trade.

8. That it was reported in 1769 that a Dutchman had been domiciled for more than eight years in the *Aguirre* (beyond Great Britain's extreme claim and in confessedly Spanish territory) buying slaves from the Caribs.¹

9. That the Caribs and Arawaks from Barima "served as paddlers and messengers to the Dutch in Essequibo."²

If from these various incidents, which are all that are given by Great Britain to prove *systematic* trading, on the coast, there be excluded all references to Dutch trading or to the presence of Dutchmen (not traders) in territory confessedly Spanish and beyond Great Britain's present extreme claim, also all references to trading directly with Spaniards, and also all references to the *Surinam* Dutch—whose rights are not represented to-day by Great Britain—the following are all that remain :

1. A boat sent to Barima in 1673 for carap-oil.
2. A proposed "shelter" at Barima in 1683 which was disapproved of by the Company.
3. Couderas, who ran away with some slaves.
4. *Surinam* and Essequibo "wanderers," against whose evil conduct in *Barima* the *Spanish* complained.
5. Five *Surinam* and Essequibo Dutchmen who were expelled from Barima by the Spaniards.

These are the incidents which, covering a period of more than two centuries, are alleged and relied on by Great Britain to prove a *systematic* trade which led to political control.

¹ British Case, p. 81, lines 21-24.

² British Case, p. 81, lines 30-31.

Dutch coast trade. It seems hardly necessary to go further and ask whether, in addition to being *systematic*, that trade was also "*exclusive*," or whether it was carried on "*as of right*," and "*not on sufferance*."

The very extracts already cited are quite enough to negative each of these propositions, though additional proof might be indefinitely multiplied. The trade was certainly not *exclusive*, for the *Surinam* Dutch, the French, the English, the Spaniards themselves shared in it, and the Dutch Commandeur in speaking of it said: "I am of opinion that the Honourable Company has the right to trade and traffic there in an open river as much as other private persons."¹

It was certainly not "*as of right*," for it was at times prevented by Spain, and its prevention was acquiesced in by the Dutch. It was certainly "*on sufferance*," for, even when carried on, it was only with the connivance or by the express permission of the Spaniards.

Dutch interior trade. The facts as to the *interior* trade are quite as conclusive against the British contention. The following are the allegations upon which a claim to *systematic* and *exclusive* trading in that region is founded:

1. That between 1680 and 1686,

"Mention is continually made of the disturbance caused to "this trade (which it is implied was well established) by native "wars in those rivers and by the inroads of the French."²

The documents cited to prove the "disturbance" caused by the Indian wars do indeed tend to show that some Dutch trade had theretofore existed somewhere on the Cuyuni, Essequibo and Mazaruni rivers; just where does not appear, but the fact that the three rivers are mentioned together as affected at the same time by these wars would seem to indicate that the disturbance must

¹ British Case, App. I, p. 186.

² British Case, p. 81, lines 37-40.

have been somewhere near their common junction and probably, therefore, below their lowest falls. But while these documents do indeed tend to show in a vague and indefinite way the previous existence of some sort of trade, they also prove conclusively that the Dutch were powerless to carry it on in the face of Indian wars; for, whatever it may have been before those wars, their coming put a stop to it. The following are the extracts cited by the British case:

Dutch interior trade.

"The trade in hammocks and letter-wood has this year not had the desired success, on account of the war between those (i. e. the Indians) of Cuyuni, Essequibo, and Mazaruni, and the Accoways who live up country; and we have repeatedly, with many but fruitless arguments, tried to *persuade* the highest Chief to make peace with the aforesaid nation, to that end offering axes and other wares. *They even threatened*, if we would not let them continue the war, to depart in great numbers to Barima and elsewhere. These being the most important traders in dye I was, to my sorrow, *compelled to desist*; and hereby the River Cuyuni, our provision Chamber, is closed."¹

And,

"By reason of the *Accoway war in Cuyuni*, of which you have heard, the trade in hammocks, especially in new ones, has resulted badly, for *no one dares to trust himself among that faithless tribe*, so that no more than six common ones could be sent."²

But, however these extracts may serve to disprove the British contention regarding the freedom of Dutch trade (and incidentally also that other contention, to be considered later, that the Dutch *controlled* the Indians), the other extracts regarding the "inroads of the French" leave the theory of *exclusiveness* and *monopoly* nothing to stand on. It was not of French soldiers but of

¹ British Case, App. I, p. 183.

² British Case, App. I, p. 184.

Dutch interior French *traders* that the Dutch complained. The cause trade. of the *disturbance* to the Dutch trade was that,

"The French in the Barima come and fetch them (hammocks) even as far as up in the Cuyuni."¹

And that,

"All that he has been able to obtain is a little balsam oil and
"hammocks, because the French are making expeditions through
"the country up there in order to buy up everything."²

2. That in 1703 there was a trading post in the Savannah, high up on the Cuyuni. The facts as to this post have been very fully stated by Venezuela in her Case.³ If the post was ever established, which is very doubtful, it lasted for but a few weeks: its purpose was to trade in horses, and when the Spaniards prohibited that trade it came to an end.

3. That "in 1686 there is mentioned an annatto store in the Massaruni, and in 1699 there is notice of a similar store on the Cuyuni."⁴

What may be meant by an annatto "store" is nowhere disclosed, but the location of the "store" could not have been very far away, for the mention of it here is in connection with a proposition made by the Dutch Commandeur to the Indians,

"that if they had war in their minds, they should make war
"far away in Mazaruni and moreover inland against their com-
"mon enemy, not against their and our friends *who dwelt close*
"by the Caribs and the annatto store, who had always been their
"friends."⁵

The reference to a "dye store" in the Cuyuni is so vague as to leave one entirely in the dark as to its character, though the connection in which it is mentioned

¹ British Case, App. I, p. 188.

² British Case, App. I, p. 201.

³ Venezuelan Case, Vol. 2, p. 96.

⁴ British Case, p. 81, lines 47-49.

⁵ British Case, App. I, p. 202.

furnishes ground for believing that it too was "close by," ^{Dutch interior trade.} for it is referred to as a starting point for traders about to go up the Cuyuni to buy horses¹

4. That in 1758 "Dutch merchants" resided in Tucupo, Capi and Paraman.² The only one of these places in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin was Tucupo, a tributary of the Curumo. It will be remembered that 1758 was the year in which the Spaniards destroyed the first regular trading post that the Dutch attempted to establish on the Cuyuni. The Dutch postholder was captured and kept a prisoner by the Spaniards against the unavailing remonstrances of the Dutch, and the Dutch themselves were so thoroughly scared that not until eight years had passed did they venture to try another post lower down the river and nearer their own settlements. It seems most unlikely, therefore, that any "Dutch *merchants*" should have been "*residing*" in Tucupo at that time; and indeed the citation given to support the allegation warrants nothing more than the statement that Dutch slave traders or slave catchers—possibly some of those very Dutchmen who disguised themselves as Indians—went at times to that river, just as they went to Paragua and to other places confessedly Spanish.

5. That "in 1769 the Dutch were also settled very high up the Cuyuni, close to the mouth of the Curumo."³ The authority for this statement is a letter of Fray Benito de la Garriga dated in 1769. The reference which he makes, to "Dutchmen⁴ who had settled very high up the Cuyuni, close to the mouth of the Curumo," is while speaking of the year 1758. Profes-

¹British Case, App. I, p. 216.

²British Case, p. 82, lines 11-18.

³British Case, p. 82, lines 13-15.

⁴The translation of this passage as given in the Appendix to the British Case, Vol. iv, p. 28, is incorrect; the Spanish word *Olandeses*, which means *Dutchmen* being there translated *Dutch families*.

Dutch interior
trade.

sor Burr in reviewing the events of that year considered this letter in connection with much other evidence bearing on the subject, and his conclusion that this reference of Fray Benito was to slave catchers who were supposed to be sojourning near the Curumo, is doubtless correct. One thing is very certain, and that is that even slave catchers, if they were really there, cleared out very quickly, for the Spanish expedition of 1758 failed to find them.¹

In résumé the grounds upon which Great Britain bases a claim to a *systematic* and *exclusive* trade in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni valley are the following :

1. That about 1680 the Indians, because the Dutch were unable to control them, put a stop to a trade theretofore supposed to exist.
2. That in 1683-86 the French traders were successfully competing with the Dutch traders in the Cuyuni.
3. That there was an "annatto store" somewhere in the Mazaruni in 1686, and a "dye store" somewhere in the Cuyuni in 1699.
4. That for a few weeks in 1703 there was a post somewhere in the Pariacot Savannah for trading in horses, a trade which lasted during the pleasure of the Spaniards, and which came to an end when the Spaniards prohibited it.
5. That in 1758 some Dutch slave traders managed to be about the Tucupo river notwithstanding the destruction of the Dutch post on the Cuyuni in that year and the arrest of the Dutch postholder.
6. That the same year other slave traders, whom the Spanish expedition failed to find, were sojourning near the mouth of the Curumo.

¹Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, pp. 163-164.

This is the Dutch trade which is stated to have *led* to Dutch political control of the interior. Dutch interior trade.

Before passing to the consideration of the general facts upon which this subsequent alleged *political* control is supposed to be based, the British Case, in proof of Dutch control of *trade*, cites certain other facts which are full of significance, and which therefore merit attention. Dutch control of trade.

It is stated by the British Case that,

"Permission to pass the (Wakepo) Post was only given to those who had passports." Dutch passes.

Also that,

"In 1719, a form of pass was settled which bound the bearer not to go beyond the Spanish fort on the Orinoco without permission of the Governor there."

And again that,

"The pass system was applied to Indians as well as colonists and slaves; thus a pass was issued to a Carib Chief permitting him to go to Barima, which pass was given up to the Commander of Essequibo by the Chief on his return."

Also that,

"A similar pass was issued by the Commandeur of Demerara permitting a Carib Chief of Essequibo, to go to *Berbice* and back, and another by the Commandeur of Essequibo permitting an Indian to go to the coast of that Colony, and to pass the post of Moruka."

The significance of this pass system seems to Venezuela to be quite different from that which is attributed to it by Great Britain. It will be noticed in the allegations above quoted that a pass was required to go from Essequibo to *Berbice*. So in the following passage referred to by the British Case:

"Both from English captains leaving the Essequibo (formerly

¹British Case, p. 87, lines 41-2.

²British Case, p. 87, lines 46-49.

³British Case, p. 88, lines 8-12.

⁴British Case, p. 88, lines 12-19.

Dutch passes.

“the Colony) in their barques or vessels and from private individuals the Governor receives for a pass 7 guilder 10 st.”¹

It is plain that the purpose of the pass was to allow the bearer to *leave the colony*.

The form of pass which is alluded to as having been adopted in 1719 confirms this, for it says:

“We, Pieter van der Heyden Rezen, Commandeur of the Colony and adjacent Rivers of Essequibo, in the name of the Directors of the General Chartered West India Company, in the Assembly of Ten,

“Do give full permission to one N., a free inhabitant of this Colony, to *depart from this Colony* with his canoe and accompanying men to Rio Orinoco, and from there again hither.”²

This *declared* purpose of passes proves that when they were presented at a post it was because the bearer was *at that point* leaving the recognized limits of the Colony: this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the most important object of the posts was to prevent runaway slaves from going beyond them and thus escaping from the Colony. That in the granting of passes to go beyond the Moruca post the Barima was not regarded as a part of the Essequibo colony is shown by the letter of the Dutch Governor Storm van s' Gravesande to the Governor of Surinam, dated August 18, 1764, wherein he says:

“Whilst on this subject I take the liberty to inform your Excellency that mentioning the *River Barima* in those passes causes complaints from the Spaniards, who, maintaining that the river belongs to them, *in which I believe they are right*, some of these passes have already been sent to the Court of Spain.”³

Posts as frontiers.

Other evidence that the posts were regarded as the

¹British Case, App. IV, p. 123.

²British Case, App. I, p. 251.

³British Case, App. III, p. 114.

frontiers of the colony is furnished by the British Case itself when it says that,

Posts as frontiers.

"In 1790 the Postholders are described as 'employés' on the "frontier to foster the good understanding with the Indians ;"¹

and that the Moruca post was itself regarded as such frontier on the northwest is evidenced by the further statement, that,

"In 1737 the Commandeur reported that, though the trade at Wakepo and Moruca was no longer remunerative, the Post "must, nevertheless, be kept up because it was established *for the "maintenance of the Company's frontiers stretching towards the "Orinoco."*"²

Of equal significance in this connection is that projected but never completed road of Ignace Courthial through the Cuyuni forests by which it was proposed to bring cattle and horses to the Essequibo colony, and to charge an import duty upon them *payable at a post* to be established on the road itself.³

So it appears that these various facts alleged by Great Britain to prove a control beyond the posts, are facts which prove just the reverse: those posts were regarded and treated as posts on the frontier marking the limits of the Colony itself. Of course it should be added that the treatment of the Moruca, or the Wakepo or the Pomeroon as the actual limit of the Dutch colony, whilst binding upon the Dutch and upon their successors the British, cannot operate to bar the rights of Spain or of Venezuela as Spain's successor. Spain's claim, and Venezuela's, has always consistently gone all the way to the Essequibo; and if the district between the Moruca and the Essequibo seems to have been more effectually squatted upon by the Dutch and British

Spain's claim.

¹ British Case, p. 89, lines 34-36.

² British Case, p. 89, lines 25-30.

³ British Case, App. II, p. 44.

Spain's claim.

than the region to the west of the Moruca, none the less was that squatting a usurpation of Spanish and Venezuelan territory and a violation of treaty stipulations. So also with regard to the upper Essequibo: little attention has been paid to that region in this Counter-Case, because the only facts brought forward to defeat the title which vested in Spain when she discovered and settled the Essequibo are allegations of trade and control; and these have even less foundation than similar allegations respecting the Barima-Waini region and the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin.

Evidences of
Dutch control.

But to pass to the evidence of Dutch control.

The Dutch control which *grew out of this trade* is claimed to be evidenced by control over timber cutting, by maintenance of the peace, and by jurisdiction over both Dutch settlers and Indians.

How far are these general allegations in keeping with the specific acts alleged in support of each, and with the evidence submitted?

2. DUTCH CONTROL OF TIMBER CUTTING.

Timber cutting.

The allegations as to this control for the coast region west of the Moruca are two only. It is stated that,

"Permission to cut timber in Waini was given in 1754, and in 1756 a similar application was entertained."¹

And that,

"In 1766 there was a man cutting cedar-wood in Barima on account of Mr. Knott."²

To these should probably be added a third, which is that,

"In 1803, the Dutch, who had resumed possession of the Colony in 1802, proposed to make regulations for the protection of the timber, and for making grants for lumbering in Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima."³

¹ British Case, p. 84, lines 5-7.

² British Case, p. 84, lines 21-22.

³ British Case, p. 84, lines 36-40.

This last allegation is much too strong for the evidence cited in its support, but under the circumstances that is a matter of little moment. The important thing to note is that, in proof of Dutch control of timber cutting during a period of two centuries, Great Britain alleges that one man got permission once to cut in Waini; that another asked for a similar permission, but evidently did not get it; that with or without permission, once during these two centuries, a Dutchman actually cut some wood in Barima; and that at the close of the two centuries there was some sort of indefinite "proposal" about protecting timber; a "proposal" which, as a matter of fact, was a mere *suggestion* by a single individual and which ended in nothing.¹ Of course it is not pretended that Spain had any knowledge of any of this Dutch "timber control."

Timber cutting.

For the interior, the allegations are also two, namely, that,

"Before 1706 the cutting of timber above the falls in Cuyuni "had become a common occurrence."²

And that,

"In 1735 leave was given to the Company's Director to fell "timber in Cuyuni for private building purposes."³

Both of these allegations could well be true without going very far to prove that the Dutch for two centuries controlled all the timber cutting in the disputed territory.

3. DUTCH MAINTENANCE OF THE PEACE.

The next evidence of political control by the Dutch is stated in the marginal heading to a paragraph of the British Case to be *Maintenance of the Peace*. The allegation under this heading is as follows:

Maintenance of
the Peace.

¹ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 8, document numbered 184.

² British Case, p. 83, lines 40-42.

³ British Case, p. 84, lines 8-5.

Maintenance of
the Peace.

“As early as the seventeenth century and thenceforward, the Company found it necessary, not only to regulate trade itself, but also to exercise control of a political nature over the district in which trade was carried on. It was imperative that the Indians with whom the trade was carried on should be prevented from making war upon one another, and should be protected from outrage at the hands of Europeans.”¹

The first instance given of the exercise of this controlling power is that,

“In 1680 and 1683, the Company’s negro traders are found *endeavoring* to put an end to a native war between the Indians of Cuyuni, Essequibo, and Massaruni, and the Akawois, who lived in the country above.”²

This *endeavor* it will be remembered was a signal failure: the passage proving it has already been quoted, but may be profitably repeated: it is as follows:

“The trade in hammocks and letter-wood has this year not had the desired success, on account of the war between those (*i. e.*, the Indians) of Cuyuni, Essequibo, and Mazaruni, and the Accoways who live up country; and we have repeatedly, with many but fruitless arguments, tried to *persuade* the highest Chief to make peace with the aforesaid nation, to that end *offering* axes and other wares. They even threatened, if we would not let them continue the war, to depart in great numbers to *Barima*³ and elsewhere. These being the most important traders in dye, I was, to my sorrow, compelled to desist; and hereby the River Cuyuni, our provision chamber, is closed. In addition, we lately have been embittered by the death of Gilles, an old negro of the Company, recently poisoned up in the Cuyuni, as the Caribs pretended, by the Accoways. On that account the aforesaid old negroes have become afraid to have intercourse with that tribe; I shall, however, bethink me of means for *conciliating* that tribe.”⁴

¹British Case, p. 84, lines 41–49.

²British Case, p. 84, line 50; p. 85, lines 1–4.

³Evidently Barima was regarded as not a part of the Colony.

⁴British Case, App. I, pp. 183–4.

The second instance given to prove Dutch *Maintenance of the Peace* has little, if any, more evidence to support it. The allegation is as follows:

Maintenance of
the Peace.

"In 1686, the chief Captain of the Caribs in Massaruni sent word to the Dutch Government that disturbances had broken out in that river, and that the supply of dye would consequently be short. Upon this occasion also the Commandeur used his influence to prevent a continuance of disorder."¹

The proof cited in support of this is as follows:

"And Jacob, the Company's old negro, also reports that when Makourawacke, with his tribe, were wishing to go to war with the Akuwayas up in Demerara, they were then dissuaded from the war by the Commander aforesaid, and advised to go and salt pork above in the Mazaruni River with Jotte aforesaid, for which purpose a cask of salt was sent to him by the Sergeant; but that if they had war in their minds, they should make war far away in Mazaruni and moreover inland against their common enemy, not against their and our friends who dwelt close by the Caribs and the annatto store, who had always been their friends. *This the aforesaid Makourawacke would not comply with*, and this is the chief and most principal cause of this misfortune, which now falls upon the innocent."²

The third instance alleged is that,

"In 1765 the Postholder of Arinda intervened and restored peace between two tribes on the Rupununi."³

The document cited in proof of this contains the instructions given to the Dutch Commandant. These throw much light on the attitude of the Dutch at that time as guardians of the peace. They are given in the following paragraph:

"But in the meanwhile the Assistant of Arinda having arrived with a written Report from the Postholder, in which he informs me of this matter, I, finding that it was not so bad as had been thought, although at bottom perfectly true, set out

¹British Case, p. 85, lines 4-10.

²British Case, App. I, p. 202.

³British Case, p. 85, lines 11-18.

Maintenance of the Peace. of "upon my journey, leaving Commandant Bakker written instructions to send me immediate reports of any events of importance, and in case he should be compelled by the danger of the settlers up the river to send any soldiers there, to give the commanding subaltern strict orders to act simply on the defensive, and not to interfere directly or indirectly in the quarrels of the Indians, nor yet to allow himself to be induced on any account to undertake any attack. I also impressed upon the planters the desirability of remaining perfectly neutral in this war."¹

The last and the only real instance of control given by the British Case relates to a Carib chief in Mazaruni in 1766 who had invited some Spanish Indians to come to Essequibo and there attack the Accoways. This chief, who evidently lived within or very near the Dutch Colony, was rebuked by the Dutch Commandeur for his acts. But this solitary instance of control over an Indian at the very door of the Dutch Colony can hardly support a claim that the Dutch *maintained the peace*, throughout the disputed territory for two centuries, especially as all the other evidence cited in support of the claim proves conclusively that they did not and could not maintain it, but that in spite of Dutch prayers, and Dutch bribes, the Indians continued their fighting, thereby causing the Dutch Commandeur to exclaim that,

"hereby the River Cuyuni, our provision chamber, is closed."²

A review of all the evidence on this subject shows that wherever any effort was made by the Dutch to keep the peace among the Indians, it was not from a sense of duty to maintain the peace of the community, as in the settlements, but to keep the tribes from war because war interfered with Dutch trade. This same motive has many times induced one of the civilized

¹British Case, App. I, p. 120.

²British Case, App. I, p. 188.

nations to make representations to another nation in the interest of peace, because the trade of the first was likely to be injured by war. Efforts of that sort, so far from evidencing political control, are a confession that there is no political control at all; that advice and not force is the only right and duty. Presents and persuasions are a confession of a liberty to reject both, and the evidence submitted by Great Britain herself shows that this liberty was used by the tribes. The Dutch gave explicit instructions not to allow their officers and soldiers to interfere in the quarrels of the Indians, but to remain neutral: but neutrality and sovereignty are quite irreconcilable, as applied to the same territory or people.

Maintenance of
the Peace.

4. JURISDICTION OVER DUTCH SETTLERS AND INDIANS.

Jurisdiction over both Dutch settlers and Indians is the next and final allegation in support of the claim that the Dutch exercised *political* control over the entire disputed territory.

As regards the Dutch *settlers*, the subject may be dismissed in a very few words.

Jurisdiction over
Settlers.

Four cases are cited by the British Case where Dutchmen were brought to account before the regular Court of Justice of the Essequibo colony for ill-treatment of Indians. The localities where the acts are stated to have taken place are matters of no moment whatever. The action of the Dutch authorities is sufficiently explained by the fact that it was the policy of the Company to court the friendship of the Indians, that an important aid to this was proper treatment of these Indians by Dutchmen wherever they might meet, and that on various occasions when Dutchmen transgressed this rule they were reprimanded or punished. The territorial question never arose. It was always an exercise of

Jurisdiction over
Settlers.

jurisdiction over Dutchmen *because they were Dutchmen*, not because they were persons transgressing Dutch laws on *Dutch territory*.

In may be added that the Dutchmen punished for offenses against the Indians were either agents of the Essequibo government, or traders licensed by them; and the reports of the cases plainly show that the offenses were not regarded as local, but as against the peace of the colony in Essequibo, in that these acts of violence put the colony in jeopardy. It is not simply that an Indian was killed or maltreated at a particular point, but it was particularly—indeed almost wholly—that the act was likely to call down Indian vengeance upon the colony. By reason of the cases which occurred in the upper Essequibo, the Director-General, feeling his inability to keep the peace there—showing the entire absence of political control—closed the river to trade, as appears in the cases of Jan Stok¹ and Maillard.² This remedy is a confession not only that the Dutch did not control the Indians, but that they could not control their own traders who went in there.

In line with the above it may be well to anticipate for a moment a few facts touching Dutch jurisdiction over the *Indians*—a subject which will presently be treated more fully.

The case of Maillard, just referred to, shows that the Dutch did not attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the Indians, but only over Dutchmen. In that case the Indians who did the killing of which Maillard was acquitted, were not proceeded against at all. So in the case of Marichal;³ the Carib chief who appeared before the Court and confessed to having made the attack

¹ British Case, App. II, p. 64.

² British Case, App. II, p. 105.

³ British Case, App. II, p. 128.

upon the Accoways, of which Marichal was accused—
 saying he had done so at the instigation of Marichal—
 was not proceeded against at all, though he said before
 the Court, "*I committed the deed.*" The Court found
 that Marichal had not instigated him to do the deed,
 acquitted the Dutch colonist and took no notice what-
 ever of the confessed crime of the Carib chief.

Jurisdiction over
Settlers.

The case of the Indian Joris, in 1783, might seem to
 be a case where the Dutch had taken jurisdiction to try
 an Indian, but it was for killing a white man. The
 Indian is spoken of as "formerly residing" on a planta-
 tion, and still earlier "at Fort Zeelandia." The crime
 was committed on the creek Wackepoey, and on the
 river Baurom, upon a colonist, the person killed being
 a Dutchman; so that this case fails to show any control
 over the wild tribes, and indeed is probably to be
 classed with the cases where Dutchmen were punished
 because they were Dutchmen. The crime of the
 Indian here is punished because it was committed on a
 Dutchman.

The question of Dutch jurisdiction over *Indians* will
 now be considered more fully. It is somewhat more
 complicated than the question of jurisdiction over
 Dutchmen, because the relations themselves between
 the Dutch and the Indians were more complex. A
 brief consideration of the subject, however, will
 suffice to show that, except over the Indians living
 in the Colony itself, or in the immediate vicinity of
 the posts, the Dutch authorities exercised no political
 control whatever; and that, even over the Indians at
 the posts, such control as was exercised depended
 largely, if not entirely, on the permission of the Indians
 themselves.

Jurisdiction over
Indians.

¹ British Case, App. V, p. 8.

Jurisdiction over
Indians.

In order that the significance of the facts alleged in this connection by the British Case may be properly appreciated, a word of introduction is here necessary.

The extent of Dutch occupation has been considered and disposed of. It has been shown that it was limited to the banks of the Essequibo, and that it left the whole of the disputed territory beyond those banks untouched. Therefore it is, that the British Case has appealed to Dutch *trade*, claiming that *this* led to political control. The fact of such control it has sought to prove by acts of timber cutting and by jurisdiction exercised over Dutch "settlers." These acts and this alleged exercise of jurisdiction have been shown to be signally insufficient to prove any such control. The final line of defense is now reached. Dutch political control over the disputed territory is now to be proved by control over Indians alleged to have inhabited that territory, and so through these Indians a Dutch title to the land itself is to be made out.

If it were possible to prove, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, that the Indians had consented to accept the Dutch control and that the Dutch exercised it, Venezuela considers, and will claim, that it could form no foundation whatever for a territorial title. As to such right or title, claimed to be derived by the Dutch or British, either directly or by implication, from or through the Indian tribes, it will be contended *first*, that these tribes were wanderers, and had not even possessory titles to any defined territories; *second*, that by the law of nations and the universal practice of all European states the American tribes having distinct territorial bounds had only a possessory right to the lands occupied, and that this right they were incapable to transfer except to a nation that had already, by dis-

covery or other acts necessary to the appropriation of wild lands, obtained the ultimate title to such lands — such nation having an exclusive right to extinguish the possessory right of the tribes; *third*, that what such tribes could not do by deed or treaty of cession, much less could they do by any submission or alliance; that the prior right of Spain could not be diminished or affected by any other power by virtue of any acts or submissions of the tribes; *fourth*, that such acts and submissions of the tribes were equally ineffectual to extend the political control of the Dutch or the British.

Jurisdiction over
Indians.

A final discussion of this point will be reserved for a later stage of the controversy; for the present it is sufficient to state Venezuela's attitude towards this claim of Great Britain.

While denying the efficacy of such Indian control, even if its existence could be proved, an examination of the facts alleged to prove it and of the evidence cited in support of those facts will serve to show that the claim has as little foundation in fact as it has in law.

It will readily be admitted that if a title to land is to be based upon such control of its Indian occupants, it should at least be shown that the land in question was in fact occupied by those Indians, and that such occupancy was permanent and not merely that of nomadic tribes. It appears, however, to be admitted by the British Case that the Indians in question were in fact wanderers; and no serious effort is made to prove that any particular tribe occupied any specified territory for any specified length of time.

Indians as no-
madic tribes.

The following statements of the British Case are important in this connection :

“The principal Indian tribes *inhabiting the territory known as*

Indians as nomadic tribes.

*“Guiana were the Caribs, etc., etc. * * * What precise localities this tribe (Macusis) occupied it is difficult to trace, but in the year 1833, when their numbers had become greatly reduced, they were found at the head-waters of the Essequibo. Mention must also be made of the Panacays, who appear to have lived in the neighbourhood of the Upper Cuyuni, and of the Pariacots, who seem also to have inhabited the same district.”*

*“Of the above tribes, by far the most numerous and powerful throughout the whole period of the Dutch occupation of Guiana was the Carib nation. * * * in the early days of the Colony the Caribs, surpassing as they did all other nations in personal bravery, were the great freebooters on all the coast from the Island of Trinidad to the mouth of the Amazon.”*

“In the interior of Guiana they were found on the Upper Essequibo, the Massaruni, the Upper Cuyuni, the Pomeroon, and the Barima, and they ranged at will through the forest region.”

*“Next in importance to the Caribs were the Akawois. No fixed limits are indicated for the area of Akawoi settlement in earlier times. * * * It is probable that this nation, like that of the Caribs, was nomadic in its habits, and was to be found scattered throughout the Dutch Colonies of Essequibo, Berbice and Surinam.”*

*“Next in importance to the Akawois, was the tribe known as the Arawak nation, * * * The Arawaks had for many years been united to the Dutch and incorporated in their Colonies both in relationship and other ties. * * * No precise locality can be indicated as their usual place of abode.”¹*

Yet these are the Indians through whom Great Britain claims a territory definite in extent and limited on the west by a clearly defined boundary line.

From the admissions above quoted it would seem to be more logical to conclude that if the Essequibo Dutch did in fact control these Indians, and if title could be derived from such control, the title of Great Britain to-day should include not only the region between the

¹ British Case, pp. 9-11.

Essequibo and the Orinoco, but at least the whole of Guiana, and possibly much more. Indians as nomadic tribes.

The only escape from this so far reaching conclusion is had by assuming that the Dutch did not control *all* but merely *some* of these Indians. This would certainly be nearer the truth, for it is well known that the Spaniards controlled many of them, a number of the Capuchin Missions being made up of Caribs and of Accoways. But if this limitation be admitted, it still remains to be proved that this Dutch control of *some* Indians was a control of *all* who occupied the region between the Essequibo and the limit of the British claim. But here again the fact that, on Great Britain's own admission, the Caribs and the Akawois were "nomadic", and that as regards the Arawaks "no precise locality can be indicated as their usual place of abode," would seem to make such proof impossible. The fact is that no such general control was ever exercised, either with the consent of the Indians or otherwise; and even the British Case, while it contains general allegations to the contrary, itself furnishes abundant evidence to disprove such allegations. The only Indians who ever came under any sort of Dutch control were the Indians who were settled within the Colony, or who were collected about the posts. Indians controlled near posts. This must be evident from the following statements of the British Case:

"The permission to trade with the Indians *at and near the Post* gave the Postholders exceptional facilities for cultivating friendly relations with those tribes, and for ensuring their maintenance when established. It was their duty to maintain order among the Indians at the Post."¹

"The provisional instructions issued in 1766 to Pierre Martyn, the Postholder in the Upper Cuyuni, directed him to take care that the free Indians were not molested or ill-treated, but to

¹ British Case, p. 88, lines 20-25.

Indians controlled near posts.

“endeavour, as much as possible, *to attract them to the Post, and to protect those residing in the neighborhood.*”¹

“The Postholder of Moruka was directed by the 5th Article of his instructions to treat all Indians properly; to enrol, and *“take into protection about the Post, as many of them as his means would allow.”*”²

The following extract is peculiarly significant because it is through the *Postholder* that the control is alleged to have been exercised:

“It may be noted that in these last instructions *the Postholder was prohibited from leaving the Post* for the purpose of trading, the object being to *ensure his attendance at the Post, and to attract the Indians to its neighbourhood.*”³

Yet this is the Postholder alleged to have represented Dutch authority at Barima 150 miles away from the post which he was forbidden to leave. The following are further statements along the same line, also taken from the British Case itself:

“In 1784 the West India Company observing that the Indians “were withdrawing more and more *from the neighbourhood* of the “white settlers (a fact probably due to the disturbances in the “Colony owing to its capture and occupation first by Great “Britain and then by France) directed, etc.”⁴

And,

“The object of these presents was to insure the assistance of “the tribes in case of negro revolt, and to attract them *to the neighbourhood of the Dutch Posts.*”⁵

Also,

“The Post of Moruka was the station most suitable for intercepting deserters by the coast routes. Accordingly, houses “were built there for the Arawaks, and *around the Post* was “settled a permanent body of Caribs, Warows, and Arawaks to “the number of 600 or 700. * * * *These Indians were sub-*

¹ British Case, p. 88, lines 46-51; p. 89, line 1.

² British Case, p. 89, lines 6-10.

³ British Case, p. 89, lines 12-17.

⁴ British Case, p. 91, lines 30-36.

⁵ British Case, p. 92, lines 7-10.

“jected to discipline and organization of a simple kind, and ^{Indians controlled near posts.} *their presence* added to the importance of *the Post*.”¹

And again,

“In 1755 the Panacays settled *in the neighbourhood of the Cuyuni Post* to prevent the encroachments of the Spaniards.”²

These extracts from the British Case show that the Indians which are claimed to have been controlled by the Dutch were Indians living *at or near the Posts and settlements*, not the Indians who might be roaming some hundreds of miles away near the limits of the British claim.

These extracts serve still another purpose. With the exception of the case of a Carib Chief from Barima who is alleged to have been “*summoned*” before the Dutch Council in 1755, and of two cases in the neighborhood of the Moruca posts, these extracts contain a complete statement of all the specific instances of supposed Dutch jurisdiction over Indians which are cited by Great Britain to prove the exercise of that jurisdiction. ^{Indians invited not summoned.}

The evidence cited in proof of the *summoning* of the Carib Chief from Barima is as follows :

“Moreover, the Council has sent to Barima a certain An. Christiaansen to *invite* hither the Chief of the Caribs who murdered the Acuways in Mazaruni, to be present at the Session for January next, that we may learn from the same who have been the causers and inciters thereof, so that I think this tumult will now be greatly allayed.”³

It appears, therefore, that if the Pomeroon-Moruca region be excepted, the entire case of Great Britain, so far as it rests upon Dutch jurisdiction over Indians is founded upon an *invitation* sent in 1755 to a Carib Chief of Barima to be present at a meeting of the Council for the purpose of giving it information,

¹ British Case, p. 93, lines 16-27.

² British Case, p. 95, lines 28-30.

³ British Case, App. II, p. 128.

Indians *invited*
not *summoned*.

and upon the control of such Indians as may for a short time have been about the Dutch posts in the Cuyuni river; posts, it will be remembered, which came to an end because of Spanish control in that quarter. This is the Dutch jurisdiction which for two centuries is supposed to have been exercised over Indians from the Moruca to the Orinoco on the coast, and from Kykoveral to the junction of the Yuruari and Cuyuni in the interior.

No systematic exercise of jurisdiction.

In this connection the British Case contains a singular admission. It says:

"In British times the Postholders travelled largely through the districts round their Posts and exercised magisterial functions. *"During the Dutch period it does not appear that they habitually did so."*¹

If the word "habitually" were left out, this statement, which even as it stands, constitutes a complete surrender of any claim to *systematic* exercise of Dutch jurisdiction, would be actually true.

That the Dutch exercised no jurisdiction over the Indians beyond these posts seems clear. That they had some sort of relation with those Indians is, however, equally plain. The question remains, what was the nature of that relation?

A few extracts from the British Case will make this plain.

No Dutch authority over Indians.

Some of those already given show that in order to secure the attendance of Indian Chiefs in Essequibo, *invitations*, not *summonses*, were sent to them. The British Case makes a number of references to what it calls the *summoning* of these Chiefs; but, as in the case of the Barima Chief who was alleged to have been *summoned*, and who turned out to have been merely

¹ British Case, p. 89, lines 37-41.

invited, each of these alleged cases of "summonses" will be found to be unsupported by the evidence. No Dutch authority over Indians.

The fact that Indians were thus *invited* and not *summoned* is a first indication as to the real nature of Dutch-Indian relations. It shows that the Dutch did not assume over the Indians that *command* which is an essential element of sovereignty. This attitude of the Dutch toward the Indians is emphasized by the following extracts from the British Case :

"In 1680 and 1683, the Company's negro traders are found "*endeavoring* to put an end to a native war."¹

and,

"Upon this occasion also the Commander *used his influence* to "*prevent a continuance of disorder.*"²

also,

"The Commandeur of Essequibo at once gave directions to "the Postholder of Arinda to *induce* the Caribs in the neighborhood of that Post to take up arms."³

and again,

"The Governor of Berbice *having expressed a wish* for their "*assistance*, the Caribs of Barima, etc."⁴

And many more to the same effect, both in the British Case itself and in its Appendices.

This manner of dealing with the Indians implies a state of *friendship* rather than a condition of *allegiance* or *servitude*. This was in fact what was sought by the Dutch and what actually at times existed. It was a friendship without any *obligation* to assist on the part of the Indians. It was an *alliance* for the mutual benefit of *both* without any thought on the part of the Indians that they were surrendering their freedom or that they were recognizing Dutch sovereignty. The evidence Dutch-Indian friendship.

¹British Case, p. 84, line 50 ; p. 85, lines 1-2.

²British Case, p. 85, lines 8-10.

³British Case, p. 94, lines 15-18.

⁴British Case, p. 94, lines 30-32.

Dutch-Indian which might be cited in support of these statements
friendship.

from the very documents submitted by Great Britain is overwhelming. For the present, the statements of the British Case itself are quite sufficient. These are some of them :

“The permission to trade with the Indians at and near the Post gave the Postholders exceptional facilities for cultivating *friendly relations* with those tribes.”¹

“The instructions to the Postholder at Arinda issued in 1764, provided that he should try to maintain and cultivate *friendly* and *peaceable relations* with the Indian nations.”²

“In 1790 the Postholders are described as ‘employés on the frontier to foster the good understanding with the Indians’.”³

“The West India Company * * * directed * * * a notification to be given to the effect that the Dutch * * * *desired to live on more friendly terms* with them.”⁴

“In 1775 the Director-General wrote that the only use of the Post of Arinda was to *conciliate* the Indians.”⁵

It was to foster this sort of *friendship* that the Dutch made presents to the Indians ; and it was in that spirit that the Indians themselves accepted the presents. The following are statements of the British Case on this point :

“The earliest reference to this subject notices that such gifts were required ‘to keep on *friendly terms* with the Chiefs of the Indians’.”⁶

“The object of these presents was to insure the assistance of the tribes in case of negro revolt, and to attract them to the neighbourhood of the Dutch Post.”⁷

But even this friendship was by no means either constant or exclusive. The Caribs were at times the

¹British Case, p. 88, lines 20-23.

²British Case, p. 88, lines 40-43.

³British Case, p. 89, lines 34-36.

⁴British Case, p. 91, lines 30-40.

⁵British Case, p. 89, lines 30-33.

⁶British Case, p. 90, lines 14-17.

⁷British Case, p. 92, lines 7-10.

friends, but at times also the *enemies* of the Dutch. Dutch-Indian enmity. They attacked Dutch settlements and posts; they allied themselves with French and English against the Dutch; the very Barima Caribs, of whose alleged control the British Case makes so much, were the ones who guided the French from the Barima to the Pomeroon in 1689, and who helped in the destruction of the new Dutch Colony there.

This examination of Dutch-Indian relations might be supplemented by an account of Spanish-Indian relations, Spanish-Indian relations. showing that Spain was in truth the recognized sovereign of the Indians; that her rule over them was a rule depending not on *friendship* nor *acquiescence*, but upon force exerted by a *ruler* over *subjects*. Such an account seems, however, to be quite unnecessary, for, with or without it, the fact remains that the Dutch never claimed to be sovereigns over the Indians, that they never treated the Indians as subjects, that the two were at times bitter enemies, and that at best they were quondam friends and allies, nothing more.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION.

The section on "Dutch Administration" is followed, in the British Case, by one on "British Administration." Great Britain merely a successor of the Dutch.

It should be carefully noted that no claim has ever been made, and that no claim is now made, by Great Britain to any territory beyond that alleged to have belonged to the Dutch in 1814, and to have *at that time* constituted "*the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice.*" If Great Britain is to-day entitled to all the territory east of the Schomburgk Line, it must be because that territory belonged to the Dutch when Great Britain took possession of Essequibo, not because Great Britain subsequently extended the limits of the Colony

Great Britain
merely a successor
of the Dutch.

either by occupation or control. This is the position which Great Britain has always admitted that she occupied ; this is the position which Venezuela has always insisted that Great Britain should be held to ; and this is the principle which the present treaty of arbitration has adopted in Article III as the keystone in the whole controversy. The question of *British* Administration is therefore material only so far as it shows that the *Dutch* Administration was continued. Any *new* control or *new* exercise of jurisdiction, which was unknown to the Dutch, must be disregarded, no matter how perfect it might be possible to show it to have become in British hands.

The British Case admits this in the opening statement of the section on British Administration; it says,

“ When entering upon the government of the Colonies captured from the Dutch, the British authorities in their dealings with the Indian races of the country carried on the system of their predecessors, preserving, as far as possible, an absolute continuity both of policy and administration.”¹

And later, speaking of Schomburgk's surveys, it adds,

“ It is important to notice that Schomburgk did not discover or invent any new boundaries. He took particular care to fortify himself with the history of the subject. He had further, from actual exploration and information obtained from the Indians, as well as from the evidence of local remains as at Barima, and local traditions as on the Cuyuni, ascertained the limits of Dutch possession, and the zone from which all trace of Spanish influence was absent. On such data he based his reports.”

It is difficult to understand how, in view of these and similar statements, which after all merely reiterate what Great Britain has said over and over again, any importance whatever can be attached to any British *extension*

¹British Case, p. 99, lines 1-8.

²British Case, p. 121, lines 22-32.

of jurisdiction, or to certain alleged acts of British control which constitute, without question, a wholly new departure, with nothing in Dutch precedent to sanction them: yet the British Case distinctly says:

British extension
of jurisdiction.

“The exercise of jurisdiction over disputes and offences by British officers and courts of law *was greatly extended* by the British, and *was* readily submitted to by the Indians, tacitly in most cases, but sometimes in consequence of an express agreement with a tribal Chief.”¹

Not only so, the British Case goes further; it refers to and relies upon jurisdictional acts which are either admittedly or demonstrably new. For instance, it says:

“After the British finally took possession of the Dutch Colonies, Magistrates were appointed to deal summarily with small offences, and the number of instances of the exercise of jurisdiction, of which a record has been preserved, is much greater, as will appear in the subsequent part of this chapter dealing with the British period. *In the Dutch period it was only in the case of the more important crimes that the Dutch Courts assumed the task of trying the offender.*”²

And again,

“It will be found that in British times the Postholders travelled largely through the districts round their Posts and exercised magisterial functions. *During the Dutch period it does not appear that they habitually did so.*”³

Among new acts of jurisdiction which have been practiced by Great Britain, and which were wholly unknown to the Dutch, is the appointment of Indian Captains by the Colonial Government. The British Case at various times speaks of this new practice as though it were something dating very far back, into Dutch times; but in reality it is wholly British, as the following extract from a letter of Superintendent McClintock, dated March 27, 1869, will show:

¹British Case, p. 101, lines 34-39.

²British Case, p. 86, lines 34-44.

³British Case, p. 89, lines 36-41.

British *extension*
of jurisdiction.

“ Previous to Missions being established among the aborigines of this district, their Captains, or Chiefs, were always selected by themselves, and the men possessing the art of conjurer—or, according to the people’s belief, the power of destroying the lives of others by their incantations and prayers—were invariably chosen to fill the office. This system proving such a barrier to everything calculated to ameliorate their then degraded condition, the conjurers having so much influence over their respective tribes as to induce them to set their faces, so to speak, against all kind of instruction, and seeing, as I did, the necessity for some interference, I brought matters under the notice of Sir Henry Light, the then Governor of the Colony, expecting the difficulties to be overcome before any permanent good for the Indians could be achieved. With the view, therefore, of removing, if not to suppress entirely, the then prevailing influence of the Chiefs, I suggested to his Excellency Sir Henry Light that they should at once be dispossessed of all authority to nominate captains, and the power of making such appointments should be vested in the Executive ; this arrangement, which has been acted upon to the present time, has proved most beneficial.” ¹

In Dutch times the Indians selected their own Chiefs, and such authority as was vested in them emanated from the Indians themselves. The gewgaws, which these Chiefs at times received from the Dutch authorities, tickled their vanity, and their *recognition* as Chiefs by the Dutch probably gave them a feeling of still greater satisfaction ; but never did they, nor the Dutch for that matter, suppose that such act conferred any authority on the Chief. The Chief was the principal man of his family or tribe, and it was precisely because he was Chief that the Dutch courted his friendship. The British, however, actually *made* Chiefs. There is a vast difference between *recognizing* and *making*. One is a creative act, the other a mere acquiescence in what already is. An enemy or an independent sovereign

¹ British Case, App. VI., p. 209.

may be recognized—only a subject can be *made* a ^{British extension} magistrate. _{of jurisdiction.}

Something else wholly new and unknown to the Dutch Administration were the visits to the Waini and Barima of the Superintendent of Creeks and Rivers. The first of these was in 1839, twenty years after the Treaty of London. The occasion for this arose out of a condition of things which is thus explained by the British Case :

“ In 1837 the Court of Policy decided that it would no longer
 “ defray the cost of the distribution of presents by the Post-
 “ holders, and in 1838 Governor Light spoke of the Indian sub-
 “ sidy as entirely discontinued. In consequence of this by the
 “ following year no Indians were to be found residing at the
 “ Posts who could be considered as attached to them.”¹

That is to say, the Indians who had up to that time lived at the Moruca Post left that post in 1838 because they got no more presents from the British, and wandered off to the Waini and Barima. In order to hold *these* Indians, and to secure laborers for the British plantations along the Arabian coast, the Superintendent of Creeks and Rivers in 1839 went *for the first time* into the region beyond the Moruca, seeking to foster among the late residents of the Pomeroon and the Moruca who had gone there, a feeling that it was to their interest to have the British continue to look out for them.

These visits are in themselves wholly unimportant, and were undertaken and effected without any knowledge of them on the part of Venezuela ; but above all they were something wholly *new*, something in sharp contrast to the conduct of the former Dutch postholders, who had received as a part of their regular instructions an order not to leave their posts to go to the Indians, but to endeavor to attract the Indians to the posts.

¹ British Case, p. 105, lines 89-47.

Schomburgk survey first notice of British extension.

It is well to note in this connection that the first intimation which Venezuela received of the presence of any British in the Barima-Waini region was at the time of the Schomburgk survey in 1841; that she at once protested against it; that in consequence of that protest the boundary posts erected by Schomburgk were removed; and that very shortly thereafter, in order to prevent any new British aggression into that region, the agreement of 1850 was concluded, by which Great Britain bound herself to keep out of it. That put an end to any claim of "British control" there.

Before leaving this subject, it is also important to note that these visits of the Superintendent of Creeks and Rivers, even while they lasted, were confined to the coast region. There is no record of any such visits into the Cuyuni or Mazaruni. Not even the *British* Administration ever extended there.

A further consideration of British Administration would seem to be unnecessary. If only *Dutch* territory is to be awarded to Great Britain, and if the political control which the Dutch exercised never extended to the Waini nor to the Barima nor beyond the lowest falls of the Cuyuni, Mazaruni and Essequibo rivers, it can make no difference whatever how far British control may subsequently have gone.

That no erroneous impression may, however, be left upon the minds of the Arbitrators respecting the real nature of even this *new and extended* "British Administration," it may be wise, before concluding, to say that the facts alleged by Great Britain respecting it fail wholly to show any exercise of real control either in the Barima-Waini region or in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin.

As during Dutch times, so in British times, the only

Indians who can in any sense be considered as under British influence were those about the posts or in the immediate neighborhood of the Dutch settlement. The British Case recognizes this when it makes the following statements:

Only Indians controlled were those near posts.

"The Indians had, on the defeat of their protectors and rulers, the Dutch, retired to the remote districts of the interior. It was the aim of the British Government to attract them, as far as possible, to the more populated districts of the coast, an object which as time went on was gradually attained."¹

Again,

"Each postholder was bound to keep an accurate journal of occurrences at his Post, which he was to transmit quarterly to the Protector of Indians in his district—a new officer whose position and duties will presently be considered. He was to attach the Indians to the Post and to endeavour to preserve peace and order among them."²

Again,

"When the British took possession of the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, the subsidy which the Dutch had from early times been accustomed to pay to the natives was, in the first instance, neglected. The Indians received no presents, and obtained no signs of that esteem and friendship which had been shown them by the Dutch, and consequently they retired further inland. This fact was quickly observed, and its possible consequences in the event of trouble with the slave population were pointed out. Presents for 1,000 Indians were accordingly ordered from Europe, and the date was fixed for a general distribution. The Court of Policy also resolved that the Postholders should, for the purpose of attracting Indians to the Post, distribute small presents from time to time so that, in case of need, the services of the Indians might be more readily obtainable."³

Again,

"The principal field of labour of the Indians from the year 1805 onwards was the district extending from the Essequibo to the

¹ British Case, p. 99, lines 8-14.

² British Case, p. 99, lines 33-41.

³ British Case, p. 104, lines 8-27.

Only Indians controlled were those near posts.

“Moruka. The position of the Post in the Moruka was, in the beginning of that year, ordered to be removed to a point more advantageous for keeping up communication with the Indians. In 1811 the Court of Policy settled a scale of annual payment to be made for the services of Indians employed at all the Posts. Other regulations as to Indian labour were left to the Protectors of Indians.”¹

Indians their own avengers.

Again it should be noted that, even after the coming of the British, the Indians continued to be their own avengers, keeping in their own hands the execution of their own laws instead of submitting to British authority. The British Case itself states that,

“The early days of British administration produced no immediate change in the custom of the Indians to exact the penalty of life for life in every case in which a white inhabitant did not step in to buy off the avenger.”²

And, apparently, as though it were an act showing the exercise of jurisdiction and proving the existence of sovereignty, the British Case adds that

“It was not unusual for the Protector or the Postholder to buy off the animosity of the friends of an Indian who had met with his death under circumstances which afforded no grounds for the institution of a prosecution.”³

It is difficult to understand how buying off a criminal can prove political control over him.

British-Indian friendship.

That, like the Dutch, the British regarded the Indians as *friends* and *allies*, not as *subjects*, and that the presents given them were merely for the purpose of retaining this *friendship* and of protecting themselves against their possible *hostility* (savoring indeed of the nature of tribute) is shown by the following statements of the British Case :

“In the autumn of 1810 a Carib Chief from the Upper Esse-quiibo or the Rupununi, with his followers, visited the capital.

¹ British Case, p. 107, lines 26-36.

² British Case, p. 101, lines 22-26.

³ British Case, p. 101, lines 29-33.

"He had previously sent an envoy, who had received certain presents from the Governor. He now came in person, and the Governor represented to the Court of Policy the desirability of preventing him from making war in the remoter districts of the Colony for the purpose of obtaining slaves. An agreement was accordingly made by which the Chief bound himself to refrain from doing this, and to live in peace and friendship with the white settlers. The Colonial Government, on their part, undertook to give the Chief certain presents, some at once, and others annually when called for."¹

British-Indian
friendship.

Also,

"When the British Government entirely abolished negro slavery the dangers of such risings were regarded as past, and the subsidies to the Indians were accordingly discontinued."²

It is thus seen that whether regarded as something new and unprecedented, or as something old and a continuation of Dutch practices, "British Administration" beyond the Moruca on the coast, and beyond the falls of the Cuyuni, Mazaruni and Essequibo in the interior, is something which did not exist until within the last few years, when in violation of the agreement of 1850 Great Britain had invaded the territory in dispute.

The section on "Area Controlled" which follows the one on "British Administration" in the British Case seems hardly to require consideration at this time. Its statements are largely a repetition of those already considered. Many of those statements Venezuela believes to be erroneous in fact and misleading in form; but it is believed that in the chapter already examined her own views on the subject of political control have been sufficiently set forth to make perfectly clear her attitude toward it.

Area Controlled.

¹ British Case, p. 104, lines 87-49; p. 105, lines 1-3.

² British Case, p. 106, lines 18-17.

VI.—CONCLUSION.

In the preceding chapters an effort has been made to present the facts alleged in the British Case in such a manner as to leave the main issues more clearly defined. Many statements of that Case have been passed unnoticed because, however important in themselves, their bearing on the points actually under discussion was not apparent. Some of those statements have been considered and commented upon by Señor Dr. Rafael Seijas, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela. The results of his examination, contained in two able papers, are published in the Appendix to this Counter-Case.¹

Purpose of the
preceding chapters

The remaining chapters of the British Case deal with the diplomatic negotiations between Venezuela and Great Britain, with the *Schomburgk Line*, with the subject of maps, and with some of the principles of law involved in the controversy. Some of these subjects have already been treated by Venezuela in her Case. Her views on all of them have been defined; and hence their further discussion may properly be deferred until the time of the printed and oral arguments.

In connection with the subject of maps, a second atlas has been prepared to accompany this Counter-Case, and to rebut the allegation of the British Case that,

Maps.

“the view of map-makers, other than Spanish and Venezuelan, is absolutely inconsistent with the Venezuelan claim.”²

This new atlas contains maps by well known French, German, Dutch, Italian and even British map-makers,

¹Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 3, documents numbered 137 and 138.

²British Case, p. 140, lines 28-31.

Maps.

to say nothing of Spanish and Venezuelan, showing lines favorable to Venezuela's claim. In this connection, too, and also as showing the cartographic origin of the *Schomburgk Line*, a report on the *Cartographical Testimony of Geographers*, prepared for the United States Commission in 1896 by its Secretary, is reprinted in the Appendix to this Counter-Case.¹

A full discussion of the points covered by that report, as also of the relation of the *Schomburgk Line* to this controversy, will be deferred to the time of argument.

Legal Principles

Another subject which would seem to belong to the arguments, rather than to the Counter-Case, is the question of legal principles involved. The principles upon which Venezuela relies are believed to be sufficiently indicated by the general statements in her Case and Counter-Case. There is one point however which, since the British Case refers to it at some length, it may be well briefly to touch upon at this time. No direct reference to it has heretofore been made by Venezuela, except in the diplomatic correspondence published in the Appendix to her Case; that point relates to the Papal Bull of 1493.

Papal Bull of 1493

Papal authority, as a basis of territorial title, might not avail if attempted to be exercised now at the close of this nineteenth century: it was far otherwise at the close of the fifteenth. During the middle ages, and until after the discovery of America, the Pope was the recognized arbiter of the civilized world: his word was in those days supreme. Whatever may be thought now of the *logic* of it, there can be no two views as to the *fact* itself, nor as to the benefits which accrued therefrom to civilization. What there was of international law in the dark ages was in the keeping

¹ Venezuelan Counter-Case, Vol. 2, pp. 267-311.

of the Holy See. Sovereign princes did not hesitate to surrender their dominions into the Pope's hands, and to receive them back as his acknowledged vassals, bound to him by feudal ties. As Mr. Harrissee points out in his recent work on *The Diplomatic History of America*, there is good reason for believing that Great Britain's title to Ireland has its foundation in a Papal grant;¹ and it is a fact quite beyond dispute that Henry II "placed his own Kingdom of England and all its dependencies under the pontifical sovereignty."² Henry VII, in 1485, and again in 1493, sent embassies of obedience to Rome to the very Pope³ (Alexander VI) whose Bull regarding America is now so lightly esteemed by Great Britain. Papal Bull of 1493.

Four centuries have indeed wrought great changes. The thoughts and ideals of those days are past. New forces rule the world, and new laws direct its destiny; but to judge those days by the standards of these would be to judge falsely. Even after her separation from the Church of Rome, England recognized, by acts, if not by words, the power of the Holy See and the validity of Papal acts. Notwithstanding English settlement, or English occupation along the coast of North America, England was not unwilling, in 1670, to receive from Spain a release of Spanish title to those regions. That it was thought worth while to obtain such a release is in itself significant.

The statements of the British Case in connection with this subject of Papal Bulls are both incomplete and inaccurate, but their discussion may profitably be postponed to the time of argument.

In closing this Counter-Case, the Government of Vene-

Conclusion.

¹ The Diplomatic History of America by Henry Harrissee, p. 42.

² The Diplomatic History of America by Henry Harrissee, p. 43.

³ The Diplomatic History of America by Henry Harrissee, p. 44.

Conclusion.

zuela once more affirms its right to the boundary line claimed in its Case. It believes that the statements of the British Case, and the evidence submitted therewith, tend to confirm and strengthen that claim. It flatters itself that the declared purpose of this Counter-Case has been accomplished. The British lines of defense have been seen: their strength and their weakness have been measured: the strategic points have been revealed. With the issues thus defined it believes that the way has been cleared for the arguments which are to apply the final test.

J. M. DE ROJAS,

Agent of Venezuela.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1898.

ERRATA.

In the Case of Venezuela :

Vol. 1, p. 210, line 3, *for* Fortique *read* de Rojas.

“ 1, p. 210, “ 23, “ Amacura “ Moruca.

“ 1, p. 210, “ 26, “ Amacura “ Moruca.

VENEZUELA-BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARY ARBITRATION

THE COUNTER-CASE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA

BEFORE THE

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

To Convene at Paris

UNDER THE

Provisions of the Treaty between the United States of Venezuela and
Her Britannic Majesty Signed at Washington February 2, 1897

VOLUME 2

APPENDIX

PART 1

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introductory note	v
No. 1. Report as to the meaning of Articles V and VI of the treaty of Münster; by George Lincoln Burr.....	1
No. 2. Report as to the territorial rights of the Dutch West India Company; by George Lincoln Burr.....	17
No. 3. Report on the evidence of Dutch archives as to European occupation and claims in Western Guiana; by George Lincoln Burr.....	29
No. 4. On the Historical Maps; by George Lincoln Burr.....	211
No. 5. Report upon Maps from Official Sources; by George Lincoln Burr.....	231
No. 6. Report upon the Cartographical testimony of Geographers; by Severo Mallet-Prevost.....	267

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This volume is wholly made up of reprints. It is composed of six reports, all prepared for, submitted to and originally printed by the *United States Commission appointed to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana*. Of these six reports five were prepared by Professor George Lincoln Burr, of Cornell University, in 1896 and 1897. One was prepared, in 1896, by Mr. Severo Mallet-Prevost, then Secretary of the Commission. These reports are here reprinted without change, printing errors excepted. The indented figures with accompanying asterisks indicate the pages of the original. The foot notes are, of course, those of the original, except such changes of *reference* as were found necessary to avoid confusion.

As to certain matters these reports contain original testimony. The statement by Professor Burr that "the name of the fort, Kykoveral, which does not appear in the records before 1644 is thereafter constantly met," is an example of such testimony. It has been deemed more useful to reprint, for the convenience of the Tribunal, the entire reports than to select therefrom merely those passages which, strictly speaking, are entitled to be classed as evidence.

No. 1.

*Report as to the meaning of Articles V and VI of the Treaty of *73
Münster.

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURE.

I have been asked by the Commission to investigate and report as to the meaning of that clause in the Treaty of Münster between Spain and the Netherlands, signed January 30, 1648, which provides for the possession by the Spaniards and the Dutch, respectively, not only of "such lordships, cities, castles, fortresses, commerce, and countries in the East and West Indies, as also in Brazil and on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, respectively, as the said Lords, the King and the States respectively, hold and possess," but also "comprehending therein particularly the places and forts which the Portuguese have taken from the Lords, the States, since the year 1641; as also the forts and the places which the said Lords, the States, shall chance to acquire and possess after this, without infraction of the present Treaty"; and of the kindred clause, in the following article, which provides that "among the places held by the said Lords, the States, shall be comprehended the places in Brazil which the Portuguese took out of the hands of the States, and have been in possession of ever since the year 1641. As also all the other places which they possess at present, so long as they shall continue in the hands of the *said Portuguese, anything *74 contained in the preceding Article notwithstanding."¹

The question to which my attention is especially asked, whether these clauses gave the Dutch liberty to make fresh acquisitions in territory claimed by the Spaniards, but held by aborigines; or whether they applied only to lands held by the Portuguese.

In order to a conclusion, I have addressed my study to the following points:

1. *What was meant by the words translated "forts and places"?*

The treaty was drawn in French and in Dutch, the two versions being of equal authority.² The Dutch expected a controversy on this point, and

¹ This translation into English, which is that printed in the British Blue-Book ("Venezuela No. 1," pp. 6, 7), is open, as will appear in the course of this report, to serious objections. It is borrowed, doubtless, from the standard old *Collection of all the Treaties . . . between Great Britain and other Powers* published at London in 1785 by Debrett. At least the translation there given (i, pp. 14, 15) is the same, save for a slight correction or two. The palpable error "upon" for "and on" (following "Brazil"), common to both, is corrected in the above transcript. There is also here omitted from their enumeration of "lordships, cities, castles, towns, fortresses, countries, and commerce," the word "towns," which has nothing answering to it in the original; and "commerce" is restored to its proper place, before "countries."

² *Aitzema, Saken van Staat en Oorlog* ('s Gravenhage, 1671), vi, 2 (*Verhaal van de Nederlandsche Vrede Handeling*), p. 232. Cf. also Leclerc, *Négociations secrètes touchant la Paix de Munster* (La Haye, 1726), iv, p. 71.

No. 1.

instructed their envoys to meet a claim for the use of Spanish with an answering claim for the use of Dutch, but were prepared to concede the use of Spanish and French to the one side and of Dutch and French to the other, or to compromise by the use of Latin altogether. The Spaniards seem, however, to have made no difficulty on this point, but to have granted more than was asked (a course characteristic of the general policy of Spain in these negotiations); for it was agreed at Münster, May 5, 1646, *75 "that all *the writings which have to be made for the above-named present treaty shall be written *in the French and in the Flemish* [i. e., Dutch] language, and that the writing in these said two languages, yet only after being very exactly collated the one with the other, shall be held equally authentic. But in the conferences and speeches which have to be made orally, respectively, there may be used indiscriminately the French, the Flemish [i. e., Dutch], or the Latin language, according as one or another may for the greater convenience be able to make himself the better understood."

The clause in question is a part of Article V, and reads, in the French text:¹

* * * *compris aussi les lieux et places qu'iceux Seigneurs Estats ci apres sans infraction du present Traitté viendront à conquerir et posseder.* * * *

And in the Dutch text:²

* * * *of de plaetsen die sy hier naemaels sonder infractie van't tegenwoordigh Tractaet sullen komen te verkrygen en te besitten.* * * *

The words "*lieux*" and "*places*," "*plaetsen*," are the most general and indefinite terms known to these languages for the expression of locality, and correspond wholly to the cognate English word "places." The French "*place*" might in certain contexts mean a "*place forte*," a fortress; *76 but its translation by *the Dutch "*plaetsen*" makes that here out of the question. The English translation should therefore run, not "forts and places," but "places" alone.

A study of the use of these words in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Münster shows them commonly employed to denote towns rather than stretches of country; but this may be explained by the circumstances of each case, and further study has convinced me that no inference as to the character of the localities in thought can safely be based upon them.

¹ I transcribe carefully from the official text, printed by order of the States-General and by the official printers at The Hague in 1648. As given by Dumont (*Corps universel diplomatique*, Amsterdam, 1728, vol. vi, pt. 1, p. 480) and by others—mostly following him—the orthography varies slightly. The text here cited is in the library of the Department of State. Since writing these pages I have been able to examine, in the Dutch archives, the sumptuous official original of this treaty, both in its French and in its Dutch text, and can certify that the cardinal phrases here discussed stand in the manuscript precisely as in the printed editions. To be perfectly exact, the French text has over the preposition "*a*" an acute accent instead of a grave, and puts a comma after "*conquerir*;" but this is mere archaic usage.

² As printed in the official issue at The Hague, 1648; see note above. Aitzema's text (iii, p. 260: vi, 2, p. 387) varies slightly from this in spelling.

No. 1.

2. What was meant by the words translated "acquire and possess"?

As already seen, the words answering to these in the official languages of the Treaty are the French "*conquérir et posséder*," the Dutch "*verkrijgen en besitten*." Of "*posséder*" and of "*besitten*" "possess" is a true and adequate translation; but the English "acquire" by no means answers to the French "*conquérir*." The Dutch word "*verkrijgen*," indeed, which originally and properly meant "to conquer," had already, as is evident from a study of contemporary documents, gained the broader meaning of "to acquire" in general, with which it is now currently used. But, as the word is here used as an equivalent to the French "*conquérir*" (rendered in the Spanish version by "*conquistar*"), it must, unless one is to suspect the Dutch of double dealing, have been meant in the more restricted sense.¹ "Conquer and possess" would therefore be a truer English translation; and the phrase would seem to imply rather a *seizure from another State than an occupation of lands held only by aborigines.

3. What "places" were in the thought of the parties to the treaty?

The only places suggested by the negotiations are those to be won back from the Portuguese in Brazil.

Thus, in the Spanish dispatches² relating to the Treaty of Münster, there is, from beginning to end, no mention of any other American possession in this connection.³ It is clearly on the Dutch hostility to the Portuguese, occasioned by the loss of Brazil, and on the Dutch wish for a free hand in order to win back that colony, that Spain especially grounds her hope of coming to terms with the Netherlands.⁴ Nor are the Dutch preliminaries less rich in evidence that this design was uppermost in the Dutch thought. Thus one sees the fleet destined for the relief of Brazil held back by the States-General pending the negotiations,⁵ "that they may not enter into war with new enemies (friends and allies of France) while they are seeking to conclude a peace with the old enemy," but instructed to sail immediately on the completion of the treaty. And the French dispatches emphasize yet more this influence of the affairs of

¹ *Postscript*.—I may add that later study and my discussions with Dutch scholars have removed my hesitation to suspect sharp practice in the use of *verkrijgen* as the equivalent of *conquérir*. It now seems to be most plausible to conjecture that when the Dutch envoys found themselves unable to make the Spaniards accept in the French text of the treaty the true equivalent of *verkrijgen*—*acquérir*—they compromised by consenting to the use of *conquérir* in the French while retaining *verkrijgen* in the Dutch. Yet they must have known that, by a well-known principle of interpretation, the treaty could be binding only in its more restricted sense.

² Printed in the great national *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vols. 82-84.

³ Cf. e. g., vol. 82, pp. 281, 328, 381, 495; vol. 83, pp. 548, 573, 574.

⁴ Cf. Aitzema, vi, 2, *passim*.

⁵ Leclerc, *Négociations secrètes*, lv, pp. 402, 405.

No. 1.

Brazil. At the very outset of the negotiations between Spain and the Dutch at Münster, Mazarin wrote to the French envoys:¹

I have no occasion to say to you anything this time as to the ambassadors of the Netherlands and the negotiations which the Spaniards have begun with them, except that doubtless, among the motives which
 *78 *they will use to try to win them, they will take advantage of the division existing between Portugal and Holland in the West Indies, offering the Dutch their aid against enemies more recent, and therefore more hated.

And this fear seemed to them confirmed by the event. The French even learned, in September, 1646, from their representatives in Holland, that the Spaniards were trying to hurry the Dutch into the treaty by alleging the existence of a league between France, Sweden, and Portugal at their cost.

It will be asked why, then, this clause should have been made general, instead of limiting the places to be "conquered and possessed" to the possessions of Portugal. The answer lies near that the Dutch had reason to fear that, in case of emergency, the Portuguese would hand over their Brazilian possessions to one of their allies, most probably to France; and that it was matter of life and death for the Dutch West India Company to win them back, whoever might hold them. It is highly suggestive of this that, as appears from the Spanish papers, the Dutch were unwilling,² even in the direst extremity, to send to Brazil any of the French troops in their service. And it is especially to be noted that when, at the completion of the treaty,³ the Dutch States-General formally provided for its transmission to all their leading representatives abroad—"to the East and the West India Companies, also to the Governor-General in the East Indies, also to the President and Councilors and to the Lieutenant-General of the Forces in Brazil, also to Admiral De Witt, also to the Commander on the Coast of Guinea, also to the Directors in Loanda de St. Paulo and St. Thome, also to the Director in New Netherland"—there is no mention of Guiana or of any of its settlements.

*79 *On all these points the source and original intent of the articles in question has clearly an important bearing. So far as it can be traced in the printed documents left to us from the negotiations, their story is as follows.

Early in 1645 (January 27), when it had not yet been fully determined to enter into negotiations with Spain, and long before the envoys were actually sent to Münster, both the East and the West India Companies submitted to the States-General certain "considerations." Those of the West India Company were seven in number, and provided:

¹ March 3, 1646. The letter is printed by Leclerc (*Négociations*, iii, pp. 102, 103).

² See letter of Philippe Le Roy to the Archduke, September 2, 1647, in the *Coleccion*, vol. 83, p. 459.

³ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 383.

No. 1.

(1) That, "in case of the combination of the two Companies [which then seemed imminent], it would be more profitable for the combined Companies to continue the war, both in the East and the West Indies, the coast of Africa, Brazil, the South Sea, and other quarters south of the Tropic of Cancer or beyond the Equator than to make any peace or truce with the King of Spain."

(2) That, in case the companies are not combined, the peace or truce with Spain, if accepted also by the East India Company, might be of use.

(3) That, in case of a general peace or truce, the Company should be guaranteed its faithful observance by Spain.

(4) That, in such peace or truce there should be included all powers, nations, and peoples with which the West India Company, within the limits of its grant, are in friendship and alliance.

(5) That the Company shall be allowed to push its trade in all places, within the aforesaid limits of its grant, where the King of Spain has no castles, jurisdiction, or territory (*casteelen, jurisdictie, noch gebied*); and that with such merchandise, wares, slaves, and else as they shall see fit.

(6) That the subjects of Spain shall in no wise be permitted to travel or trade in any ports or places where the West *India Com- *80
pany has any castles, forts, and territory, or lodges,¹ unless like trade privileges shall be granted to the aforesaid Company in all quarters and places belonging under the said King of Spain.

(7) That each party shall continue to possess and enjoy such cities, castles, fortresses, trading places, and lands as shall at the conclusion of the treaty belong [*competeren*] to each.

The plenipotentiaries of Spain were eventually given general powers to make such terms as they might find wise; but from the first² the Estates of Zeeland stoutly opposed the sending of Dutch envoys to Münster until the preliminary points to be submitted to Spain should have been definitely established; and this became the policy of the States-General. On October 28, 1645, there was adopted by them a very elaborate body of instructions, numbering no less than 116 articles.

Of these the eleventh prescribed that the subjects of Spain and Holland, respectively, should have the right of free travel and traffic in all the European possessions of each, and in such extra-European possessions as are open to their other allies; and that, "as regards the places, cities, ports, and harbors which they hold outside the aforesaid limits, the aforesaid States [of the Netherlands] and their subjects shall not carry on any traffic without the express permission of the said King [of Spain]. But they [the Dutch] shall be permitted, if they choose, to carry on traffic in

¹ This word "*logien*" already needed definition, and is explained in the discussions of the Estates of Holland to mean *warehouses*. ["*Dat is Packhuysen, daer uyt de Koopmanschappen ende Waren worden verkecht.*"]

² Aitzema, vi, 2. pp. 187, 198, 199.

No. 1.

the lands of all other princes, potentates, and peoples who shall allow them to do so (even outside the aforesaid limits); and neither the aforesaid *81 King, nor his officers and subjects, shall on this *account do any harm to the princes, potentates, and peoples who allow or shall allow the same, nor likewise to themselves [the Dutch] nor to the individuals with whom they carry on or shall carry on the aforesaid traffic."

There had followed this two articles¹ relating to the trade of the Indies. These had, however, been canceled on October 14. Yet they are printed with the rest and prescribe:

(1) That the Spaniards shall retain their trade (*vaert*) in the East Indies as it exists at present, but shall not be allowed to extend it further, and shall also keep out of the Portuguese possessions in the Indies, having no right to trade there; and likewise the inhabitants of these lands [the Netherlands] shall have no communication with the Spanish or Portuguese East Indies.

(2) That the monopoly of the two India companies shall be guaranteed, and that "there shall be included in the treaty all the potentates, nations, and peoples with whom the States-General or the West India Company, within the limits of their grant, are in friendship and alliance; and this Company may push its trade and traffic in all places within the limits of its grant where the King of Spain has no castles, jurisdiction, or territory, and that with such merchandise, wares, slaves, and else as they shall see fit, and the subjects of the said King of Castile shall in no wise be permitted to trade or travel in any ports or places where the West India Company has castles, forts, territory, or lodges,"² unless the Castilians shall grant like trade privileges in all quarters and places belonging under the King of Castile. . . . And each shall continue to possess and enjoy such cities, castles, fortresses, trade, and lands in the West Indies and Brazil as, at the conclusion of the treaty to be made, shall belong to each. . . ."

*82 *At the end of these canceled articles are inserted the following substitutes:

XII. This foregoing article was found to be faulty. . . .

XIII. The navigation and traffic of the Indies, respectively, shall be maintained.

And there was prefaced the somewhat incoherent explanation that "when and how the plenipotentiaries shall later be instructed on this point shall in due time follow."

Armed with these instructions,³ the Dutch deputies reached Münster in January, 1646. The Spaniards suggested⁴ as a basis for negotiation the

¹ Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 205, 206.

² Warehouses.

³ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 216.

⁴ Dispatch of Peñaranda, in the *Coleccion*, vol. 82, p. 810. Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 234.

No. 1.

terms of the twelve years' truce between Holland and Spain in 1609. But the Dutch insisted on their instructions, and on May 17 submitted to the Spanish envoys a preliminary draft, in 71 articles, of the proposed treaty. It was ultimately adopted almost word for word.

There is in it, however, no mention of the Indies, the provisional Article V running as follows:

V. Be it understood that the foregoing shall be without prejudice, and it is expressly reserved, hereafter to submit certain articles touching the navigation and traffic of the East and West Indies, which it is agreed to uphold and maintain.

But these articles were so long delayed¹ by the home government that the Dutch plenipotentiaries grew impatient² and "meanwhile wrote repeatedly and asked for the two articles touching the commerce in the East and West Indies which in October last were stricken out of the instructions."

*At last, on November 20, 1646, the States-General referred to a *83 committee consisting of Messrs. Boreel, Cats, Stavenesse, and the secretary, Musch, these canceled articles, with power "to frame and revise them in such fashion that they may find place in the aforesaid instructions, and also among the seventy articles" (of the treaty). On the following day this committee reported back³ these articles "so revised and framed that they may now fitly find place among the adjusted seventy articles according to the wish of their High-Mightinesses" (the States) "excepting only the *alternative* named by the aforesaid canceled articles, which alternative might be given the plenipotentiaries by separate resolution, to be used according to circumstances in the cases therein described." The States accordingly took the matter into consideration, and, discharging their committee, resolved to add the following alternative:

Yet, in case of the rejection of the above stipulations, shall both the subjects of the above-named King [of Spain] and the inhabitants of this state [the Dutch] restrain themselves from travel and traffic in the ports and places occupied [*beset*] by the one or the other of the parties with forts, lodges, or castles; and, in case there are set before the ambassadors of the States considerations contrary to those above expressed, they shall give notice thereof to their High-Mightinesses [the States], who can then communicate with the authorities of the one or the other Company, or of both, regarding the matter.

The deputies of Zeeland,⁴ however, urged that, "in case it can not be gained from the Spaniards that there shall be reciprocal traffic and com-

¹ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 245; cf. p. 246, at end, and the formal request on p. 249.

² The impatience of the Spaniards is clear from the letters of Peñaranda (cf. especially *Coleccion*, vol. 82, pp. 339, 342, 345). Already on May 31 he writes: "We have agreed with the Dutch on every point except that relating to the Prince of Orange and that of the navigation of the Indies." Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 265.

³ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 266.

⁴ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 267.

No. 1.

munication each in the other's lands, in that case it shall be stipulated not only that the Spaniards shall keep out of all the places occupied, by and in the name of this state, in the West Indies and Brazil, together with those which have been taken from the West India Company by the Portuguese, and shall not come into these with military force *or to carry on trade and business; but shall also keep out of such places as are there possessed by the Portuguese."

This proposition¹ was, after discussion, reserved for further consideration and to be submitted for advice to the next meeting of the provincial Estates of Holland (i. e., the province of that name).

The articles² regarding the West Indies were presented at Münster, December 13, 1646, and met with violent opposition from the Spanish plenipotentiaries, such as had befallen no other of the Dutch demands. They declared that these articles³ were novelties wholly unknown to the negotiations thus far, and that their provisions, "especially that they of the West India Company and others should have free access and traffic everywhere in the West Indies," were contrary to the fundamental maxims of Spain; that such terms had not only never been granted to Great Britain or Denmark or any foreign power, but not even to the subjects of the King of Spain himself, in Aragon, Portugal, or the Spanish Netherlands; that such terms could not and would not be granted; and, if they were insisted on, the negotiations must stop. And, in several successive conferences⁴ (December 15, 16, 17, 18, 19), the Dutch envoys "were met, on the points touching the East and West India Companies, with very many difficulties, so that they almost despaired of carrying the affair through, since the Spaniards showed themselves so sensitive in this matter that they debated or balanced almost every word."

*85 Long before, in fact, the Spaniards had received explicit *instructions on this point from their home government; for on July 8, 1646, Peñaranda had written the King of Spain,⁵ in the very letter inclosing the preliminaries already agreed on:

In the [matter] of the commerce of the Indies we have the instruction by which we are to govern ourselves, and Your Majesty shall be at once informed of what is ratified, without its being subject to any new revision of ours. [. . . "en el [artículo] del comercio de las Indias tenemos

¹ Alitzema, vi, 2, p. 267.

² Alitzema, vi, 2, p. 270. Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, pp. 467, 468.

³ Peñaranda had been assured by the Dutch envoy, Knuyt, that the demands of the Dutch on this point would not be inordinate. See his letter to Castel-Rodrigo of May 28, 1646 (*Coleccion*, Vol. 82, p. 389).

⁴ Alitzema, vi, 2, p. 270. Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 468. Alitzema makes the discussions close on the 18th.

⁵ *Coleccion*, vol. 82, p. 381. This passage is also quoted (*verbatim*, save for the change to indirect discourse) in the *Consulta* of the Spanish Council of State, held at Saragossa, August 12, 1646. (*Coleccion*, vol. 82, pp. 401, 402.)

No. 1.

la instruccion con que nos habemos de gobernar, ya¹ Vuestra Majestad estará informado de lo que ratifica, sin que esto quede sujeción a nuevo arbitrio nuestro."]

Yet Article V,² which had been submitted by the Dutch envoys in precisely the form in which they had received it from the States General, was finally adopted with but one or two very slight modifications. In their reply of December 15 (as printed by Leclerc, iii, pp. 467, 470) the Spanish ambassadors had argued only:

As to the 5th³ [article], that the Dutch may recover all that the Portuguese have taken from them in Brazil, the right remaining to His Majesty [the King of Spain] over all he had there when the revolt of Portugal began.

But the Dutch answered,⁴ in their reply drawn up on the 16th and 17th:

ARTICLE V. Nothing can be changed in the contents of the article; so it must stay as we have put it. ("*On ne peut rien changer au contenu de l'Article, ains doit demeurer comme nous l'avons mis.*")

*And, finally, at the close of their five days' conference, on the 19th, the minute as to this article is: *86

ARTICLE 5. Agreed, excepting that the Spaniards reject the clause "without being at liberty to go further" ("*sans se pouvoir étendre plus avant*").

This last point was, however, later conceded by the Spaniards, and the phrase remained part of the treaty. But their first objection seems to have been at least partially met by inserting in the clause, "which the Portuguese have taken from the Lords, the States," the restricting phrase, "since the year 1641."

Less simple is the question as to the (to us) all-important clause, regarding "the forts and places which the said Lords, the States, shall chance to acquire and possess after this." This passage first appears in the revised instructions given the envoys by the States-General in November, 1646, and in its original Dutch reads precisely as in the text of the completed treaty. But in the French text of this article, as submitted to the French envoys in December, and as printed by Leclerc (in his *Négociations secrètes*, iii, p. 468—probably from a draft in the French archives), one reads, not the word "*conquerir*," as in the published treaty, but "*acquérir*."

Yet it could hardly have been this reading which was in the hands of the French envoys at Münster, when, in the same dispatch to Mazarin⁵

¹ As quoted by the Council of State, this becomes "y".

² Cf. the Dutch text of the instructions of the States-General (given by Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 264), with the French text of the articles submitted at Münster on December 13, 1646 (given by Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 468), and both with the finished treaty.

³ Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 469.

⁴ Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 470.

⁵ Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 391.

No. 1.

wherein they report that the Dutch plenipotentiaries "tell us that, as regards the three points of the treaty not yet agreed on, the Spaniards have granted them that of the Indies just as they have asked it" (*en la sorte qu'ils l'avoient demandé*), they make this most significant comment:¹

Another thing which gives us food for thought is the yielding of the Spaniards in the matter of the Indies, which is beyond doubt one of
 *87 *the most important articles of the whole treaty, in which the Dutch find an advantage which they had not hoped, and which has not been granted them without some extraordinary motive. The King of Spain consents to be no longer at liberty to extend his boundaries in the East Indies, and to limit them to what he occupies at present; and the conquests which may be made by the United Provinces shall remain theirs, whether over the natives of the country or over the Portuguese, whatever may be the event of the war of the said King of Spain against the King of Portugal. This would seem a conspiracy clearly made between them to despoil this latter [the King of Portugal], in order that, while the Castilians drive him from the continent [i. e., of Europe], he may lose also what he holds in the Indies by means of the Dutch, who as merchants, with whom interest is all-powerful, could not be more flattered by the Spaniards than by leaving them the opportunity and the hope of making so great a profit. And, as the ministers of Spain have shown in this much servility and submissiveness, there is room to fear that the price of this abandonment is not alone the ruin of Portugal, but that there has been besides a secret promise to come to terms without France, it being certain that three days earlier Peñaranda had declared that they would sooner risk everything than yield this point.

Yet it should be added that these same French envoys had, six months earlier (14 June, 1646), written home² that "The gentlemen whom we sent to M. de la Thuillerie [French minister at The Hague] is back, and tells us it is the opinion of the said Sieur de la Thuillerie that the affair of the Indies may hinder a long time. But that is not the belief of our friends here, who think that the Spaniards will pass over this point blindly, as over the others, and especially so, as since the change of Portugal they have had no more interest in the Indies." However, on August 31 they had learned from Mazarin, *à propos* of the arrival at Paris of a Spanish courier sent to the envoys at Münster:

It is not known whether this courier may not bear orders to the plenipotentiaries of Spain to go further and grant the States the point of the commerce of the Indies; but we have been assured from divers
 *88 *quarters that up to the present Castel-Rodrigo and Peñaranda have had precise orders not to yield on that point, and to do nothing about it beyond what was granted in the last truce [that of 1609]; to which we are assured the said States will in no wise consent.

As to Article VI,³ it was first submitted in the first of the alternative forms suggested by the States-General—that granted the Dutch freedom of

¹ Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 398.

² Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 216; cf. also p. 222.

³ Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, pp. 468-471.

No. 1.

traffic in the Spanish colonies; and, when the Spaniards would not hear to this, then in the second of the alternative forms. But if one may trust Leclerc's draft, there was here, too, appended to the phrase "including the places which the Portuguese have taken from the States and occupied" the words "and those which the said States, without infraction of the present [treaty] shall hereafter come to acquire and possess" [*"viendront a acquerir et posseder"*]. But, as finally agreed on,¹ December 19, 1646, it lacks this phrase and is identical in form with the article of the completed treaty.

When, however, on January 8, 1647,² these articles, as adopted at Münster, were submitted to the Dutch States-General, and by them to the several provinces,³ there came a storm of suggestions and objections. Of these, the only ones throwing light on the points now under consideration are certain emanating from the Estates of Zeeland.⁴ This body urged that Article VI ought to be amplified, even beyond the original instructions, so as to provide "*that the Spaniards generally must keep out of all the places which the Portuguese possess within the limits [of the grant] of the West India Company.*"

On the other hand, the words "as also all the other places" "can not and must not be permitted, lest therefrom it should *come to *89 follow that the King of Spain possesses in the Indies places where he has no castles, forts, or lodges, and thereby should be corroborated the claim of the aforesaid King that he having, by virtue of gift from the Pope, title to the West Indies, and not allowing that anybody without his permission should therein travel and trade, is in possession and control of the whole thereof."

That is to say, the Dutch must not tolerate so much as an implication that Spain can give away lands held only by the natives.

The Zeelanders objected, too, to the limiting phrases "since the year 1641," "so long as they shall continue in the hands of the Portuguese," and "anything contained in the preceding article notwithstanding." This last phrase, they understand, is insisted on by the Spaniards in order to prevent the East and the West India Companies from pleading the liberties given them by their charter, under Article V of the treaty; but these charter rights might better be expressly limited, and such a limiting clause is submitted.

But even more suggestive, perhaps, is the form of a new Article VI presented by the Estates of Zeeland to the States-General for substitution in the treaty.⁵ In it the clauses now in point run as follows: . . . "that the subjects of the said King [of Spain] shall not traffic nor anywise

¹ Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 272, 273; cf. Leclerc, iii, p. 471.

² Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 272, 273.

³ Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 297-309.

⁴ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 306.

⁵ Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 307.

No. 1.

travel in the ports and places which the said States have and possess within the district of the West India Company, therein being specially included the places by the Portuguese from this state taken and occupied, together with those which the aforesaid States shall hereafter, without infraction of the present treaty, come to acquire [*verkrygen*] and possess, and further, in general, all other places which the Crown of Portugal or any *90 *Portuguese, within the aforesaid district of the West India Company, now holds and possesses."

As everything points to the Estates of Zeeland or to their deputies in the States-General as the most zealous promoters of the provisions of the treaty touching the West Indies, this clear intimation that the Portuguese possessions alone were in their thought in framing the questioned clauses should be of use in the interpretation of the treaty.

But, on discussion of all these suggestions by the States-General,¹ in the session of May 18, 1647, it seems to have been felt best to abide by what had already been gained; and the articles were eventually ratified without further change.

By this historical survey it has been made clear, I think, that the questioned clause came originally from the West India Company itself or from its sponsors; that, after sharp scrutiny, it was accepted by the Spanish envoys precisely as it was submitted, save for a possible (but, if actual, most significant) change of "*acquérir*" to "*conquérir*;" that, in the minds of its authors, it had reference only to possessions of the Portuguese; but that, already in the minds of the French diplomats, and possibly in the intent of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, it was susceptible of ambiguous interpretation. The points of most interest in this history will doubtless be found the comments of the French envoys on the one hand and the suggestions of the Zeeland Estates on the other.²

*91 *4. *What was the policy of the Dutch as to recognizing a right of any other power to lands still occupied only by natives?*

What was the feeling of the Estates of Zeeland has been shown above. But it was notoriously the general attitude of the Dutch—especially after their great publicist, Hugo Grotius, early in the seventeenth century, had in his *Mare liberum* impugned the basis of Spanish and Portuguese claims. More even than did other Europeans, they sought their title from the natives themselves. Their relations with the aborigines of the Guiana coast seem from the first to have been those of friendship and alliance;

¹ Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 317-319.

² *Postscript*.—Since submitting this report I have had opportunity, in the Dutch archives at The Hague, to examine the original manuscript records of the Münster negotiations. But neither in the six thick volumes containing the *procès verbal* of the Dutch envoys nor in the four containing the action of the States General relative to the treaty did my somewhat hurried search reveal anything of importance to the West India question which was not long ago printed by Aitzema or by Leclerc. For the correctness of these scholars as to the data of chief interest to us I can, however, now vouch.

No. 1.

and, though no specific treaties have been adduced, still less is there anywhere implication, in the accessible Dutch sources, of a claim derived from Spain. Of the relations of the Dutch with the Indians the Spaniards were constantly complaining, and specific illustration is perhaps unnecessary.

5. Was this provision of the treaty ever appealed to by the Dutch in support of aggressions on territory claimed by the Spaniards?

Throughout the century and a half of their neighborhood in South America—a period filled with reciprocal aggressions and complaints—I have as yet found no instance of appeal to this clause of the treaty by the Dutch. For the present purpose it may be enough to point out that no such instance is cited by the British Blue Books.¹

*Yet it may, of course, be replied that, while the Dutch might *92 be unwilling, by urging such a claim, to admit Spanish rights over unsettled territory, Spain might still be estopped by the clause from representing their encroachments.

6. How have later historians and diplomatists interpreted this clause?

In the multitude of authorities I have consulted I have found as yet no other interpretation than that it refers to Portuguese possessions. Most, indeed, dismiss the article with a mere passing mention; and their evidence can be counted, therefore, at best, but negative. Two, however, offer something more.

¹ *Postscript*.—Having, since the submission of this report, made search in the Dutch archives, through the whole of the diplomatic correspondence between the Netherlands and Spain during this period, and also through the papers of the States-General and of the West India Company, I am able to affirm this position with much greater positiveness. To other clauses of the treaty I find the Dutch appealing; to this never. The Spaniards, however, once appealed to it, and the case is an interesting one. It was in 1688. The Spanish ambassador laid before the States-General (January 16, 1688) a complaint regarding an alleged project of certain Dutchmen at Amsterdam and elsewhere to establish in America, "in the neighborhood of the great river of Darien," a "free port in the form of a new commonwealth." This region, claimed the ambassador, belonged notoriously to the King his master, and was in his possession; wherefore "this would be in direct violation of Article V of the Treaty of Peace" of 1648, "which treaty," he adds, "is observed religiously by both parties." Thereupon after six months' inquiry and deliberation, the States-General replied (July 27, 1688) that the projectors in question had in view nothing which was contrary to the treaty, and would take no action at all without the permission of the States-General; moreover, that before granting this permission the States-General would find out whether the enterprise were in any way in conflict with Article V or any other article of the Treaty of Münster, and in that case would wholly forbid it. And nothing more is heard of the project. (See, for the documents in this episode, vol. ii of the report of the Commission, pp. 183-187).

Had the Dutch been disposed to invoke the Treaty of Münster against Spanish aggressions, they surely could have had no more tempting occasion than was given by the assaults on the Essequibo posts during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Yet I find neither in the protests of the West India Company and of the States-General nor in the diplomatic correspondence with Spain any allusion to that treaty. Once, indeed (September 2, 1754), the governor of the Essequibo colony asked the Company if the boundary between Holland and Spain in Guiana were not regulated by the Treaty of Münster; but they were obliged to reply (January 3, 1755) that neither in that treaty nor in any other could they find anything about it.

No. 1.

Jacques Basnage, theologian and historian, was one of the foremost trained diplomatists of Holland in the early eighteenth century. His share was large in the negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht, which re-
 *93 affirmed the provisions of the Treaty of *Münster. Just at the close of his life he published at The Hague his huge *Annals of the United Provinces*, and in it he subjects the Treaty of Münster to careful analysis.¹ "By the third article," he says, "each was to preserve its property." And then, a little after, speaking of the fifth, "The same thing was to hold in the Indies, both East and West. And included therein were the towns which the States-General had taken in Brazil from the Portuguese since 1641; or which they should take in future" [*La même chose devoit s'observer aux Indes tant Orientales qu' Occidentales. Et on y comprenoit les Villes que les États-Généraux avoient ocupés [sic] au Brésil sur les Portugais depuis l'an 1641; ou qu'ils occuperoient [sic] à l'avenir*]. The error as to the condition of things in Brazil is palpable; but the interpretation of the treaty is none the less clear.

And the Comte de Garden, perhaps the best known of the general historians of diplomacy, in his *General History of Treaties of Peace*, writes:²

By this Article [V] Spain abandoned to the Dutch all the conquests which they had made over the Portuguese in the different parts of the world while Portugal was a province of the Spanish monarchy. This sacrifice was not great on the part of the Spaniards; since 1640 they had vainly been striving to subject Portugal, and they could consequently flatter themselves little with the hope of recovering these distant possessions. So they made no difficulty about ceding also to the Dutch, by this same Article V, their rights to all the forts and places which the Portuguese had taken from them, since 1641, in Brazil, and likewise also to the forts and places which the Dutch could conquer thereafter without infringing the present treaty--that is to say, which they could conquer from the Portuguese in the Indies and in America" [* * * "*de même que sur les lieux et places que les Hollandais pourraient conquérir dans la suite, sans infraction au présent traité, c'est-à-dire qu'ils pourraient conquérir sur les Portugais, aux Indes et en Amérique*"].

*94 **Postscript*.—I am happy to be able to add what amounts to an official Spanish exposition of this article of the treaty of Münster. When, toward the close of the eighteenth century, Spain grew impatient of the fetters put upon her trade in the East Indies by the clause of this article forbidding her "to go further," and when her efforts on behalf of her Philippine Company were met by protest from the Netherlands, she tried to stir Dutch generosity by pointing out in detail the greatness of her own concessions in this treaty. Thus argue the Spanish diplomatists in their memorial transmitted to the Dutch States-General on December 4, 1786:

¹ Basnage, *Annales des Provinces-Unies* (La Haye, 1726), vol. i, p. 102.

² Garden, *Histoire générale des Traités de Paix*, vol. i, pp. 168, 169.

No. 1.

"The condition of affairs in the two Indies, and especially in the East, when the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia were begun, was as follows: The Dutch wished by that Treaty to retain not only all the conquests they had made in the Indies, but even, with the help of Spain, to obtain and secure a right to the reconquest of what had been conquered from them under the new Portuguese Government. In point of fact Spain alone, by reason of her rights to the Crown of Portugal, could have a right to the conquests belonging to that crown in the East and West Indies; and hence it was Spain which could concede these to the States-General of the United Provinces. Inspired by that aim, the Dutch plenipotentiary sought, in the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Westphalia, or Münster, to win over the Spanish plenipotentiaries to the expediting of the Peace, cajoling them with the plea that the Portuguese, if attacked in the Indies by the subjects of the United Netherlands, would be the less able to defend themselves in the Spanish peninsula, and thereby the conquest of Portugal would be the easier for Spain.

"France, which on the one hand had supported the revolt and independence of the Netherlanders, and on the other hand had aided and abetted that of the Portuguese, was startled by the negotiations carried on between the Dutch and Spanish envoys. France and Holland had agreed not to make peace the one without the other; but the French plenipotentiary, the Comte d'Avaux, found out that the Dutch deputies had almost completed their Treaty, and they confessed to him that the three points which had remained unsettled were nearly arranged.

The first of these points was that *Spain should restrict her limits in the East Indies to those which she then possessed*, conceding or leaving to the Dutch *the conquests in all the remainder*; and out of this arose the alienation of the French plenipotentiary." *95

The Spanish memorial then quotes in full the significant passage from the letter to Mazarin,¹ and resumes its argument thus:

"From this passage it is very clearly to be seen that the sole object and thought of Holland in the Congress of Münster, as regards the East Indies, was to obtain from Spain an agreement not to extend her limits there; *to restrict herself to what she then occupied and to leave to the Dutch the conquests* which they might be able to win from the Portuguese, without thought of forbidding the Spaniards to carry on their trade by whatever route might suit them. This same object is that which appears with the utmost clearness in Article V of the Treaty of Münster. . . .

"The second point agreed on was that Spain and the States General should remain in possession of what they respectively occupied at the time of the treaty in both the East and the West Indies, as also in Brazil and on the coasts of Asia, Africa and America; this point follows literally the provision in Articles III and IV of the truce of 1609 and in the instructions of the Spanish plenipotentiaries. The third point was that the States-General should preserve their possession and rights as to the forts and places which the Portuguese had taken from them since the year 1641, as also to the forts and places which the said States shall come to conquer there hereafter [*llegassen a conquistar de alli adelante*] *without infraction of the present Treaty*. This exorbitant concession made by Spain to Holland was that which the [French] plenipotentiaries in the Congress of Münster com-

¹ Printed on pp. *86, *87, above.

No. 1.

plained of, as we have quoted in the words of the historian of the Peace of Westphalia; but it is to be noted that, according to this same Article V, the navigation, traffic, possession, and rights of conquest conceded to the States-General must be *without infraction of the present Treaty*, which is the same as to say that they must not conflict with the navigation, traffic, possession, and rights reserved likewise to Spain in both the Indies and on the coasts of Africa, Asia, and America. . . . Spain was to retain by this

*96 article all that she possessed on the coasts of Asia, Africa and America, and all the rights which on these coasts have *pertained or do pertain to the Crown, except what was taken and occupied by the Portuguese from the States-General. . . . The Dutch plenipotentiaries strenuously urged the permanent sanction, by a treaty framed for the navigation of the East and West Indies, of what Spain and Portugal had, up to the temporary concession in the Truce of 1609, refused and opposed, obtaining at Münster the enormous concession that they should acquire as their own their new conquests, receiving under certain circumstances those made by Spain." [*"obteniendo en Munster la condecendencia exorbitante de que adquiriessen privativamente las Nuevas Conquistas dexando las hechas a la España en tales circunstancias."*]

Grave are these concessions, and significant the quotation, without a word of protest, of that comment of the French envoys¹ which puts the widest interpretation upon this clause of the Treaty of Münster; but it is still clear that, even as a basis for an appeal to Dutch generosity, the Spaniards are not themselves disposed to accord it so broad a meaning. Answer from the Dutch side to this document there is none to be found in the records.²

It seems fair, then, to conclude that:

1. It is improbable that, in the intent of its framers and its ratifiers, the Treaty of Münster conceded to the Dutch a right to win from the natives lands claimed by Spain.

2. It does not appear that it was ever interpreted in this sense by either Spain or the Dutch.

GEORGE L. BURE.

WASHINGTON, April, 1896.

¹ See page *87 above.

² The Spanish original of this memorial, as transmitted by the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, may be found in the Dutch Rijksarchief at the Hague among the diplomatic correspondence of Fagel, Secretary of the States-General, in the volume marked "*Spanje: Secrete Brieven, 1756-1796.*" A Dutch translation of the whole document, but without the Spanish original, may be found printed in the *Secrete Resolutien* of the Estates of Holland, under January 19, 1787. The clauses italicized in the translation above given are, of course, thus italicized in the manuscript.

No. 2.***Report as to the Territorial Rights of the Dutch West India Company. *99**

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

In the course of the controversy over the Guiana boundary it has been alleged (1) that the charters of the Dutch West India Company named the river Orinoco as one of the limits of its grant, and (2) that within the limits of the grant these charters gave territorial jurisdiction.

Thus the British Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1" states (p. 5):

In 1621 the Charter of the Dutch West India Company was granted by the States-General. . . . This Charter, reaffirmed in 1637, gave the Orinoco as the limit of the Company's territorial jurisdiction.

And again (p. 7):

After the Treaty of Münster, fresh regulations were again issued by the States-General to the Dutch West India Company, in which the Orinoco is again treated as the limit of its jurisdiction.

And yet again (p. 8):

In 1674 the Charter of the West India Company was renewed, and in the preamble the Colonies of Essequibo and Pomeroon were enumerated, the limit of the Company's jurisdiction being still fixed at the river Orinoco.

*To determine the grounds for these statements, and to learn *100 what more in the grants to the Company might be pertinent to this question, I have, at the request of the Commission, made a careful study of the charters of the Company and of all the legislation of the States-General in its behalf, so far as printed in the great official collection of the States-General's acts.¹

¹ The *Groot Placaat-Boek*. This is the one source cited by the English Blue Book (save that, for the charter of 1674, it names only the "*Nederl. Jaer-Boek*" of 1750). The copy I have used of the *Groot Placaat-Boek* is that in the Astor Library, printed at The Hague, by the public printer, at intervals from 1658 to 1746, and breaking off with Volume VI. at the year 1740. These volumes contain the legislation of the States-General from the beginning, together with many earlier documents (from 1097 on) bearing on the history of the Netherlands, and they include the most important acts of the provincial Estates of Holland and of Zeeland, as well as those of the States-General—though, alas, not the entire legislation of any of these bodies. The work is very fully indexed; but I have not trusted the index alone.

Since completing this paper I have studied at Albany (in the State Library) the remainder of this series to 1794, together with a full set of the printed minutes of the Estates of Holland; and at The Hague and in Middelburg have been able to consult the manuscript originals of these records. I have found, however, to supplement or modify the conclusions of this paper, nothing of importance.

I. AS TO LIMITS.

The Company received its first charter on June 3, 1621. This charter consists of forty-five articles. The only specification of limits is in Article I, whereby all outside the Company are prohibited from travel and trade ("te varen, ofte negotiernen, ofte eenigerhande traffijcq te drijven") to the coasts and lands of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, or furthermore, to the lands of America, beginning from the south end of Newfoundland through the straits of Magellan, Le Maire, or other straits and passages lying thereabout, to the Straits of An *101 Jan [corresponding to our Bering Strait],¹ whether *to the North Sea or to the South Sea, or to any of the islands on the one side or on the other or lying between the two; or, moreover, to the Australian and southern lands, stretching and lying between the meridians of the Cape of Good Hope on the east, and on the west the east end of New Guinea, inclusive."²

It will be seen that there is here no mention of the Orinoco, nor indeed of any other American limit between Newfoundland on the one coast and Bering Strait on the other. The charter was meant, that is, to include the entire coast of America.

Six days later, on June 9, 1621, there was again issued, by itself, this edict of prohibition,³ the specification of limits being couched in precisely the same terms as in the charter. On June 10, 1622, the salt trade within the Company's limits, which had not at first been included in their monopoly,⁴ was added to it; but the limits are themselves not specified, save by reference to the earlier documents. The main objective point of this salt trade was *beyond* the Orinoco—at Punta de Araya, near Cumaná.⁵ On November 26, 1622, these prohibitions of June 9, 1621, and June 10, 1622, had to be renewed; but the territorial limits are not again specified.

On February 13, 1623, the charter was slightly amplified;⁶ but *102 there was no change of limits, and therefore no mention *of these.

Nor were they mentioned in the prohibition of May 24, 1624,⁷ which forbade emigration or transport of emigrants save through the Company.

¹ Strictly speaking, the Strait of An Jan is not laid down on the old maps at the same point as our Bering Strait; but that is only because the northern Pacific was unknown. As it was the strait supposed to divide America from Asia, it exactly coincides with Bering Strait as a limit.

² *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. i, cols. 565-578. Cf. Aitzema, *Saken van Staat en Oorlogh*, vol. i, pp. 62-66, where the charter is also printed in full; as also in Tjassens, *Zee-Politie* ('s Gravenhage, 1670), pp. 305-317.

³ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 577-580. There is in the Library of Congress an official contemporary impression of this Placaat ("in 's Gravenhage, by Hillebrant Jacobsz," 1621). It is from this that I have transcribed the extract above.

⁴ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 579-582. It is printed also by Aitzema, i, pp. 66, 67, and in part by Tjassens, pp. 317-318.

⁵ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 581-584.

⁶ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 583-586. Also in Aitzema, i, p. 67, and in Tjassens, pp. 318, 319.

⁷ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 595-598.

No. 2.

And the form of government promulgated on October 13, 1629,¹ for the territorial acquisitions of the Company is equally without definition of limits.

In thinking the charter "reaffirmed in 1637," the English Blue Book is in error. Granted for twenty-four years, it did not expire till 1645. Even then it was not at once renewed, for its friends sought strenuously the consolidation of the West India Company with the East, whose charter had also just run out.² It was not until July 4, 1647, that the States-General promulgated the intelligence that on March 20 preceding they had prolonged for another quarter-century the charter of the West India Company. The limits were unchanged, and are not restated. When at the end of 1671 the charter again expired,³ it was thrice renewed for periods of eight months at a time, pending discussion, and naturally without any mention of territorial limits.

The fate of the old Company had long been sealed, and on September 20, 1674 the States-General created by charter an entirely new one.⁴ Its territorial limits were vastly narrower; "To wit, that within the period of this current century, and thereafter to the year 1700,⁵ inclusive, no native or subject of these lands shall, otherwise than in the name of this United Company, be at liberty to sail or trade to the coasts and lands *of Africa, reckoning from the Tropic of Cancer to the latitude of *103 thirty degrees south of the Equator, including all the islands in that district lying on the aforesaid coasts, and especially the islands St. Thomas, Annebon, Isle de Principe, and Fernando Polo, together with the places [plaetsen] of Essequibo and Pomeroon, lying on the continent of America, and also the islands Curaçao, Aruba, and Buonaire" (. . . "*midts-gadirs de plaetsen van Isekebe ende Bauumerona aen het vaste Landt van America gelegen, als mede de Eylanden Curaçao, Aruba ende Buonaire*"). And that is all. Elsewhere in the old domain anybody might now trade.⁶

¹ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, ii, cols. 1285-1248.

² *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i. Also in Aitzema, and in Tjassens, pp. 337, 338.

³ December 24, 1671; August 27, 1673; March 30, 1673. See the *Groot Placaat-Boek*, iii, pp. 1329, 1330.

⁴ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, iii, pp. 1331-1343. The official contemporary impression of The Hague, 1674, is in the Library of Congress, and it is that which I here transcribe.

⁵ The worthy legislators evidently counted the year 1700 a part of the next century.

⁶ *Postscript*.—This charter had been long in process of creation. As early as June 7, 1669, it was under discussion in the provincial estates of Holland, the limits then suggested being precisely those later adopted. On April 2, 1674, this provincial body submitted to the States-General another draft, in which to the two places on the American mainland, Essequibo and Pomeroon, was added New Netherland (which the Amsterdamers still hoped to regain from the English), and also a provision that the new West India Company might retain "such further places and districts on the American mainland as it should take actual possession of by the creation of forts, warehouses, or established trade" ("*ende de verdere plaetsen ende districten aen het vaste Lant van America gelegen, dewelcke inde Octroye aende voorgaende West Ind^e Comp^e vergunt ende mede onder denselven Limieten gecomprenheende geweest syn, voor so veel dese nieuwe Generale West Ind^e Comp^e vande voorgenoemde verdere plaetsen ende districten dadelycke possessie door het maken van fortien, Logien ofte gestabilleerden handel, komt te nemen, en te behouden*"). But, in the new draft submitted by the Estates of Holland on August 13, 1674, this interesting supplementary clause has dropped out. In those earlier forms, no more than in the finished charter, is there the slightest mention of the Orinoco. (See the printed minutes of the Holland Estates and the manuscript records of the States-General at The Hague.)

No. 2.

On November 30, 1700, this charter was renewed for thirty years more (to date from January 1, 1701), without change or restatement of limits;¹ and again, on August 8, 1730, for another thirty years (to date from January 1, 1731), still without change or restatement.² At the end of 1760 it was again renewed for a single year without change of limits, and
 *104 on *January 1, 1762, for thirty years more, expiring with the dissolution of the company at the close of the year 1791.³

It is thus clear that, from beginning to end of its existence, the charters of the Dutch West India Company never named the Orinoco as its limit. Yet in the renewal of 1700 there is a mention of that river which is at least of interest. Differing rates of toll had been established for cargoes to "New Netherland," to "the West Indies," and to "other places of America;"⁴ and now, "for the better elucidation of the aforesaid charter," the States-General "further explains" "that under the name of New Netherland" may be included "that part of North America which stretches westward and southward from the south end of Newfoundland to the Cape of Florida," while "under the name of West Indies are understood the coasts and lands from the Cape of Florida to the river Orinoco, together with the Curaçao Islands," and that by the phrase "the other places of America" ("*de verdere plaetsen van America*"), whether, "in the oldest or the preceding charter," "are denoted all the Caribbean islands—Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico included—together with all the coasts and lands from the River Orinoco aforesaid, through the straits of Magellan, Le Maire, or other straits and passages thereabouts, to the straits of Anjan," etc.

It will hardly be claimed that the Orinoco is hereby made a boundary of the colony of Essequibo, for this would carry the other frontier to Bering Strait. And somewhat the same difficulty is offered by those enactments of the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, in
 *105 which alone in all the *legislation of the States-General I have else found a mention of the Orinoco. It is one of these—that of 1637—which the English Blue Book⁵ has in its text taken for a reaffirmation of the charter; and it is part of another which, by some confusion, it has reprinted in its appendix.⁶

The circumstances of these enactments seem to have been as follows: The policy of carrying the war with Spain into America had proved so popular, especially after the Dutch successes in Brazil and the capture of the Spanish silver fleet in 1628, that in 1632 it was found necessary to put

¹ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, iv, pp. 1333, 1334.

² *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vi, pp. 1401–1407.

³ I follow the contemporary official impression of this "*Nader prolongatie van het Octroy*" (The Hague, 1761). Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 216, and Netscher, *Geschiedenis van de Kolonien*, p. 83, note, are both slightly in error as to these dates.

⁴ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vi, pp. 1401–1407.

⁵ Blue Book, p. 5.

⁶ Blue Book, p. 55.

No. 2.

some restrictions on the privateers.¹ At any rate, on May 14 of that year the States-General issued an enactment that for the space of one year (to the end of May, 1633) no armed ships "shall be free to sail to the coast of Africa, Brazil, or New Netherland, or elsewhere where the Company may have trade [*daer de Compagnie Negotie soude mogen hebben*], on any account whatsoever, nor under any pretext that may be urged - lack of provisions, fresh water, or whatever else - on pain of the penalties prescribed in the charter against those who violate it."² Yet shall the aforesaid ships prior to the date above named of the last of May, 1633, be free to sail to the West Indies, to wit, the river Orinoco, westward along the coast of Cartagena,³ Puerto Bello, Honduras, Campeachy, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with all the islands lying within *these *106 limits, in order there to carry on all manner of warfare, by sea and by land, against the King of Spain, his subjects and allies."

A month or so after the expiration of this prohibition, on July 15, 1633, it was renewed,⁴ this time without restriction as to period, but with a notable change as to territory. Brazil is added to the permitted lands, while the clause defining "on any account whatsoever" (from "nor under any pretext" to "prescribed in the charter against those who violate it" — "*noch*" to "*gestatueert*") is stricken out. Ships of war were now, therefore, prohibited only from sailing "to the coasts of Africa, or New Netherland, or elsewhere where the Company may have trade," but may sail "to the coasts of Brazil; likewise into the West Indies, to wit, the river Orinoco westward along the coast of Cartagena, Puerto Bello, Honduras, Campeachy, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida,"⁵ etc.

It is this enactment of 1633 which is printed in part in the English Blue Book⁶ as "*Regulations for the Dutch West India Company*," and with the appended note that "there are some minute verbal alterations, not affecting the sense, between the text of 1632 and that of 1633." It has been pointed out that the regulations are not for the Company, but for the "armed ships" of others; and I think it will appear that the transfer of Brazil from the prohibited coasts of the one edict to the permitted coasts of the other affects the sense at least enough to make it clear that the Orinoco is not meant as a limit of the Company's jurisdiction—for Brazil, in 1633 as in 1632, was the most highly valued and the most

¹ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 599-602, and especially the note; and Aitzema, i, pp. 67-69. It calls itself: "*Ordre ende Reglement . . . waer op ende waer naer alle gemonteerde schepen uyt dese respective Provincien sullen vermoghen te varen in seecker ghedeelte ran de limiten van 't Octroy van de West-Indische Compagnie.*"

² "*Om geenderly oorsaecke, noch onder wat pretext sulcks soude mogen geschieden, 't zy van vervallen te zijn, faulte van Vivres, versch Water of andersints, op de penen inden Octroye tegens de Contraventeurs van dien gestatueert.*"

³ "*Naer West-Indien, te weten de Riviere Orinocque, Westwaerts langhs de Kuste van Cartagena.*"

⁴ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 599-602. Cf. Aitzema, i, pp. 67-69, and Tjassens, pp. 319-323.

⁵ The Dutch text may be found on p. 55 of the English Blue Book.

⁶ Blue Book, p. 55.

No. 2.

tenaciously held of all the Company's possessions. It is not as a
 *107 limit of *the West India Company, but as the first term in a definition of the West Indies, that the name of the Orinoco occurs; and a glance at the maps will show with what perfect geographical fitness, for the mouth of this river is precisely the point where the long line of the Caribbean islands, terminating in Trinidad, reaches the coast. And surely there are other reasons, besides those of boundary, which could make such a landmark as the great mouth of the Orinoco, beyond which to the east there were in any case by common confession no Spanish settlements, a wise limit for ships of war. It is, alas, not quite certain, as the Guiana coast is not mentioned either among those prohibited or those permitted, that it is not in both enactments included under "the coasts of Brazil."

Much more susceptible of the interpretation here urged by the English Blue Book would seem another statute of the States-General, enacted in 1635 and renewed in 1637.¹ On January 6, 1635, "by advice and deliberation of the Directors" of the West India Company, the States threw open to all subjects of the United Provinces the trade in "wood, tobacco, cattle, and all kinds of wares or merchandise in certain parts of the limits of the charter of the said Company," namely: . . . "The ships of the aforesaid subjects shall be free to sail to the West Indies: To wit, the river Orinoco, westward along the coast of Cartagena, Puerto Bello, Honduras, Campeachy, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with all the islands lying within these limits, but they shall on no account whatsoever be free to sail to the coast of Africa, nor to New Netherland, or elsewhere where the said Company has trade." . . .

*108 And on October 16, 1637, this edict was renewed without *change of terms.² In both enactments Brazil is entirely ignored; but on April 29, 1638, the trade of Brazil was thrown open by a separate ordinance, which was supplemented by others of August 10, 1648, and December 11, 1649.³ In these the phrase of territorial description is "to the city Olinda de Pernambuco, and the coasts of Brazil" ("*op de Stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Kusten van Brazil*"); and the "Wild Coast," as the Dutch called the coast of Guiana, is nowhere mentioned.

Now, here at last we have the Orinoco named in such way as to suggest a limit of monopoly. But a more careful inspection shows that it is as the first Spanish point, not as the last Dutch one, that it is named. It is to be the beginning of free trade, but may nevertheless lie somewhat beyond the last port closed by monopoly. And what was restricted by these enactments was not the territorial authority of the Company, which every-

¹ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 607-610. There is in the Library of Congress a contemporary official impression of this *Plakkaat*.

² *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 607-610. It is the text of the renewal which is followed by the *Placaat-Boek*, the variations of that of 1635 being pointed out in a note. It is printed also by Aitzema, i, p. 69, and by Tjaassens, p. —.

³ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 609-612, 612-618.

No. 2.

where, as in Brazil, for example, remained on precisely the same footing and with the same limits as ever, but solely its monopoly of trade.¹

On August 10, 1648, the States-General issued yet another of these regulations as to trade. It was not, as might possibly be inferred from its date, an outcome of the Treaty of Münster. The territorial limits of this particular restriction were adopted by the West India Company itself as early as October 14, 1645, after much discussion as to the best interests of trade, and were submitted on April 9, 1647, in precisely this form to the States-General, in the report of the committee on *the reform of *109 the West India Company.² It is clear at a glance that what is here thrown open to free trade is again the Spanish coasts of the Caribbean and the Gulf, and that the Orinoco serves as a point of departure for these, while what is reserved to the Company is the entire remaining coast of America, with that of West Africa. Were this a territorial claim, it would imply Dutch ownership of all America and Africa. It is in fact a trade restriction implying in itself no territorial claims whatever, though territorial possessions doubtless had their share in determining this restriction of trade. As originally drawn in 1645, and as submitted to the States-General in 1647, what was permitted by the regulation was not primarily trade, but "to attack or injure the enemy," and it was explicitly set forth that "it is not intended to license the ship or ships . . . merely to trade in or carry timber, salt, tobacco or cotton, and all other wares, . . . but it is also designed to commit offensively and defensively every hostility and damage on the King of Castile's subjects." But, the peace with Spain having intervened, in 1648 it was enacted without these aggressive clauses, but without change as to territorial limits.

As the new and final charter of 1674 granted the new Company formed by it nothing else on the American mainland than "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon," the Orinoco could hardly again come into question, even as a trade limit, unless the Orinoco were counted the boundary of Pomeroon. That it was so counted never appears in the legislation of the States-General, and seems expressly precluded by the terms ("the territory of the State, extending . . . to beyond the river Waini, not far from the mouth of the river Orinoco") *of the remonstrance ad- *110 dressed by the States-General to Spain in 1769.

There result, then, from this review of the legislation of the States-General the conclusions:

1. That neither in any charter of the Dutch West India Company, nor in any "reaffirmation" or extension of any charter, is there mention of the Orinoco as a limit.

2. That in none of the published legislation on behalf of that Company,

¹ *Postscript*.—This has been printed in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 56, 58.

² This document may be found in English translation in the first volume of the *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York*, pp. 216-248.

No. 2.

is the Orinoco made a boundary of territorial right, possession, or jurisdiction.

3. That its second and final charter of 1674 seems to exclude the Orinoco from the territorial possessions of the Company.

II. AS TO JURISDICTION.

The original charter of the Dutch West India Company, in 1621, granted in its second article:¹

That, further, the aforesaid Company in our name and by our authority, within the limits hereinbefore prescribed, shall have power to make contracts, leagues, and alliances with the princes and natives of the lands therein comprised, as well as to build there any fortresses and defenses, to [provide]² governors, troops and officers of justice, and for other necessary services, for the preservation of the places, maintenance of good order, police, and justice. And, likewise, for the furtherance of trade, to appoint, transfer, remove, or replace, as according to circumstances they shall find proper. Furthermore, they may promote the settlement of fruitful and uninhabited districts, and do everything that the service of these lands³ [and the] profit and increase of trade shall demand. And they of the Company shall regularly communicate *111 *with us, and shall report such contracts and alliances as they shall have made with the aforesaid princes and nations, together with the conditions of the fortresses, defenses, and settlements by them undertaken.⁴

The third article of the charter provides that the States-General shall confirm and commission all governors, and that these, as also the vice-governors, commanders, and officers, shall swear allegiance to the States as well as to the Company.

By the fifth article the States promise to supply such troops as may be necessary—these, however, to be paid by the Company.

Such are the provisions creating and limiting the territorial jurisdiction of the West India Company. They were never changed. Even in the new charter of 1674 these articles were copied outright, with but one or two corrections in diction.⁵

¹ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. i, col. 567.

² This important verb is omitted in the charter, as printed in the *Groot Placaat-Boek*, in Altzema, and in Tjassens—and so, perhaps, in the original document; but it is supplied, in the new charter of 1674, as “aenstellen.”

³ I. e., the Netherlands, not the colonies: see Professor Jameson's discussion of this phrase in his *Willem Usselinx*, pp. 71, 72. The words, which are of constant occurrence, always refer to the mother country.

⁴ On August 27, 1648, at the request of the States-General and by instruction of the Company, “Director de Laet delivered unto the assembly authentic copies of such treaties, contracts, and capitulations as the said West India Company hath made and concluded with the kings, princes, and potentates within the limits of their charter. Whereupon deliberation being had, it is resolved and concluded that the aforesaid authentic copies be locked up and preserved.” (*Minutes of the States-General*, as translated in *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, i, pp. 253, 254.)

⁵ In Article II “begrepen,” “comprised,” becomes *gelegen* “situated;” the long word *nootsaacktelijcke*, “necessary,” yields to the shorter word *nootdijcke*, “needful;” and the lacking verb *aenstellen* is supplied. Articles II and V are wholly unchanged.

No. 2.

But as early as 1629 the States-General found it wise to prescribe more definitely for the government of the new territories. On October 13 of that year they issued an "Order of Government,"¹ both as to policy and as to justice, in the places conquered and to conquer in the West Indies," explaining that "it has been made clear to us on behalf of the West India Company that for the better direction of affairs it would be useful and serviceable to the said Company that under our *authority there *112 should be enacted by the said chartered Company a definite system of government, both as to policy and as to justice, in the place or places (with God's help) to be conquered."

The provision for the protection of the vested rights of "Spaniards, Portuguese, and natives"—the phrase occurs more than once—suggests where these conquests were to be made.

"The councilors," says the fifteenth article, "shall further seek at every opportunity to establish friendship, trade, and commerce with neighboring and near-by lords and peoples, also alliances and compacts, to the damage and enfeebling of the King of Spain, his subjects and allies, and to the best furtherance of the common weal of the Company, making the aforesaid treaties on behalf and in the name of the High and Mighty Lords the States-General and of the West India Company; and shall, regarding all these, take first and foremost the advice of the General and Governor." All property of the Jesuits, or of "other convents or colleges of clergy, of what order soever," is to be seized and confiscated to the profit of the Company, just as if belonging to the King of Spain. The twenty-first article provides for "any places, within the limits, situate on the Continent or on the adjoining islands" which may "come to be conquered and possessed."

Again, on April 26, 1634, the States-General, "by advice and deliberation of the Directors of the general chartered West India Company," issued an "Order and Regulation"²—this time "regarding the settlement and cultivation of the lands and places by the aforesaid Company conquered in Brazil." In this they provide minutely for the government of all such as shall go to dwell "within the limits of the lands and places *conquered or yet to conquer in Brazil by the chartered West India *113 Company."

Still again, on August 23, 1636,³ they further provided for the government of the "conquered captaincies, cities, forts, and places in Brazil;" and yet again, on October 12, 1645,⁴ when the capstone was put on their structure by the creation of "the Supreme Government in the lands of Brazil already through God's blessing conquered, or yet to conquer."

For the government of Guiana, or of any of its colonies, no enactment

¹ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. ii, pp. 1235-1247.

² *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. i, cols. 621-626. A copy of a contemporary impression of this statute may be seen in the Library of Congress.

³ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. ii, cols. 1247-1264.

⁴ *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. ii, cols. 1265-1268.

No. 2.

of the States-General is to be found. The control of its possessions in this quarter seems left wholly to the Company.¹ And in none of these enactments of the States-General, nor yet in any of the explicit codes issued by the Company for the instruction of its servants,² have I found any provision for the trade outposts which play such a part in the colonial records of Guiana, or any intimation as to the territorial claims involved in the establishment of these.

It is, however, worth adding that when in 1665, in the controversy over New Netherland, the British ambassador argued that the West India Company's charter was more limited than the patents granted by the English King, the States-General replied that "that granted to the West India Company is as ample as any which the King hath granted or can grant. And the Company is expressly authorized by the second article of its charter to plant colonies, occupy lands, and furthermore, as fully *114 and amply as any patent from the King can extend, *and such is expressly declared under the Great Seal of the State."³

From this survey of the charters of the Company and of the other legislation of the States-General it appears, then, that the Dutch West India Company was charged with ample territorial jurisdiction in all districts which it should conquer or colonize within the limits of its charter. But it does not appear that this territorial jurisdiction was made coextensive with these limits, or that there was ever mention of the river Orinoco in connection therewith.

But there further exist, among the acts of the States-General, certain grants of territory on the Guiana coast, made by the West India Company with the concurrence of the States or by the States at the instance of the Company. It remains to ask what of territorial jurisdiction or boundary may be specified or implied by these.

Thus, in 1669, the Dutch West India Company conceded to the German Count of Hanau a strip 30 Dutch miles broad, which they have been quoted⁴ as granting "from their territory of Guayana, situated between the river Orinoco and the river Amazons." Unfortunately a careful study of this grant, whose full text is given by the Dutch historian Hartsinck,⁵ and which is translated in full by Rodway and Watt,⁶ the English historians of British Guiana, fails to find in the document any such clause as that quoted.⁷ The phrase actually used is, indeed, full of suggestion of

¹ *Postscript*.—I am glad to add that the Company's provisions for these may now be found in my extracts from Dutch Archives, in Vol. II of the report of the Commission.

² Two contemporary impressions of that issued with the new charter of 1674—that by the official printer of the States-General (*'s Gravenhage*, 1675) and that by the printer of the Company itself at Middelburg—are in the Library of Congress.

³ I owe to Professor Jameson the suggestion of this interesting passage.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 8.

⁵ Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, vol. i, pp. 217-222.

⁶ Rodway and Watt, *Annals of Guiana*, vol. ii, pp. 5, 6.

⁷ I have since studied the original in the Dutch archives at The Hague, but without finding this clause or any like it.

No. 2.

another sort. For the grant reads: . . . "A piece of land situated on the Wild Coast of America, between the river Oronoque and the river of the Amazons," adding the condition, "which His *Excel- *115 lency will be entitled to select, provided he keeps at least six Dutch miles from other colonies there established or founded by the said chartered West India Company or with its consent." . . . ("een streeke Lands, gelegen op de wilde Kust van America, tusschen Rio d' Oronoque en Rio de las Amazonas," . . . "mits blyvende ten minsten zes Hollandsche mylen van andere Colonien door de voornoemde geotrojeerde Westindische Compagnie of met hare permissie aldaar opgericht en geëtablisseeert").

That the grant implies that the whole Wild Coast was counted by the West India Company open to Dutch colonization can not be questioned. It seems to imply also that there were still on that coast unoccupied stretches of 30 Dutch miles in breadth lying at least six miles distant from the Dutch establishments of Surinam, Berbice, and Essequibo; and that such a stretch might by the Dutch be granted outright, even to a foreigner. But it does not assert an *exclusive* Dutch right to colonize that coast; and it must in this connection be constantly remembered that throughout most of this century the Governments of Great Britain and of France were also freely granting patents of territory on the Guiana coast, and that there has been found no record of the slightest Dutch protest against it. Great Britain was, indeed, earlier in the field than the Dutch, the colonies of Leigh and Harcourt antedating any known Dutch settlement on this coast, and the patent to Harcourt covering the whole territory from the Amazon to the Essequibo. It should be added that the colony of the Count of Hanau was a flash in the pan, no attempt ever being made to establish it.

Among the published acts of the States-General I have as yet been able to lay hand on only one other grant of territory in this region. It is a contemporary impression¹ of a * "Charter from the High and Mighty *116 States-General relating to the Colony on the Wild Coast of America, under the leadership of the Knight Balthazar Gerbier, Baron Douvily; printed in the year of our Lord 1659." It tells how, on November 15, 1658, the States conceded to the baron² "as *Patroon* the right to erect a colony on the continental Wild Coast of America, in the district of the charter granted to the West India Company" (* * * "Dat den Heer Ridder Balthazar Gerbier Baron Douvily als *Patroon* sal mogen oprechten een *Colonye* in *West-Indien* op de vaste wilde Cust van America, in 't distrikt van 't

¹ A copy of this impression is in the Library of Congress at Washington. I have since studied the original at The Hague.

² Gerbier, though a Dutchman, had spent most of his life in English service as the friend of Buckingham and of Charles I, to whom he owed his title. Balked in his career by the Puritan revolution, he seems now to have had it in mind to renew under Dutch auspices the Wapoco colony of the Englishman Harcourt. There it was, in the extreme east of Guiana, that he attempted his settlement; but his enterprise came speedily to naught.

No. 2.

Octroy aen de West-Indische Compagnie verleent"). But neither in the "articles of liberties and exemptions," granted him by the Company, nor in the appended "advertisement" setting forth enthusiastically the beauties of the new land, is there any other definition of its location and limits than that it is to be "on the continental Wild Coast of the West Indies, of five miles in breadth, or along the seashore, and further so far inland as shall by the colonists come to be cultivated on the Wild Coast in America, with jurisdiction over the bays lying within the colony, and half [the jurisdiction over] the rivers on the two sides of the aforementioned colony" (. . . *een Colonie te moghen oprechten op de vaste Wilde Custe van de West-Indien van vijf mylen in de breete, ofte langhs den Zee-kant, ende voorts so verre lantswaerts in als door de Coloniers sullen kunnen werden gecultiveert op de wilde Custe in America, met Iurisdiction aen de Bayen in de Colonie gelegen, ende de helft van de Reverien, aen beyde zyden van de voorn. Colonie*).¹

*117 *From the terms of these grants may unquestionably be inferred the assumption by the Dutch Government of a right to plant colonies, either directly or through the West India Company, in the district known as the Wild Coast. There is, however, in none of them anything to suggest that this was counted exclusively a Dutch right; nor is there in them any claim of sovereignty over this coast as a whole.

I hope for much more from the unprinted records of the Company,* which by your instructions I am to examine in Europe.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE L. BURR.

WASHINGTON, *May, 1896.*

¹ The attempts at fresh colonies on the Cayenne and on the Wispoco in 1676, and the charter granted in 1689 to Jan Reeps, of Hoorn, to erect a colony "on the west side of the river Amazon, as far as to Cape Orange," were not the affairs of the West India Company, whose territory now (since the new charter of 1674) included on the mainland only Essequibo and Pomeroon. There is in the charter of Reeps no mention of a Dutch claim to Guiana as a whole. (See the minutes of the States-General March 4, May 29, June 5, 1688, and January 7, 1689; the minutes of the Estates of Holland July 16, 1688; and the charter and prospectus of the colony, printed at the Hague, 1689. A copy of the latter is in the Lenox Library.)

* *Postscript.*—This hope was only partially justified. What I found in these documents may be learned from my report on the evidence of Dutch archives. Nothing in them invalidates the conclusions reached above.

No. 3.

***Report on the evidence of Dutch archives as to European occupation *121
and claims in Western Guiana.**

By **GEORGE LINCOLN BURN.**

*To the Commission appointed "To investigate and report upon the true
divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana":*

Early in May, 1896, I had the honor to receive from you the following instructions:

Washington, D. C., May 7, 1896.

DEAR SIR: For the satisfactory completion of the work of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, it is found necessary to verify and supplement the materials in its hands by researches in the archives and libraries of the Netherlands. It is the Commission's wish to intrust you with this mission.

It seems best that you proceed at once to The Hague, and there first examine carefully the records and diplomatic correspondence of the States-General from the time of the earliest Dutch settlements on the coast of Guiana to the final transfer to Great Britain of the colony of Essequibo, seeking to learn what claims were at any time made to territory or jurisdiction on this coast, and especially what correspondence may ever have been had, as to boundaries or territorial aggressions, with the Government of Spain. Having completed this, you may then make similar research in the records of the provincial Estates, especially in those of Zeeland, for such dealings with trade or with the colonies as may possibly throw some light on territorial claims made by or for the latter in Guiana. This done, all accessible papers *of the Dutch West India Company, whether at *122 Amsterdam, Middelburg, or wherever now to be found, should be thoroughly looked into, with a view to ascertaining the exact location and extent of its settlements and trading posts, the character of the territorial claims based on these under its charters, and the relations sustained by them toward their Spanish neighbors. Should you have reason further to believe that there may be found in municipal archives, libraries, or private collections, records, journals, or correspondence throwing light upon the territorial limits or claims of the Dutch colonies in Guiana, these may also be examined, so far as the courtesy of their custodians makes them accessible to you.

The points to be kept especially in view in this research are:

1. The exact holdings of the Dutch upon the seacoast and the dates of

No. 3.

their occupation or abandonment, with all evidence as to the existence and location of trading posts, guardhouses, or other establishments, however slight or temporary, west of the mouth of the river Moruca.

2. Whatever can be learned of the nature and extent of the trade carried on, and of the control exercised, if any, by the Dutch in the whole region north of the Sierra Imataca, between the mouth of the Moruca and that of the Orinoco, with any intimations of territorial claims in this district.

3. The precise situation, nature, and duration of any Dutch posts established in the valley of the river Cuyuni and its tributaries above the junction of that stream with the Mazaruni, with anything that can be learned of Spanish garrisons or missions in these parts or of the relations here between Dutch and Spanish colonists or authorities.

4. Whatever can throw light upon the precise nature of the territorial claims, as to jurisdiction and boundaries, of the Dutch West India Company, and of its plantations, or upon the attitude of Spain or her colonial authorities toward these.

The Commission will be glad to receive prompt intelligence, by telegraph if the matter seem to you likely materially to influence its conclusions, of all important discoveries made by you; and will expect from time to time detailed reports of your procedure and results. Suggestions as to other promising channels of research it will at all times be willing to receive and consider; and, should there seem to you serious risk in delay, you are empowered to enter upon any such avenue of inquiry before receiving the formal sanction of the Commission.

*123 *In case, in the course of your investigations, you should find documents or papers which you deem of sufficient importance to have copied, you will have this done, obtaining the certificate of the custodian, wherever possible, as to the correctness of the copy, and in all cases making, yourself, a comparison of the copy and the original.

Should you, in the course of your investigations, require the assistance of any clerks, copyists, or stenographers, you are authorized to employ them and to pay them for their services such compensation as may be reasonable and usual in the places where they are so employed.

Very respectfully yours,

S. MALLET-PREVOST,
Secretary.

Professor GEORGE L. BURR.

The mission thus intrusted to me has been accomplished. I have now the honor to submit a final report of its method and its results.

I. METHOD.

In obedience to your instructions I sailed for Holland by the steamship *Werkendam* on Saturday, May 9, 1896. Landing in Rotterdam on the morning of May 22, I went at once to The Hague and entered on my researches in the archives of the realm at that capital. As the details of my procedure are already familiar to the Commission through my frequent communications to its secretary, it will be enough here to say that I was

No. 3.

busied there until nearly the end of August. My research covered the sources named by the instructions of the Commission—the records and diplomatic correspondence of the States-General, the records of the provincial Estates, the papers of the Dutch West India Company, and included, besides, many documents suggested by questions arising in the course of my work or laid before me by the ever-helpful archivists. The papers of the West India Company, all now gathered in these central archives, proved far more voluminous than I had expected, filling many hundreds of volumes, *and I was gratified to find that it was *124 in precisely that portion of them with which my study must deal that least had been lost.¹

It will give an idea of the extent of the task and may aid in the verification of its results if I here subjoin a list, by catalogue numbers,² of the manuscript volumes examined by me:

8	37	88	111	298	342	380	473	491
9	38	91	112	299	343	381	474	495
10	39	92	113	300	344	382	475	497
11	40	93	114	301	345	383	478	525
12	41	94	162	302	346	384	479	526
13	42	95	163	303	368	385	480	527
14	43	96	167	304	369	462	481	528
15	44	97	169	318	370	463	482	531
22	45	98	170	334	371	464	483	533
25	46	99	171	335	372	465	484	534
26	50	100	172	336	373	466	485	535
27	51	106	173	337	374	467	486	536
28	52	107	174	338	376	468	487	537
29	53	108	175	339	377	470	488	538
30	54	109	176	340	378	471	489	539
36	55	110	198	341	379	472	490	540

¹ The missing records whose loss there was most reason to deplore were: (1) The minutes of the proceedings of the Nineteen (the supreme board of the West India Company under its first charter, 1621-1674); of these only the first volume (1623-1624) remains. (2) The earliest volume (1623-1626) of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, and the volumes covering the period 1646-1657. (3) The minutes for certain years of the proceedings of the Ten (the supreme board of the Company under its second charter, 1675-1791), namely, for 1715, 1728, 1738, 1741, 1742, 1745, 1748, 1751, 1752, 1754, 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1770, 1775, 1777, 1783, 1785, 1788, 1789: the archivist in charge of the West India papers, though he had often noticed these strange lacunæ, could give no explanation of them. The letters received by the Company from the Essequibo colony during the period 1756-1772, whose loss threatened to be most serious of all, proved later to be intact among the papers at London.

² These catalogue numbers are likely at no distant day to be replaced by others, since a new catalogue is in prospect. The old catalogue, however, will doubtless remain accessible at the archives. The titles of such of these volumes as I found of fruit to my research will of course be found attached to the transcripts which I herewith submit. The time at my disposal does not warrant a classification and description of them here.

No. 3.

*125	*541	798	904	1084	1959	2119	2368	3077	3122
	542	799	908	1085	1996 <i>b</i>	2120	2369	3078	3123
	569	800	913	1086	2006	2121	2370	3080	3124
	570	801	916	1047	2007	2122	2389	3081	3125
	594	804	917	1048	2008	2157	2390	3082	3133
	596	805	921	1049	2009	2158	2391	3083	3134
	597	806	938	1051	2010	2183	2392	3084	3135
	599	807	939	1052	2012 <i>b</i>	2238	2394	3085	3136
	600	808	940	1053	2012 <i>c</i>	2243	2395	3086	3137
	601	809	941	1395	2012 <i>d</i>	2255	2396	3087	3138
	602	810	944	1396	2013	2260	2397	3088	3142
	629 <i>a</i>	813 <i>a</i>	945	1611	2014	2269	2398	3089	3143
	629 <i>b</i>	813 <i>b</i>	946	1626 <i>a</i>	2022	2287	2439 <i>c</i>	3090	3144
	643	813 <i>d</i>	947	1626 <i>l</i>	2026	2313	2439 <i>xc</i>	3091	3145
	644	824	953	1627 <i>d</i>	2080	2319	2439 <i>xd</i>	3092	3150
	717	841	954	1907	2081	2320	2439 <i>xx</i>	3093	
	758	842	955	1916	2094	2321	2578	3094	
	759	843	960	1917 <i>x</i>	2099	2322	2579	3095	
	764	844	966	1918	2100	2324	2580	3096	
	768	845	967	1919	2109	2332	2581	3097	
	775	846	968	1925	2110	2335 <i>a</i>	2624	3098	
	777	854	970	1933	2111	2336	2657	3101	
	778	855	971	1947	2112	2354	2658	3102	
	779	856	972	1948	2113	2358	2659	3105	
	780	859	974	1953	2114	2359	2961 <i>xxx</i>	3106	
	782	885	975	1954	2115	2363	2966	3107	
	795	901	1005	1955	2116	2365	2976	3108	
	796	902	1022	1956	2117	2366	2980	3120	
	797	903	1023 <i>a</i>	1958	2118	2367	3075	3121	

All these numbered volumes belong to the papers of the Dutch West India Company. To these must be added, therefore, the registers of the States-General, of the Dutch Admiralties, and of the provincial Estates of Holland and of Zeeland.¹ Added must be the diplomatic correspondence be-

tween Spain and Holland, in its three series—the letters of the Dutch
 *126 *Ambassadors in Spain to the States-General, to the Secretary (*Griffier*) of the States-General, and to the pensionary of Holland, who discharged the functions of minister of foreign affairs. Added, too, must be the records of the negotiations connected with the Peace of Westphalia, the Peace of Utrecht, and the Peace of Amiens. Of sundry isolated documents falling under neither of these classes, adequate description will be found in the footnotes to the transcripts which I herewith submit, or in those to the present report.

¹ The minutes of the Holland and the Zeeland Estates are accessible also in print; but passages of grave importance had to be verified by the manuscripts.

No. 3.

In all my labors I received from the officials in charge of the archives the most ungrudging coöperation. Neither my large demands on the working space of the reading room, nor the heavy labor of fetching the hundreds of codices from remote upper chambers caused a word of complaint. Documents and maps I was allowed to copy freely; and copyists and photographers were kindly found for me. At my shoulder, to aid in difficult readings or to lend their experience in questions of interpretation, were ever the patient and astute scholars in charge of the reading room, and there was hardly a member of the staff to whom at one time or another I had not occasion to make appeal. To all these archivists, from highest to lowest—to Jongheer Th. van Riemsdijk, the archivist in chief; to Mr. Telting, the adjunct archivist in charge of the West India papers, and to his colleague in charge of the East India papers, Mr. Heeres; to the commies-chartermeester, Mr. Hingman, who was my guide to the diplomatic papers and to the records of the States-General; to Mr. Morren, who aided me in collation and who was the untiring purveyor of codices; to Messrs. Ross and Van Oyen of the reading room, and to Mr. Caland, my assistant in transcription; and to the janitors as well, who so cheerily fetched and carried away—I owe alike a hearty gratitude which I *should *127 be sorry here not to record.¹ Nor should I by any means omit to mention the generous aid given me in so many ways throughout my work at The Hague by the foremost of all students of the history of the Dutch colonies which now make up British Guiana, their historian, General P. M. Netscher.

In July I was joined by Dr. De Haan, of the Johns Hopkins University, who in June, on his way to spend his vacation with his parents in Leeuwarden, had offered his help in my work. Of this I was now glad to avail myself, and from this time forward he took from my shoulders most of the burden of collation and of translation. In August there joined me, much to the pleasure and profit of my work, Mr. Coudert, of your own number, who remained with me there for some weeks.

Toward the end of August my work had in its chronological progress reached 1791, the date of the suppression of the West India Company. It seemed wise to break off here for a visit to Zeeland, where in the provincial and municipal archives at Middelburg, and in the municipal archives of Flushing and of Vere, I hoped, in view of the close relations of these three Walcheren cities with the Guiana colonies, to gain fresh light, especially upon their earlier history. This hope was disappointed. Arriving in Middelburg, I first addressed myself to the archives of the province of Zeeland, where, in the absence of the archivist in chief, I was courteously received by the commies-chartermeester. His assurance that none of the

¹ My obligations to these scholars have not ceased with my return. Mr. Telting, especially, has patiently answered a multitude of questions arising in the digestion of my work; and Mr. Van Oyen, aided by Mr. Ross, has carried out for me certain researches in the early papers of the States-General which I had been unable to bring to completion.

No. 3.

papers of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company still lingered here was but confirmation of what I had learned at The Hague. He *128 could, however, put before me in the *original manuscript the minutes of the Zeeland Estates, and, what was better, a voluminous body of letters and documents, serving as *pièces justificatives* to these minutes, from the sixteenth century onward. In these documents, which are arranged in the chronological order of the minutes themselves, I sought diligently through those years in which any action of the Estates with regard to Guiana gave me reason to hope for new light from this illustrative matter. The search was, however, wholly without fruit. Nor could I learn of the existence of anything else in the provincial archives likely to throw light upon my problem.

In the same building with the provincial archives of Zeeland is also the provincial library, and to this I now betook myself. The librarian, Mr. Broekema, devoted himself to my service and put into my hands not only certain printed books which I had hitherto sought in vain, but also several manuscripts. Among the latter were the minutes and journals of the "Commercial Company of Middelburg trading within the limits of the West India Company's charter" from 1720 to 1791. I was especially gratified to find here also manuscript copies of the municipal records—the minutes of the city councils—of both Middelburg and Vere. This made unnecessary the visit I had planned to the municipal archives of these two cities, for it was only these minutes I had hoped to consult there; and it was the more welcome because I had reason to believe that at Vere the archives of that ancient town were in some confusion. In none of the books and documents examined by me did I find, however, anything of serious value to my quest.

I should now have turned my steps toward Flushing, had I not learned from the commies-chartermeeester at Middelburg that in the English bombardment of 1809 the town archives had been utterly destroyed. *129 Effort has since been made, *indeed, to gather from private sources what may partially supply their place; but in Middelburg there was put in my hands a complete printed catalogue of these gleanings, and it needed but a hasty turning of its pages to show that a journey thither was needless. I returned, therefore, to The Hague, not much wiser than I came, but convinced that from Dutch provincial and municipal archives in general there was little to hope.

Another quarter promised better fruit. During the course of my research at The Hague there had been published by Great Britain the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," largely made up of extracts from Dutch records; and of this Dutch portion an advance copy had, through the courtesy of Her Majesty's Government, been since June in my hands. From this I had learned, not more to my own surprise than to that of the archivists at The Hague, that a very important portion of the papers received by the Dutch West India Company from its colonies in Guiana were in British

No. 3.

hands, and must be sought in London. Thither, therefore, I now turned myself, accompanied by Dr. De Haan.

Reaching London on September 3, and presenting myself at the American Embassy, I received the necessary introduction to the officials of Her Majesty's Foreign Office. There I met a kindly reception and was conducted to the Colonial Office, where, as soon as matters could be put in readiness, the Dutch colonial papers, together with the maps of the Schomburgk boundary survey, which at the instance of the Commission I had also asked to see, were laid before me and left to my free use. Regarding the maps, which were outside of the scope of my original errand and hence of the present paper, I have elsewhere reported to the Commission. The Dutch documents (which, I was assured, are all that are now *in *130 English hands of the Dutch records of the Essequibo colony) form a single series of letters, with their inclosures, from the Colonial Government to the Dutch West India Company. They are bound in vellum, in thick quarto volumes, numbered consecutively from 456 to 504. Chronologically they begin with the small body of letters from the revived colony on the Pomeroon (1686-1689). All the rest belong to the last century of Dutch occupation, beginning with the opening of the year 1700 and coming down to the expiration of the West India Company at the close of 1791, some documents being of even so late a date as March, 1792. The documents are, in nearly every case, originals, and with their inclosures form a series much more complete than any now in the Dutch archives at The Hague. It seems probable that with the transfer of the colony, in 1814, the Dutch Government handed over to the British its own best official set of these colonial papers. That at least the earliest nine volumes once belonged to the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company is clear from their bearing its monogram on their covers; and it is probable from the older numeration still visible on their backs that all did so.¹

With these documents we were busy until nearly the end of September. The extracts printed by the Blue Book were compared with their originals and the Dutch text transcribed where there could be any doubt as to the precise meaning of a passage. This, under my oversight, was especially the task of Dr. De Haan, while I meanwhile examined the documents *as a whole and transcribed or marked for transcription *131 such other passages as seemed to deserve the attention of the Commission. Of the documents of Dutch origin printed in the Blue Book there remained a few whose originals, even in London, were inaccessible to us. These were those drawn from the archives of British Guiana—extracts

¹ This older numeration, beginning with No. 269, ends with 323, there being some lacunæ and slight variations from the English order. There is an old numeration by letters from A to XX. The British numbers are printed on red slips and pasted on the volume. This, and the title "Colonial Office Transmissions" on a similar red slip, are the only mark of their present ownership except the stamp bearing the words "Public Record Office: Colonial Office," with which bindings and pages alike are plentifully besprinkled.

No. 3.

from the minutes of the old colonial councils of policy and of justice. Such transcripts of the Dutch as had been transmitted from the colony were freely shared with us; but a part of the extracts had been sent in English translation only.¹

Throughout our work at the Colonial Office all possible helpfulness was shown us by those with whom we had to do. For the courtesies of Sir Thomas Sanderson, of the Hon. Francis Hyde Villiers, and of Mr. Reddan, of the Foreign Office, and of Sir Robert Meade and Mr. C. Alexander Harris, of the Colonial Office, I may especially express my thanks. Mr. Harris was almost constantly at call, and facilitated much our work with the documents. I have also to thank him for transcripts generously furnished me since the completion of my work in London.

During the stay in London I had also opportunity for research at the British Museum and at the Record Office, and here, too, received every courtesy and aid from the scholars in charge.

On September 26, we returned to The Hague, and took up again our work at the archives there. By the 20th of October I had brought down my study to the close of the Dutch occupation in Guiana. Crossing that night to England, and finding time next day for a little added research in the British Museum, I sailed for America by the steamer *Teutonic*,
 *132 boarding *it at Queenstown on Thursday, October 22. In the course of the work at The Hague I had found occasion to make researches in the Royal Library and in that of the Department of the Colonies as well as in the archives, and had made several trips to Leyden for investigation in the university library there. I could learn by inquiry of no private collections from which I was likely to gain further materials of importance; and other research in the public archives and libraries of Holland I had been led by what I found at The Hague and in Zeeland to count needless.²

This part of my report must not be closed without grateful recognition of the helpful courtesies at The Hague of the American minister, Mr. Quinby, and of his secretary, Mr. Rix, and at London, of our ambassador, Mr. Bayard, and of Secretary Roosevelt.

With the transcripts, which were the material outcome of my research abroad, I reached Washington on October 28. I have now the honor to lay them before you.³

¹ The passages which we were thus unable to verify were those in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" bearing the numbers 78, 82, 96, 100, 107, 109, 112, 117, 123, 139, 147, 184.

² One exception I must make to this in favor of the private archives of the Stadholders. These archives of the House of Orange, pending the completion of the new building in which they are to be housed and made accessible to scholars, are only partially and with difficulty to be used; and it was so late in my work when I found myself in need of aid from them that I grudged my waning time to the uncertain attempt. For a single point which, had it presented itself earlier, I should certainly have essayed a search among them, I may refer to a note in my report on Maps from Official Sources (at page 150 of Vol. III).

³ These transcripts are printed in full, under the title of "Extracts from Dutch Archives," in Vol. II of the Report of the Commission.

No. 3.

*II. RESULTS.

*133

But what, you ask me, do these documents show? In answer, let me take up, first, their testimony as to the earliest relations of the Dutch with Guiana;¹ then, in territorial order, what they show as to the Dutch in the Essequibo, in the Pomeroon, in the Moruca, in the Waini, in the Barima, in the Amacura, and in the great western branches of the Essequibo, the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni; next, their evidence as to the history of Dutch claims to boundary in these regions; and, in conclusion, what can be learned from these Dutch documents as to the settlements and claims of the Spaniards. At your request I shall take also into account such concurrent or conflicting evidence upon these points as is furnished by other historical sources. To make clearer my results I submit also herewith a series of historical maps, showing the progress of European occupation in the Orinoco-Essequibo region from the beginning of the acquaintance of the Dutch with Guiana to the loss of their western colonies there.²

*I. GUIANA AND THE DUTCH.

*134

The national existence of the Dutch began with the year 1579. In 1581 they formally renounced their allegiance to the King of Spain. Till then, however rebellious, they had been his subjects. Such title as their exploration or commerce could give was the King of Spain's title. Even the assertion of their independence brought with it no claim to lands outside the Netherlands; nor is there reason to suppose that the Dutch yet dreamed of such a claim.³ The King of Spain, indeed, was now their foe; and they knew well that he was not King of Spain alone. That realm but gave him his most familiar title. He was lord of Portugal as well, lord of the fairest

¹ This field (and in part the others also) has already been dealt with by Professor Jameson's report on Spanish and Dutch settlement in Guiana prior to 1648. The conclusions reached by his study, based on the printed sources, are but reinforced by my research among the documents. Yet, as this research has brought into my hands not unpublished documents only, but also the manuscript originals of printed sources, and thus enables me to speak with greater fullness or positiveness on nearly every point touched by him, it has been thought wise to review the whole territory. I shall, however, count it unnecessary to do more than refer to Professor Jameson's paper for the more elaborate treatment of sundry phases of the subject. [See U. S. Com. Report, Vol. i, pp. 37-69.]

² These maps are printed in Vol. IV (atlas), as maps 5-15. A brief paper "On the Historical Maps," in Vol. III, gives a summary of the evidence on which they rest.

³ In view of these facts, I find especially puzzling a claim that "the Dutch appear to have been the first who, in the early part of the sixteenth century, turned their attention to Guiana" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 4); and, as a result of my research, it is not easy to credit the statement in any sense. In reply to a request for the evidence on which it rests, I have learned of nothing definite except only that when in 1528 the Welsers of Augsburg, having received a grant from Charles the Fifth, led their expedition to the Spanish Main, their troop was made up of "Germans and Flemings." But the Welsers were South Germans, their destination was not Guiana, and the "Flemings" who at this date were available for such an enterprise were far more likely to hail from the great towns of the populous Southern Netherlands than from the provinces peopled by the Dutch. Of relations of the Dutch with Guiana prior to their independence I have found else no suggestion; and the researches of the Dutch historians of Dutch commerce give no countenance to such a theory.

No. 3.

lands of Italy, lord of the Mediterranean isles, lord still of half the Netherlands; but his proudest title was that of lord of the Indies. Thence he drew the treasures with which he dazzled and bullied the world.¹ America was but *135 a Spanish *island. No other European State, save Portugal, had yet planted a colony on its shores; and Portugal was now one of the dominions of the King of Spain. Whatever cloud might rest on the exclusiveness of his right by discovery to the northern half of the continent, none now obscured his title to the southern. That this title had, further, the explicit approval of the Pope of Rome was hardly likely to give it added sanctity in the eyes of Protestant powers; but as yet that title, however its basis might be questioned, was not attacked from any quarter. If Drake, the Englishman, and his fellow-freebooters made the Caribbean seas their own and took tribute of the treasures of Peru, it was confessedly but a raid into an enemy's territory; land they neither sought nor claimed.

Yet if the English, though in name at peace with the King of Spain, might thus singe his beard on these far shores, so with double warrant might the Dutch. And such, not conquest or settlement, was, so far as the records show, the aim of the first Dutch project for a visit to *136 these coasts.² Its *suggester was an Englishman. On June 10, 1581, one Captain Butz (or Batz, as his name is spelled by turns—

¹ How conscious the Dutch were of this fact appears constantly in the pages of Usselinx, of Van Meteren, of Grotius. Under many forms they reiterate Raleigh's complaint that "It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe."

² Jan de Laet has again and again been made responsible for the statement that as early as 1580 the Dutch traded to the Orinoco. Hartsinck, the old Dutch historian of Guiana (i. p. 206), was perhaps the first to set afloat the blunder. He makes Gumilla jointly responsible for the statement; but Gumilla merely follows De Laet. What De Laet really says is something very different. It is in one of his chapters on the Orinoco, and he has been speaking of the expeditions of Raleigh from 1595 to 1617.

"For some years now there has been carried on a great trade in tobacco and other things on this river, both by the English, singly and in companies, and by us Dutchmen, so that there have been years when eight, nine, and more ships at a time from the United Netherlands have been on this river" (*Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1625, 1630, bk. xv, cap. 21). In his Latin text (not cited by Hartsinck), which was published some years later, this statement was somewhat expanded as follows: "In the meantime, and even earlier, several expeditions were undertaken both by the English and by our people [the Dutch] to the river Orinoco and the town of Santo Thomé for the purpose of trading, and especially for tobacco which is there diligently cultivated by the Spaniards; so that, as rests on good authority, our people sometimes went up that river with eight or nine ships in a single year and bargained with the governor of Santo Thomé, before the King of Spain had by a most severe interdict forbidden all Spaniards to carry on trade with foreigners."

Now, it is certain that Santo Thomé itself was not in existence before 1591 or 1592 (see, as to this, Professor Jameson's report; and the prohibition meant must be the edict of February 27, 1603, or, more probably, those of April 25 and May 11, 1703 (see p. *154, note). This, therefore, is the period to which, Jan De Laet's statement must apply; and this tallies with what little else we know of this Orinoco trade. Of course, all that could be learned from the passage in any case would be, not that the Dutch, but that the Spaniards were already established in Guiana. Mr. Schomburgk, however, not only falls into the blunder of Hartsinck, but makes the passage more tributary to his argument by adding (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25) to the statement "so early as 1580 the Dutch navigated the Orinoco" the further statement "and settlements were attempted on such parts as were not occupied by the Spaniards." This is, so far as I can determine, a wholly unsupported assumption.

No. 3.

it was not *improbably Butts or Bates), who had already made five *137 voyages to the Indies, offered to the provincial Estates of Holland

Another error, whose evolution is not quite so easy to trace, is that which appears in its most fully developed form in the History of British Guiana by Mr. Rodway, where we read (i, p. 8), that before the end of the sixteenth century Dutch traders had established depôts for Indian products on the Guiana coast, and that "two such depôts were established in Guiana about the year 1580, the one in the Pomeroun, and the other at a small Indian village called Nibie in the Abary Creek." The historian even goes into minute particulars as to the management of these depôts, telling us that "only about ten [men] were left at the store, one of whom was naturally made Commander"—with much else of picturesque detail. But, convincingly circumstantial as all this is, there is, I fear, not the slightest doubt that all the fact it contains is antedated by a century. A hundred years later there was indeed a trading post on the Pomeroun (see Extracts, p. 145), though by no means so well-manned as in Mr. Rodway's description; and there was then also, or had lately been, an Indian village near the creek Abary which the Dutch knew by the name of Naby—I, e., "Near-by" (see A. v. Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, Amsterdam, 1695).

How these slight elements grew to such stately proportions can in part be conjectured. Mr. Rodway's immediate sponsor was perhaps his predecessor, Dr. Dalton, whose History of British Guiana (i, p. 105) tells nearly the same story, less the details as to the management of the posts. The post Nibie is here, however, only a post "where there was an Indian village called Nibie." For the source of a statement by Dalton one is prone at once to turn to Hartsinck, on whom he draws for nearly every fact of this early history and seldom without misunderstanding him; but in this instance there is clearly an intermediary. Dr. Dalton has but transcribed the passage, with slight changes in wording, from Mr. Schomburgk's *Description of British Guiana* (pp. 81, 82). Where Mr. Schomburgk found it, he does not tell us; but I think I am able to guess. In a little collection of the colonial laws published at Georgetown in 1825 under the title of "*The Demerara and Essequibo Vade-Mecum*" there is an historical introduction which is almost certainly a connecting link between Hartsinck's statements and their enlargement by Mr. Schomburgk. In this we read (p. 1): "Their first settlements [i. e., the first settlements of the Dutch] were made near the River Essequibo, towards the River Pomeroun, or Bouweroon, and on Abary Creek, where there was a small Indian village called Naby." And, in the chronological table which follows, there appears as the first item:

"1580—About this period the Zeelanders attempted small settlements, for the purpose of traffic with the native tribes, on the banks of the Amazon, Orinoco and Pomeroun, on which last they had a small establishment called *Nova Zelandia*."

Now, in this form it is not hard to trace both elements of the story to the pages of Hartsinck. That historian, at the beginning of his chapter on the settlement of the Dutch in Guiana (i, p. 206), declares that "the trade of the Hollanders and Zeelanders, not only to the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, but to the whole coast of Guiana, seems to have begun in or shortly before the year 1580," and a little later (p. 207) he gives their colony on the Essequibo the name of "Nova Zelandia." As this is a palpable confusion with the later Nova Zelandia, which he places on the Pomeroun, it was natural enough that his borrower should combine the later location with the earlier date. That Hartsinck is wrong, both as to date and as to location, will presently be seen. As to the alleged settlement on the creek Abary, what Hartsinck says is at the beginning of his chapter on Berbice (i, p. 280). "The boundary of this colony to the northwest is at the creek Abary or Waybari, which lies about three miles from the river of Berbice and on which there is established a post of this colony; and which, as is related, separates the colony from Demerary in pursuance of an agreement made in the year 1672 between the Commandeur of Essequibo and the Secretary of Berbice, Mr. Adriaan van Berkel, as empowered thereto, whereby it was stipulated that they of Berbice should withdraw a post of fifteen or sixteen men which they had stationed in the Indian village *Naby*, about three hours from Demerary, for the buying up of dyes and other wares from the Indians, and should leave the west side of the creek to them of Essequibo." Now, it is conceivable that one whose Dutch was scanty, finding this the first thing stated about the colony of Berbice, might have understood "*grenspalen*," boundary, to mean settlement; and, thus started, have gained from the rather clumsy sentence only a confused idea of an early post. In any case, other basis for the legend is not to be found. That Hartsinck has himself somewhat misunderstood Van Berkel, whom he cites as his authority, is to us of no moment.

It must not, however, be inferred that all historians have fallen into these errors. The more schol-

No. 3.

*138 *to make another in their interest if they would fit out three or four more ships to send with his own. The proposition was referred to a committee, and was further discussed in the sessions of June 14 and July 7; but on July 22, notwithstanding the evident favor of the project by the Stadhouder, the Estates declined the Englishman's offer. "As regards the proposed voyage of Captain Batz to the lands of Peru and the islands lying thereabout," says their resolution, "the Estates of Holland, in view of the great burdens of the land for the carrying on of the war, cannot undertake the expense required; yet," they add (perhaps to let the stranger down as easily as possible), "the Estates will look on with approval if any private individuals in the cities of Holland care to aid the project, and will even lend a helping hand thereto."¹ As was long ago pointed out by Dutch scholars, nothing seems ever to have come of it,² and the enterprise, if carried out, would have been rather a feat of war³ than a commercial enterprise. Yet the episode shows that to the Dutch all Spanish South America was still Peru, and that a venture thither was a serious matter. There is no reason to suppose that the objective point was Guiana rather than any other part of Terra Firma or the West India islands, and that Dutch settlements already existed on these shores is, of course, out of the question.⁴

arly history of the Guiana colonies by General Netscher rejects though it does not fully expose them; and the standard historian of the rise of the Dutch sea power, the able and conscientious De Jonge, writing as an archivist in full possession of all the sources, long ago pointed out (vol. i, p. 46, note) that only Hartsinck's misunderstanding of De Lact is responsible for so early a connection of the Dutch with Guiana.

The claim of the British Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 1," p. 4) is more moderate and its source quite different. "There is abundant evidence," it says, "coming from Spanish sources, that during the latter half of the century, prior to 1590, the Dutch had established themselves on the coast of Guiana;" and in support of this it refers to the "letters, etc., 1583-1693," of the province of Cumaná, in the Spanish Archives of the Indies. I can only regret, as Professor Jameson has already done, that no item of this abundant evidence has been given to the world, and must add not only that I have found in Dutch official sources nothing to support this claim, but that it seems wholly inconsistent with what I have learned from them.

¹ All the passages relating to this episode are printed in full among the transcripts, in Vol. II of the report of the Commission, pp. 3-8. For brevity's sake, I shall henceforward refer to these "Extracts from Dutch Archives" as "Extracts" simply.

² De Jonge, *Nederlandsch Gezag*, i, p. 35; Berg van Dussen Mullkerk, in the *Gids* for November, 1848.

³ "*Meer een op zich zelf staand oorlogs-feit dan eens Nederlandsche handels-onderneming*," is De Jonge's phrase.

⁴ Yet it is precisely this episode on which Mr. Schomburgk bases his statement (Blue-Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25) that "the States-General privileged, in 1581, certain individuals to trade to these settlements exclusively"—i. e., to the Dutch settlements postulated by him (see p. 186, note). There is question neither of the States-General, nor of a privilege, nor of trade, nor of settlements, nor yet of Guiana. He has been misled by a careless statement of Hartsinck (i, p. 206)—a careless statement strangely misunderstood.

"I have searched once more, with Mr. Telting" (the archivist in charge of the West India papers), writes me General Netscher, the eminent historian of the Guiana colonies, under date of November 30, 1896, in kind confirmation of my own research on this point, "all the resolutions of the States-General of 1581, and some years thereabout, but we did not find anything."

No. 3.

*It is nearly a decade and a half before I again find mention in *139 Dutch official records of any expedition to the coasts or islands of South America. Then, in March of 1595, the Estates of Zeeland granted freedom of convoy to one Balthazar de Moucheron for a cargo of goods to the Spanish Indies. This was, of course, for peaceful traffic, and his objective point would seem to have been the island of Margarita, long the leading Spanish entrepôt for these parts.¹ It was just at this time that by a Zeeland ship, not impossibly this one, was discovered just south of that island of Margarita, on the Spanish mainland of South America, the remarkable deposit of salt which for years made Punta de Araya (or Punta del Rey, as the Dutch more often called it) one of the leading destinations of Dutch commerce; and the established route thither led along the whole length of the Guiana coast.² In the same year there is record of a venture to Santo Domingo by a union of Holland and Zeeland merchants.³ In the following year we hear of another Zeeland expedition to the Spanish Indies,⁴ and there were not improbably many similar enterprises not mentioned in the records, for it was only when *freedom from convoy *140 dues was sought that legislative action was needed, and even after the establishment of the admiralties no ship need seek a commission unless it chose.⁵

It was in 1591 or 1592, according to his own statement, that William Usselinx, the inspirer above all others of the West India trade, returning from the Spanish islands, began his agitation in the Netherlands in behalf of Dutch trade with South America.⁶ I have already spoken (p. 135, note) of Jan de Laet's statement as to Dutch trade with the Spaniards on the Orinoco even before Raleigh's expedition of 1595. Yet it is improbable that this trade to the West Indies antedates 1594; for to that year is ascribed⁷ the beginning of direct trade with Brazil, and all tradition and probability make Brazil the earliest, as it was the nearest, destination of Dutch trade in America.⁸

It will be noted that as yet, so far as the records show, the trade is with recognized Spanish settlements, and therefore not of a sort to create a ter-

¹ At least De Jonge is probably right in connecting (i, p. 46) this expedition of Moucheron with Van Meteren's mention of a voyage to Margarita.

² Van Rees, *Geschiedenis der Staatshuishoudkunde in Nederland*, ii, p. 3. (Cf. also Jan de Laet's chapter on Araya in his *Nieuwe Wereld*). The *Remonstrantie* described below (pp. 151-153) speaks of this route of the salt ships, which is else well known. (For the passage, see Extracts, p. 33.)

³ De Jonge, i, p. 46.

⁴ That Moucheron and Adriaen ten Haeff had part in this, as Netscher states (p. 2) is only a guess of De Jonge's (i, p. 46).

⁵ See resolution of the States-General, 22 Dec., 1599 (Rijksarchief, Hague).

⁶ See his *Memorie aenwysende*, etc. (Rijksarchief, Hague, and printed by Van Rees), p. 1.

⁷ See De Jonge (i, p. 36,) citing a manuscript *Deductie* in the Dutch Rijksarchief. The Brazil of that day, it must be remembered, was not thought of as reaching as far north as to the Amazon.

⁸ 'De oudste geregelde vaart op de kusten van America door onze zeelieden, is geweest de vaart op Brazilië.'—De Jonge (i, p. 35). Indirect trade with Brazil, by way of Portugal, was in vogue at least as early as 1590.

No. 3.

ritorial title. Of Guiana or of direct trade with the Indians, there is thus far no mention.¹

*141 *But in 1596 there was published in England a book which set the imagination of all Europe on fire—Sir Walter Raleigh's "*Discoverie of Guiana*." It called universal attention to the wealth of these coasts and to the advantages of trade with the natives. The Netherlands were not the last to feel its influence. Already before the end of 1596 one begins to hear in the records of the States-General of the trade with the West Indies; and on March 24, 1597, the merchant-banker Hans van der Veken, of Rotterdam, was granted a commission for two vessels, "manned with Germans and other foreigners, to go to the coast of Guinea [in Africa], Peru, and the West Indies, and there to trade and bargain with the savages," this commission "containing also request to all princes and potentates to let these ships and their crews pass freely and in peace thither and return again to these provinces."² Guiana is not yet mentioned; but, in the children's phrase, we are growing warm. On September 3 of this same year

*142 (1597) the States-General were requested by Gerrit Bicker and his associates, merchants of Amsterdam, "who have it in mind to equip two ships, so as to send them to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, being a place where never any from these [Nether]lands have been, and which is also not held by the Spaniards or the Portuguese," to grant them freedom of convoy both going and coming, "and this for two full voyages, if

¹ For the genealogy of the story that in 1596 the Spaniards found Dutch colonists in the Moruca, I may refer to the convincing discussion of Professor Jameson (pp. 58-61, above). The British Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 1") happily ignores this claim; but it adds a fresh one of its own. It states that "Ibarguen in 1597 . . . visited the Essequibo and reported white men, who can be shown to have been the Dutch, to be settled high up the river;" and in support of this statement it cites without transcription a considerable portion of the Spanish archives. I am indebted to the courtesy of Her Majesty's Government for the exact passage. The Spanish explorer Ibarguen, reporting in 1597 to the King, states that he visited the Essequibo where (it is the following phrase only which is given me in the words of the original) "he heard very great news of the men who were clothed and fighting with arms." How these are known to be "white men" and "settled" and "high up the river," or how they "can be shown to have been the Dutch," I have not learned. In Dutch documents also I find mention, indeed, of men in the interior of Guiana who are clothed and who fight with arms; but these are only the fabled inhabitants of El Dorado—whom, by the way, it was precisely Ibarguen's errand to seek. But there is another passage of this report of Ibarguen's which, if correctly reported, shows unquestionably the presence of Dutchmen as traders on this coast. Mr. Rodway, writing in the Guiana magazine *Timehri* for December, 1896, and apparently ascribing his information to Mr. Reddan, now of the British Foreign Office, states that Ibarguen (who, it seems, was the sergeant-major of Domingo de Vera, the leader of the body of Spanish colonists sent in 1596 to the Orinoco) says in his report that on his way from the Orinoco to the Essequibo he arrested "five Flamencos in a boat, who were trading with the Indians of Barima." And this account seems borne out by the statement regarding Ibarguen's report—unfortunately, without quotation or literal translation—which I owe to Her Majesty's Government. Yet this at most shows Dutchmen, not in the Essequibo, but in or near the mouth of the Orinoco, and suggests only that Dutch trade to Santo Thomé of which we already know from the pages of Jan de Laet. In the following year (1598) two Dutch expeditions, as we know from the journal of one of them, stopped thus to trade with the Indians in the Barima on their way up the Orinoco to Santo Thomé. (Cf. p. *144, below, and vol. ii of the Commission's report, p. 17.)

² For the passage in full see Extracts, p. 9.

No. 3.

so be that God Almighty should be pleased to bless their first voyage as they hope,—and this out of regard to the great sums they will lay out on this voyage and the risk therein lying.” Whereupon it was resolved to grant them the desired convoy “to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, provided that they shall lade in the aforesaid ships no forbidden goods, and that they shall further be bound, on their return, to bring satisfactory evidence that never anybody from these lands has traded to the aforesaid haven, and shall make true report in the meeting of the States-General of their experiences, with specification of the places where they have been and have carried on their trade.” And “it is the understanding,” goes on the record, “that like freedom shall be granted to others who shall likewise desire to go to other unknown havens.” “But this,” ends this significant passage, “the deputies of Zeeland declared themselves uninstructed to grant.”¹

The encouragement was not lost; for but three months later, on December 15, 1597, Jan Cornelisz. Leyn, of Enkhuisen, and his partners, having it in mind with two ships “to sail to the land of Guiana, situate in the realm of Peru,” sought freedom of convoy for their first six voyages, both going and returning. Whereupon it was voted to grant their request, but only for the two voyages “which they have it in mind to *make *143 with their two ships to the unknown and un navigated havens of America, to wit, to the land of Guiana, situate in the Kingdom of Peru, as herein specified;” and this upon precisely the same conditions as to lading and report as in the preceding case.² And a week later, on December 23, the Estates of Holland voted aid toward the arming of this expedition “to Guiana, in the Kingdom of Peru”.³

“*Het Landt van Guiana gelegen in het Coninckryck van Peru*,” clearly we have in these expeditions the very earliest Dutch voyages to the Guiana coast. And luckily, to make the matter doubly sure, we have left us from one of these voyages, and that the first, the stipulated final report to the States-General. At least, there is no reason to doubt that the ship’s clerk, Cabeliau, whose “report concerning the unknown and unsailed course [*voiage*] of America, from the river Amazon as far as the island of Trinidad,”⁴ still rests in the archives of the States-General, and who sailed from Holland in a squadron of two ships on December 3, 1597, was the scribe of this expedition to “America Peruana.” Having lost sight of their smaller vessel on the way, Cabeliau’s party reached the American coast on February 9, 1598, at a point near the mouth of the Caurora, just west of the Cayenne, five degrees by their reckoning north of the equator. As they lingered to trade with the Indians in the Cayenne, where they found an English ship busy with the same errand, there arrived also on June 3, 1598, two ships of that other expedition “to Guiana, in the realm of Peru;” and with these they “joined company in order together to ex-

¹ Extracts, pp. 9, 10.² Extracts, pp. 10, 11.³ Extracts, pp. 11, 12.⁴ Extracts, p. 13.

No. 3.

plore the entire coast as far as to the river Orinoco." As far as the Corentyn they pushed into all the rivers as they went, finding nowhere European occupation, but trading with the natives. "Between the rivers *144 Corentyn and Orinoco *are these rivers: Berbice, Apari, Maychawini, Maheyca, Demirara, Dessekebe [Essequibo], Pauroma [Pomeroon], Moruga, Wayni. These neither singly nor in company did we visit or trade in, because our time was nearly used up and because the Indians gave us to believe that there was not much there to get, and also because our provisions were growing scant, so that we did nothing more than to cruise along the coast, in order to take knowledge of it, until we reached the river Orinoco." But into the river Orinoco, the Barima, and the Amacura they sailed, "and there bartered and traded;" then pushed up the Orinoco "about 40 [Dutch] miles, to the place or settlement where the Spaniards stay, which is named St. Thomé, where Don Fernando de Berreo is Governor and also Marquis of Guiana, the river Orinoco and all the coasts being still unconquered as far as the river Amazon." Thence wending their way homeward, they were able to report that "in this voyage we have discovered, found, and navigated more than twenty-four rivers, many islands in the rivers, and various havens besides, which have hitherto neither been known in these provinces nor sailed to therefrom; nay, more, were before our voyage unknown to any map or geographer."¹ And to this statement, Cabeliau, "as clerk of this expedition," makes affidavit. It was the certificate demanded by the States-General, and its validity was conceded, for on October 19, 1599, the freedom of convoy conditioned upon it was without protest awarded by the States-General to Gerrit Bicker and Company, "having made the voyage to America Peruana," as already on August 11 it had been to their colleagues "returned from Guiana, in the Kingdom of Peru."²

*145 By these acts the supreme political authority of the *Netherlands becomes a witness that the coast of Guiana was theretofore unvisited by the Dutch. An investigator of political titles may well be content with such evidence. Nor is there, so far as I can find, the slightest reason to question its truth.³

¹ For Cabeliau's journal in full, see Extracts, pp. 18-22.

² Extracts, p. 11, note.

³ To this same expedition seem to belong the oldest existing Dutch maps of any part of this coast, one of them dated 1598 and both now in the collection of the Dutch Rijksarchief. See De Jonge's excellent note on them (i, p. 50). For reproductions of them see the Atlas of the Commission, maps 57, 58. One represents the mouth of the Cayenne, the other the southwest coasts of Trinidad. These are precisely the places where we know the expedition to have lingered. De Laet, in his description of the Wiapoco (ed. of 1680, p. 568; ed. of 1683, pp. 638, 639), quotes from the journal of another Dutch expedition which was there in 1598, and which was very possibly that of the great and little *Sphæra Mundi*, which joined Cabeliau's party off the Cayenne; for, although Cabeliau almost certainly did not visit the Wiapoco, he cites it among the rivers of their joint discovery. So, too, in speaking of the Amazon De Laet says (ed. of 1683, p. 634): "In the year 1598, and even earlier, the merchants of Amsterdam and others sent their ships to these coasts, that they might open and establish trade with the savages who inhabit these coasts" (*anno 1598 et etiam ante, Amstelodamenses atque alii mercatores naves suas ad has oras destinaverunt, ut commercium*

No. 3.

While these expeditions were still abroad, on November 16, 1598, three other Amsterdam merchants asked freedom of convoy for a ship which they were lading "to sail to the coasts of America, into the realm of Guiana and other islands thereabout, in which quarter ships from these lands have never been;" and it was granted for two voyages on the same terms as to the others.¹ And, not long after their return, on November 9, 1599, "at the request of Jan van Penen and Gerrit Diricxs. de Vries *cum suis*, merchants and burghers of Haarlem, who are making ready a certain ship . . . wherewith to sail along the coasts of Guiana in America, in order to seek the rivers of Wiapoco and Orinoco and there to find again a certain mineral stone lately brought from there *into this country *146 as a specimen by Jacob Adriaensz., mate at Haarlem," they were granted freedom of convoy for two voyages under the usual conditions.²

But all these venturers were from the province of Holland.³ Where, then, were the Zeelanders, to whom has so long been ascribed the earliest traffic with this coast? When, a century and a half later, there burst forth the quarrel, long festering between the merchants of Holland and of Zeeland, as to the right of the latter to the monopoly of the trade with Essequibo, the Zeelanders ransacked all old documents within their reach and put forth memorial after memorial to prove that the trade with Guiana had from its beginning been in their hands. But, while they discreetly kept silence regarding these early expeditions of the Hollanders, their search revealed nothing earlier in support of their own claim than a certain minute of the proceedings of the provincial Estates of Zeeland on November 20, 1599, which deserves to be quoted here in full:

In the matter of the request of the Burgomaster of Middelburg, Adriaen ten Haeft, setting forth how that, in the preceding year, 1598, at heavy cost to himself, he caused to be investigated on the continent of America many different rivers and islands; and how that in this voyage were discovered various coasts and lands where one could do notable damage to the King of Spain; and how that he is well minded to send out again two ships in order, in the country's behalf, to discover certain places, a thing which can not be done so effectively with seafaring folk alone. Wherefore, and in view of the fact that in Holland, for the encouragement of exceptional enterprises of this sort, great favor is shown to the promoters of such voyages, such as the providing them with cannon, powder, and soldiers, he doth petition that there be granted to his ships from 16 to 20 experienced soldiers, among them a *good commandant, and doth engage that he *147 will himself provide their rations. Whereupon the representative of

cum barbaris qui has oras accolabant constituerent et stabilirent); and he tells the story of one of these ships, which, finding itself by accident off the Amazon, explored the mouth of that river. This is the earliest date for the presence of the Dutch in this region which is anywhere named by this well-informed and almost contemporary historian.

¹ Extracts, pp. 12, 13.

² Extracts, p. 23.

³ That De Jonge (*Nederlandsch Gezag*, i, p. 54) ascribes to Isaac Lemaire a share in this trade with the Spanish Indies is due to an odd misreading of "in Terra Firma" for "in communi forma" in the minutes of the States-General for April 18, 1600 (Rijksarchief, Hague).

No. 3.

the nobility gave verdict that commerce ought here to receive the same favor as in Holland, and that therefore it ought to be learned through the deputies there [i. e., to the States-General] just what is done in Holland in this behalf, in order to be able to do the same here; the deputies of Middelburg, however, grant soldiers to the number of 16; those of Ziericzee likewise, to the number of 12, on half wages, subject to the approval of their constituents; those of Goes, Tholen, Flushing, and Vere promise that they will send in at once their report to their town councils on this point, and that the councils will find out what is done in Holland in such cases.¹

There is here no mention of Guiana; and of the enterprise itself there is never again mention in the minutes of the Zeeland Estates. That Guiana was its destination is probable enough, but probable only. What it seems safe to infer is that this was the beginning of Zeeland's dealings with these unsettled coasts of the West,—that the coasts in view were conceived of as belonging to the King of Spain,—and that the enterprise was one of hostile aggression. In this last lies its significance; the employment of soldiers in an unsettled region can hardly point to anything less than an attempt
 *148 at the occupation of territory, *and we seem here to have the earliest known effort of the Dutch to establish themselves on the coasts of America. One may even guess where the blow was struck. Jan de Laet, writing in 1624 of the Amazon, tells us that “our Netherlanders began some years ago to visit this great river, and the men of Flushing established on it two forts, besides dwelling places—one of them on Coyminne, which is like an island . . . and is reckoned to be some 80 miles up the river. The other, named Orange, lies 7 miles lower down.”² In the Latin text of the same work, published in 1633, he devotes a whole chapter to Dutch relations with the Amazon, having now learned of the visiting of that river by

¹ *Notulen*, 1599; for the Dutch, see Extracts, p. 23. I have sought diligently but in vain in the provincial archives of Zeeland for anything in the accompanying papers of this year or of the following which could throw further light on this enterprise. The later papers which cite this in support of the claims of Zeeland in Guiana are the *Bericht* published to the world by the Estates of Zeeland in the latter half of 1750, and reprinted in the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* for December of that year (pp. 1492-1519), and the memorial of the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company on the same subject, of August 23, 1751 (*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, ii, pp. 1079-1135). It should perhaps be remembered that it was in this year 1599 that there sailed forth from the Zeeland port of Flushing the Dutch armada under Pieter van der Does, which, after taking a town in the Canaries and avenging at the Isle de Principe that unsuccessful enterprise of Balthazar de Moucheron in 1598 which Berg van Dussen Muilkerk calls the “earliest attempt at colonization from out the Netherlands,” sent seven or eight of its ships across the Atlantic to ravage the coast of Brazil. They returned, with great booty of sugar, in the following year.

² *Nieuwe Wereldt*, eds. of 1625, 1630 (p. 562 of the latter). This is the source of the statement in the Zeeland memorial of 1750, which has crept thence into all the histories. Blaeuw's *Nieuwe Wereldt* is there cited; but Blaeuw's *Nieuwe Wereldt* is only De Laet's text set to Blaeuw's maps. Unfortunately the Zeeland memorial carelessly puts the forts “not far from” the Amazon, and makes the date “about the same time” as Ten Haeff's venture. Before De Laet's edition of 1630, the colony had already been destroyed by the Portuguese: in 1629 it was found in ruins by the Dutch, a fact which finds due insertion in that edition. This establishment was doubtless that “tobacco-plantation on the Amazon” for which the Zeelanders claimed reimbursement in 1621 (see p. 159, below). In De Laet's history of the West India Company (Leyden, 1644) we learn of the date of its destruction (1625), and of the flight of the survivors to the Wiapoco. (De Laet, *Historie*, pp. 111-113; and cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 53-57.)

No. 3.

Netherlanders in 1598.¹ "Others also in the following years," he adds, "attempted to enter and explore the great river Amazon, and in this the enterprise and industry of the Zeelanders was especially conspicuous;" and to these as a whole, not to the men of Flushing alone, he now ascribes the colony and the two forts.² Two pages further on he speaks of a neighboring river, the Aracoa, "which our people explored in the year 1600."³ One or both of these deeds may belong to Ten Haeff's expedition; if not, *it has left no trace. But, if these were its work, they show, what *140 might antecedently have been expected, and what seems confirmed by the subsequent history, that the Dutch occupation of Guiana began at the extreme east.

There is, indeed, one statement afloat which would seem to contradict this. In his memorandum in support of the boundary urged by him, Mr. Schomburgk states: "It is said that at the close of that century [the sixteenth] a Chamber of Merchants existed at Middelburg, trading to the River Barima."⁴ By whom it is said, or when, or where, he does not so much as hint. The historians of Guiana, one and all, know naught of it. The historians of Dutch commerce are as ignorant. The Zeelanders themselves in 1750 found nothing so precious to their search. I have sought it faithfully, but in vain, among the manuscript records of the Dutch. The English searchers have not found it in their Spanish documents. After a prolonged search through the literature of the subject, I am fain to confess that I can find no item of fact out of which it could have been evolved.⁵

Another error, more easy to trace and expose, is that set afloat by Hartsinck (i, p. 207) of a charter of freedom of convoy granted by the States-General on July 10, 1602, to certain Zeeland merchants for trade with the coast of Guiana. As he gives his sources, it is easy to establish that there was no charter, that the merchants were not Zeelanders, and that their destination was not the Guiana coast. The applicants were that same Jan van Penen and Gerrit Diricxz. de Vries whom we already know from an earlier petition⁶ to have been *merchants of Haarlem. What they *150 asked was, first, freedom of convoy for a single voyage, and, second, its continuation for subsequent ones. The States-General referred the matter to the Admiralty of Amsterdam, instructing that body to grant the first request when the voyage had actually been made, but to refuse the second altogether. Accordingly, when, in January, 1604, the petitioners presented themselves to the Admiralty, proof of their voyage was insisted on; and it then came to light that its real destination was to ascend the river Orinoco

¹ See note, p. *145, above.

² *Novus Orbis*, 1632, p. 634.

³ *Novus Orbis*, p. 636.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25.

⁵ Is it possible that it can be but a confusion with the Middelburg colony of the following century (1658-1665) in the Pomeroon, the resemblance of whose earlier name—Baroma, Baruma—to that of the Barima has given rise to so many misconceptions?

⁶ See p. *145, above.

No. 3.

(probably in search of the precious metals, as in their expedition of 1599). Up that river, however, "by reason of the multitude of the Spaniards whom they found there," the Dutch ship had been unable to penetrate. Freedom of convoy for this voyage was granted; and there was an end of the matter.¹

The imposing list of Zeeland merchants which Hartsinck couples with this supposed charter as traders "about this time" to the coast of Guiana is borrowed mainly from the Zeeland memorial of 1750,² and is only a list of patroons taken at random from a record book still extant, which covers nearly the whole seventeenth century.³ Yet Hartsinck's list, which adds to these the Haarlem merchants just mentioned, and even their captain, Rijk Hendrikszoon, is repeated, with more or less of respect, by all later historians, including even the careful De Jonge⁴ and Netscher.⁵

*151 *Traders, indeed, there doubtless were. Under date of the year 1600 the well-informed contemporary, Van Meteren, points out, in his annals of the Dutch, the motives which impelled to the West Indian trade and gradually changed its character. "The United Netherlands also sought, in furtherance of their commerce, to discover means of trade with the West Indies, and sent many ships (and great ones withal) to the uninhabited West India islands after salt. * * * This trade came very opportunely, since the trade to the coasts of Africa, or Guinea, by reason of the multitude of ships which from all lands repaired thither, gave no longer so good profit as at first. Therefore they endeavored, through this trade to the salt islands, gradually to open a commerce with the West Indies, without seeking to make any conquests there, but rather to win the friendship of the Indians and to protect them against the Spaniards, for whom, apart from this, they have no love, and thus to come into traffic with them a course which in time must develop a trade, since the Dutch can sell all wares cheaper by half than do the Spaniards, on account of the heavy Spanish taxes and tolls."

That the trade with Guiana, once set in motion, was not allowed to sleep one may, therefore, even in the absence of explicit data, well believe; and that at least one Dutchman was keenly alive to the opportunity and need of fortifying this trade by the establishment of colonies we have cogent evidence. There lies in the archives at The Hague a petition, unsigned

¹ This error is partially exposed by Netscher (p. 39). For the documents in full, see Extracts, pp. 25, 26.

² *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, ii., p. 1085.

³ The Book of Commissions, etc., 1626-1671, of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company. I shall later speak of this more fully.

⁴ *Nederlandsch Gesag*, i, p. 53.

⁵ Page 38. The "Jan van Pere," whose name seems to have been especially seductive to these writers is, I am convinced, a myth, suggested only by the Haarlem "Jan van Penen." The first Van Pere known to the records of the West India Company is Abraham; and he first took his seat as a director on October 5, 1626. The colony of Berbice, which gave his name such prominence, was not founded till 1627. Cf. Extracts, pp. 15, 44, 45.

No. 3.

and undated, but bearing the title, "Remonstrance to the States-General of these United Provinces on the subject of the colonization of the coasts of Guiana in America." A transcript of that document I have the honor to lay before you.¹ I believe it, on the ground of its ideas and its style, the work of Willem Usselinx, the well-known originator of *the *152 Dutch West India Company, and to be identical with that discourse on the colonization of the Indies of which he himself tells us in a pamphlet of the year 1608.² But, whatever may be thought as to its authorship, it will hardly be questioned that this was the petition which was dealt with by the States-General on February 25, 1603. "I doubt not," begins the paper, "that it is well enough known to the States-General what a rich, beautiful, fruitful, populous, pleasant, and *precious region, situate in America and named the province of *153 Guiana, was now not long since discovered by some of the merchant ships of this country." His opinion of its limits and its neighbors may therefore have some slight worth to the present research. The province of Guiana in America, he says, stretches "from the great river Amazon to Punto della Rae or Trinidad." "It is so situated that the nearest districts inhabited by the Portuguese in Brazil are distant therefrom more than 300 miles. And the nearest places dwelt in by the Spaniards are also about 200 miles from the quarter where the mine above mentioned has been discovered, which one

¹ Extracts, pp. 27-36.

² In his *Vertoogh, hoe nootwendich*, etc. (cf. Professor Jameson's *Usselinx*, note 32). "It must not be thought," he writes in this pamphlet, "that the Spaniard has so taken possession of all the most fruitful lands and places of the Indies that none are left which are of good climate, fruitful, and comfortable to dwell in, and in which profit is to be made, since we know that he is still daily making war in order to gain certain ones, while others can not well be reached by him on account of the clumsiness of his great ships, as well as through the resistance offered him there by the Indians, and some are still unknown to him. . . . And if one answers that the Portuguese and other Spaniards have better advantages for this trade than we, since they have there certain places, I admit it; but when they first came thither they had not so great advantages, either in ships or otherwise, as we now have, the more so as these lands are now as well known to us as to them, and we have good opportunity to get all that we should be in need of for the establishment of colonies from certain neighboring places—which places do not need to be here specified—while the Spaniard in the beginning had to get from Spain everything that he needed. But since I have adequately treated this point in a discourse on the colonization of the Indies, which I composed some years ago, I will not here repeat it; it is enough to have shown that the means to gain a share in the rich trade of the Indies is to occupy places there with people from these lands."

That Guiana is here in his thought can hardly be doubtful to any familiar with the local conditions; and why he should not care to name it, even in citing the title of his earlier discourse, is also evident enough from the context. Van Rees, the foremost Dutch student of Usselinx's career, points out (in his *Geschiedenis der Staatshuishoudkunde in Nederland*, ii, p. 102) that from various expressions in his pamphlets may be inferred his scheme for the establishment of colonies on the coast of Guiana.

The "Remonstrance" is not in Usselinx's handwriting, for I have compared it with many autographs of his in the Rijksarchief and can not find the slightest resemblance. The document has strayed from its place in the archives, and Mr. Hingman, the *commies-chartermeeester* who for many years has had charge of the papers of the States-General, thinks it less likely to be the original presented to that body than a copy which belonged to the provincial Estates of Holland. The absence of signature, indeed, would seem to preclude all thought of its being the original. Were the papers of the States-General complete, its source could doubtless be made certain, as well as the date of its presentation; but they are not.

No. 3.

must first people and fortify; the said province being also inaccessible from the borders of the aforesaid nations (over and above the great distance) by reason of many high mountains, great wildernesses, and forests, and cut off from them by very deep rivers." The Portuguese, then, to this writer, were wholly outside the province; the Spaniards in it, but remote from the spot he would first colonize; the Dutch not yet there at all. But the States-General, however tempted, replied that for the present it could not take action as to this requested colonization of Guiana.¹

Whether or no this document is the work of Willem Usselinx, it is certain that Usselinx was at just this time² urging the colonization of America in general and of Guiana in particular. "Inasmuch," writes his countryman and contemporary Van Meteren, "as the navigation and trade to the East Indies brought good business into the United Netherlands, some be-thought them that a navigation and business of the same sort to the West

Indies, or America, might be brought about through the creation of a *154 well-organized Company. Among *others one Willem Usselinx, of

Antwerp, merchant, a man who had spent several years in Spain and in the islands everywhere, and had well posted himself as to the trade and opportunities of the West Indies, or America, disclosed and suggested in all quarters the proper means which were of use to that end. . . .

"For it was evident [he urged] that the Spaniard had still many foes in America, or the West Indies, who were strong and not easy to conquer, and who, with a little help, would be able to resist the Spaniards, especially if one should furnish them weapons and should teach them to use horses, and also to move and manipulate troops, so as to make the Spaniard show his back. For it was well known [he said] that from the island of Trinidad as far as the Equator the Spaniards had no places or fortresses. These arguments and the like, with other tidings and information possessed by him, which it would not be politic as yet to spread abroad, this Usselinx knew how to employ. Wherefore he was charged, in the year 1604, to draw up a *policie*, or prospectus, in order to see if it would find shareholders, or adequate voluntary subscription by merchants, for the formation of such a Company and the making up of a good capital.

"The prospectus consisted, first, of a complaint against the Spaniard, who sought to shut out the Dutch from all navigation, trade, and business, as was shown by his establishing in Spain a new toll (beside the *155 old) of thirty per cent.³ Further, that *there had lately been dis-

¹ Extracts, p. 36.

² That Usselinx did not begin writing on this subject until 1600 we know from his own words. As to this and as to his career in general, I may refer to Professor Jameson's admirable biography of him.

³ This refers to the edict of Valladolid, February 27, 1603, by which, while the closure of the Indies was reaffirmed, foreign traders were admitted to Spain itself under payment of a thirty per cent. toll. Its further provisions are given by Van Meteren (in his *Nederlandische Historie*, sub anno 1603). Owing to the opposition made by France and England, this edict was repealed before the end of 1604 (December 11); but early in 1605 trade with the Indies was forbidden afresh under severer penalties. "In the following year, which was 1605," writes the Dutch historian Pontanus in his *Amstelredamsche Historia*

No. 3.

covered certain fruitful lands and islands, of good, healthful climate, inhabited by good and friendly *folk desiring the acquaintance and *156 friendship of the Dutch people, whom they knew to be foes of the Spaniards, in order to be helped by them against the Spanish tyranny, etc., especially the people of the interior, these being not barbarians but tolerably civilized and organized, not going naked but clothed, and well disposed, in case some people should be sent over thither to teach them, to till and cultivate their land the better, it being found adapted to the planting of sugar, ginger, oil, wine, indigo, cotton, hops, and other fruits, the soil bringing forth many sorts of useful products serving for good and valuable dyes, besides the mines of gold, silver, and other minerals, which are the sinews of war. These lands would also in time make a good market for the wares and industries of the Netherlands. Moreover, on the seacoasts of these

(1611), "the King of Spain promulgated a severe edict, by which he sought not only to close to Hollanders and Zealanders the realms of Spain and Portugal, but strictly forbade them to navigate into any part of the Indies, East or West, under the heavy penalty of death and confiscation of all their property." It may be worth while to transcribe here, from an official compilation of these Spanish laws for the Indies (" *Sumarios de la recopilacion general de las Leyes, Ordenanças, provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones, y cartas acordadas, q por los Reyes Católicos de Castilla se han promulgado, expedido, y despachado, para las Indias Occidentales . . . por el licenciado Don Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña*"), published at Mexico in 1677, a summary of such relating to foreign traders as were then in force. They occur in Lib. iii, Tit. 28 (pp. 235a-237b), " *De los estrangeros, que passan á las Indias* " :

LEY I.

Que Ningun estrangero, pueda tratar, ni contratar en las Indias.

¶ D. Felipe III. en Ventosilla, á 25. de Abril, y en Valladolid, á 11. de Mayo, de 1605.

LEY II.

Que Ningun estrangero, ni persona de las prohibidas, pueda tratar, ni contratar, de estos Reynos á las Indias, ni passar á ellas, sin habilitacion, y licencia del Rey: y los que la tuvieren, lo puedan hazer con solos sus caudales: sò pena de perdimiento de bienes, y de la tal habilitacion.

¶ D. Felipe II. en Valladolid, á 27. de Julio, de 1592.

LEY V.

Que Ningun estrangero pueda passar á las Indias, ni tratar, ni contratar en ellas, ni de ellas á estos Reynos: sò pena de perdimiento de las mercaderias, aplicadas por tercias partes: en que tambien incurran los naturales, que para ello fueren supuestos.

¶ D. Felipe III. en Madrid, á 2. de Octubre, de 1608. Y á 25. de Diciembre, de 1616.

LEY VI.

Que en ningun puerto de las Indias, se admita trato con estrangeros: sò pena de la vida, y perdimiento de bienes.

¶ D. Felipe III. en S. Lorenzo, á 15. de Noviembre, 1611. Y allà 3. de Octubre, de 1614.

LEY VII.

Que ningun estrangero pueda estar, ni vivir en las Indias, ni passar á ellas: y los que huvierò, sean echados dellas: y aviendo pasado sin licencia, pierdan lo que huvieren ganado.

¶ El Emperador D. Carlos, en Madrid, á 15. de Octubre, de 1535. Y D. Felipe II. en Toledo, á 22. de Septiembre, de 1560. En Madrid, á 17. de Octubre, de 1562. En el Escorial, á 28. de Octubre, de 1565.

No. 3.

lands there was found great abundance of salt, with which always, if there were lack of a better cargo, the ships could be ballasted and laden.

"Beside the worldly blessings, it was to be hoped also that such a trade would conduce to the honor and praise of God, inasmuch as the saving faith and the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ could thus in course of time be transplanted thither." . . .¹

Glowing as are these pictures of the new land and clever as are the arguments for its occupation, there is (with the possible exception as to the Zeelanders on the Amazon) for long no evidence of Dutch settlement in Guiana.² When, in 1608, Usselinx wrote his "Exposition, how necessary, useful, and profitable it is to the United Netherlands to preserve the
*157 *freedom of Trading to the West Indies, in the Peace with the King of Spain,"³ he seemed to know nothing of colonies in Guiana; and it is hard to explain by any theory of politic suppression both his neglect of an argument which would so greatly have strengthened his plea and his evident eagerness for a beginning of such colonies. "All the trade that we have had in the West Indies up to now," he writes, "has been [in the district] from Margarita to Cuba, where the King of Spain has almost everywhere territory, and, since by the proposed article of the Truce we consent not to trade to places where the Spaniards are, we abandon this former trade."⁴ . . . "But now let us speak of this West Indian trade, which is very unintelligently discussed by many, who urge that it is of small importance to us because we have there no places or foothold, and the trade which we have had there we abandon with the Truce. But at this we must look a little more closely; and I hope in what follows to prove the contrary."⁵ . . . "For, since in the article of the Truce it is granted that we may trade and traffic in all places, havens, and cities where the King of Spain has no territory, we are therefore given liberty to trade in Florida, the Antilles, the whole seacoast of Guiana, a great part of Brazil, and beyond to the Strait of Magellan, being a good 500 miles where the Spaniard has no territory except on the Rio de la Plata; furthermore, through the Strait of Magellan, in the rich land of Chili and many other lands and islands lying in the South Sea."⁶

So writes the Dutchman the best informed of his day as to the affairs of the West Indies. The Twelve Years' Truce with Spain, which in 1609 went into effect, embodied the provisions discussed by Usselinx. The

¹ Van Meteren, *Nederlandische Historie*, sub anno 1607.

² The "projected Guiana company" (*geconcipeerde Guianase Compagnie*) mentioned in another manuscript memorial of this period which De Jonge has printed (pp. 257-261 of pt. I of his *Nederlandsch Gezag*) can hardly have had an actual existence, and may be an enterprise related to the petition above described. De Jonge thinks this memorial written between 1597 and 1602, and suspects Usselinx of its authorship.

³ Dutch "*Vertoogh*," etc.

⁴ *Vertoogh*, p. 6.

⁵ *Vertoogh*, p. 8.

⁶ *Vertoogh*, p. 10.

No. 3.

Dutch might no longer trade to the Spanish ports in the Indies, but were free to traffic, even *there, with "all other princes, potentates, *158 and peoples."¹ To the Spaniards this can hardly have implied a permission to found colonies; but the Dutch, at least in private, were hardly likely to share this view,² and in 1614 we find both the States-General and the provincial Estates of Holland seeking to encourage discovery and settlement by general provisions granting to the finders a temporary monopoly of trade. That such enterprises were, however, not wholly safe may be inferred from the fact that in 1618 the Zeelander Jan de Moor and his partners asked permission to arm their ships engaged in trade with the West Indies; and that the government was concerned to protect the truce is shown by its granting this only under pledge that they should not be used except in self defense.³ Throughout the period of this truce I have lighted on no mention of Guiana colonies in any official record, but this by no means disproves their existence; long after their existence is certain the effort to keep them a secret is demonstrable, and they scarcely appear in Dutch official papers till after the Treaty of Münster.

That there had been some attempts, at least, at settlement in Guiana may be gathered from a certain confidential report *made *159 just at the end of this truce, on January 25, 1621, to the Stadhouder, the city of Amsterdam, and the directors of the East India Company, as to the best regions for settlement in the western seas. The author, one Cornelis Janssen Vianen, who tells us that he has voyaged to Guinea, to the West Indies, along the coasts of Chile and Peru, and so around the globe, and believes he has in these travels "found the proper means to touch the Spaniard where he is weakest," thus writes of Guiana:

Sixthly, as to the opinion of some that notable profit could be made from sundry plantations and fruits, which one must first find and plant, on the continent of America between Brazil on the east and the river of Orinoco on the west, in and about the river Amazon.

I answer that sundry of our Netherlanders have there as yet by the means described made but small profit, although up to the present they trade there in peace; and it is not to be doubted that, if an attempt should be made with superior force to win the country, and through such production to drive out of the market any of the products of Brazil and the West

¹ Dumont, *Corps dipl.*, v, pp. 99-102. Cf. Van Rees, i, p. 286.

² It was in 1609, the very year of the Truce, that the great Dutch publicist, Hugo Grotius, published (at first anonymously) his famous *Mare liberum*, whose express purpose it was to show that Spain (now, of course, inclusive of Portugal) had no right to the monopoly of the seas or of the trade of the Indies. In 1614 the work appeared in Dutch translation. Its full title is: "*Free Navigation, or Demonstration of the right of the Dutch to trade with the Indies*" (*Vrye Zeevaert, ofte Bewys van 'trecht dat den Hollanders toe-compt over de Indische Coophandel*). In successive chapters the author argues that the Portuguese (and hence, of course, the Spaniards) have no right of lordship over the natives because of *discovery*, or of *Papal gift*, or of *conquest*; and, after demonstrating also the freedom of the sea, he concludes his work with a chapter showing "That the Dutch ought to retain their right to the Indian trade—be it in peace, be it in truce, be it in war." He does not speak of colonies; but the extension of his argument was easy.

³ Zeeland Admiralty, Minutes, July 18, 1618 (Hague Rijksarchief).

No. 3.

Indies, the Spaniard will make a powerful effort to hinder it, the more so as thereby his commercial waters in Brazil and the West Indies would be obstructed. It is therefore my opinion that little is to be accomplished there, in view of the impending war—for experience has taught us here at home that the lands exposed to war yield little or no profit.¹

Their duration, however, was probably but transient. When in 1621 there was created a Dutch West India Company with monopoly of Dutch commercial and colonial interests on the coasts of America, the only claim for reimbursements mentioned anywhere in the records is that made by the Zeelanders for their "tobacco-plantation on the river Amazon."²

*160 But their foes have left us further evidence. From *dispatches of the government of Trinidad and Spanish Guayana, reprinted by Great Britain from the Spanish archives of the Indies, we learn of a certainty that by June of 1613 the Dutch were established in the Corentyn,³ and, though they were driven from there the next year by the Spaniards, were alleged to have already three or four more settlements between the Amazon and the Orinoco—four from the Wiapoco to the Orinoco, says a later letter of the same year. Two of these, according to a letter of the year 1615, were on the Wiapoco and the Cayenne, having been established in 1614 (so the confused passage seems to mean) by Theodoor Claessen of Amsterdam⁴—that on the Wiapoco, according to another letter, by two merchants of Flushing. It is probable that these others were on neighboring rivers, that on the Corentyn being the westernmost.⁵

Nor does all this wholly lack confirmation from Dutch records. In the archives at The Hague there is, or was, an ancient sketch map of the Cayenne, bearing no date but showing settlements with the names of Dutchmen appended; this De Jonge *long ago suspected to belong to a very early attempt at colonization.⁶ And the Zeeland directors, in their memorial of 1751, cite a certain request addressed in 1639 to the West

¹ Extracts, pp. 37, 38.

² See the printed minutes of the Holland Estates for 1621, under date of April 8th and April 20th. Even from this Amazon settlement the Dutch were expelled in 1625 (see note, p. 148, above).

³ To the fact of this Dutch colony on the Corentyn, though not to its precise date, there is Dutch testimony also. "On this river Corentyn," writes Jan de Laet in the earliest edition (1625) of his *Nieuwe Wereldt*, "we Dutchmen traded and also kept people there many years ago (*veel jaren gheden*); their High Mightinesses, the States-General, had granted a charter therefor (*hadden daer Octroy van verlesent*)."

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 52, 53; "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 204-206.

⁵ On the map of Jan de Laet, first published in 1625, and probably drafted in 1624 (De Laet's preface is dated November 15, 1624), there appear along the coast and rivers east and west of the Wiapoco and Cayenne, as well as on these streams themselves, a number of the tiny circles which elsewhere on this map indicate villages, European or native. To most of them no names are attached, and they indicate possibly Indian towns, possibly settlements; but it is noticeable that the westernmost are on the Corentyn. (They are oddly retained, with no additions, in the maps of Blaeuw.) Quite apart from this, the interpretation of which is doubtful, it is highly probable that it was the westernmost settlement which would most attract Spanish notice and Spanish hostility; and this seems from the Spanish documents to have been just the case with that on the Corentyn. After the colony on the Essequibo is known to be established, we find all Spanish aggression directed against that.

⁶ De Jonge, i, pp. 53, 54. No map answering his description can now be found.

No. 3.

India Company by the veteran Zeeland merchant, Jan de Moor, which is said to show that as early as 1613 the Guiana colonies were in full existence.¹

To all this evidence drawn from other sources should be added that, positive and negative, of the English colonizers, Leigh, Harcourt, and their fellows, whose ventures about the Wiapoco were in precisely the region where Dutch settlements are earliest vouched for by the Spanish papers. Yet, though we have from these undertakings several reports of one sort or another, and though evidence of rival Dutch enterprises would unquestionably have been of value in allaying the hesitation caused by the Spanish sympathies of King James, we find in them no mention of Dutch settlements outside the Amazon. Harcourt in 1608 made a careful exploration of the coast as far west as the Marowyn, and in his detailed *Relation* (printed in 1613, and reprinted in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iv, pp. 1267-1283), he expressly says (p. 1278 of Purchas):

. . . I took possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in behalfe of our Sovereigne Lord King James: I took the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the rivers of *Amazones*, and *Orenoque*, not beeing actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

The territory granted him by the English King's charter stretched from the Amazon to the Essequibo.

*Among the British colonial papers there exists a document addressed to the King, evidently emanating from Harcourt or one of his colleagues. It bears no date, but has by the editors of the *Calendar of State Papers* been conjecturally ascribed to January, 1623. It can not have been written later than March, 1625, the date of James's death. Its object is to set forth "breife motives" to maintain the right of the English "unto the River of *Amazones* and the Coast of *Guiana*." "Your Majesty's subjects" it begins, "many yeares since found that countrie free from any Christian Prince or State or the subjects of any of them." "Your Majesty's subjects with the faire leave and good liking of the native inhabitants have theis 13 or 14 yeares continuallie remayned in the said River and also in the River of *Wiapoco* being upon the same Coaste." "Your Ma^{ty} hath bine pleased to graunte severall Commissions for these parts, and (wth good advice of your Councell) hath granted two severall letters Pattents the one in the 11th of your Raigne of England, the other, the 17th." "The Count of Gondomer² did bouldie and most confidentlie affirme that his Master had the actual and present possession of theis parts; whereupon he obtained of your

¹ *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, ii, p. 1085. The year 1613 is thus the earliest date to which the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company in 1751, in its desperate search for evidence to sustain its monopoly of the Essequibo trade, could carry back the Guiana colonies, though it used in that search historical records now lost.

² Gondomar was the Spanish ambassador in England.

No. 3.

Ma^{ty} a suspence and stay of all our proceedings for a tyme. And two yeares and a halfe afterward the said Embassadour caused about 300 men to be sent into the River of Amazones, then to beginn the foresaid possession and to destroy the English and Dutch there abideinge.”¹

In 1626, after the accession to the English throne of Prince *163 Charles, to whom his book had been dedicated, Harcourt *published a fresh edition of his *Relation*, much revised and enriched. Among the added passages is this interesting account of the above mentioned Spanish attempt to purge Guiana of strangers (p. 7):

And here I think it fit to give notice of the dealing of a *Spanish Ambassadour* (whilst he resided in *England*) against these men [the English colonists in Guiana], after he had procured them to bee altogether abandoned by their owne Country, by his false suggestions, and violent importunity: For not content and satisfied to have wrought a suspension of all proceedings upon the Patent of the *Amazones* . . . he was still troubled at the leaving of a hundred persons in those parts . . . and underhand made a dispatch into *Spaine*, to procure a Force to supplant and ruine them; whereupon 3. ships were sent from *Spaine*, that had their directions and commission to fall in with *Brasill*, and to take in there a competent force to effect the same: which ships with 300. Portugals and Spaniards, accompanied with about 1500. of their Indians in their Periagos came into the river in the pursuite of this designe, . . . [whereupon] way (at last) was given unto the enemy, by running up farther into the Country and the inland parts, . . . so that the enemy . . . were forced to withdraw themselves into their ships, and to depart the river, leaving some of their men thereabouts, then to beginne that *actual possession*, which the *Count of Gondomar* had two years before bouldly affirmed to be in being on the behalfe of his Master, when hee obtained the suspence of the forementioned Patent of the *Amazones*, and of all the proceedings thereupon; which act of his, may (perhaps) be esteemed in the number of his greatest practises amongst us.

The mischief intended unto our Country men, was bitterly, at the same time, effected upon divers Dutchmen, to the losse of their lives, because they were more loosely seated, and more openly exposed unto the enemy upon the borders, or Islands of the maine river.

The men left there by the Spaniards, were afterward chased quite away by the English going aboard the next Dutch ships that came into the river.

Already in his first edition (1613) Harcourt had stated that sam-
*164 ples of the commodities of Guiana were to be seen, not *only in his own custody, but also “in the hands of Master *Henry Hovenaar* a Dutch-man, who in the yeare of our Lord 1610. performed a voyage to *Guiana*, to the places where our Company was seated, and now or lately did abide in Thames-streete, neare unto Cole-harbour.” To this he adds, in the new edition of 1626: “The like examples have bene often (since that

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, pp. 36, 37. For a certified transcript of this document, as of several others from the Public Record Office, I am indebted to the courtesy of Her Majesty's Government. For reasons why I suspect that the document should be dated a year or two later, see p. 177, note 4.

No. 3.

time) produced both by Englishmen, Dutch, and Frenchmen, that yearly returne from thence."

In concluding his argument Harcourt again (p. 76) urges the King of England to the "obtaining and gaining the Soveraigntie of so many great, spacious, and goodly Countries and Territories, not yet actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian Prince or State whatsoever."

It is clear, too, that as late as 1609 Harcourt and his party, the Englishmen most likely to know and most interested in knowing, supposed the Spaniards still occupying the Essequibo; for it is in the closing months of that year that his cousin, Unton Fisher, whom he had left in the Marowyn for further exploration, reports on the testimony of an old Indian that "now hee [the Spaniard] hath cleare left Dissikeebie and not a Spaniard there." The only mention of the Dutch which I find in this report from Harcourt's westernmost explorer is where, in this same passage of 1609, Unton Fisher tells how the old Indian had come down to the mouth of the Surinam, hearing that the Dutch were there, to trade with them for axes; but this probably refers only to a trading ship.¹

This silence of the English explorers as to Dutch settlement in Guiana can not weaken the force of the positive Spanish testimony, which makes it certain that as early as 1613, and at *least until 1615, the *165 Dutch were settled on this coast. But, in view of it, it is very unlikely that, save in the Amazon, they were there much earlier; and both the English and the Spanish evidence, as well as the Dutch, suggest that these earliest Dutch settlements may have perished in their infancy, and in part or wholly at Spanish hands.

To these must be added the testimony of the later Englishman, Major John Scott, who, not far from 1670, in his account of the colonization of Guiana, wrote thus of what he thought the earliest Dutch settlement:

The fifth colony consisted of about 280 Zealanders, with two small ships, landed their men at Cayan, anno 1615, but could not bring the natives to a trade; were often gauled by the Indians, and were at length forced to quit their post. Returned to Zealand the same year.

The worth of this last authority must be discussed in connection with the statements as to another Guiana colony, whose story it is now time to take up. Suffice it for this first chapter to have reached, with 1613, a date at which the existence of Dutch colonies in Guiana is certain.

Thus far my results may be summed up as follows:

1. The earliest Dutch expedition to the coast of Guiana, then conceived of as a part of the Spanish kingdom of Peru, reached that coast in 1598. This expedition was formally recognized by the Dutch States-General itself as one to a place theretofore unvisited by Netherlanders.

¹ Dutch ships trading to the Wiapeco are also mentioned by the slightly earlier English explorer, Charles Leigh, in 1604. This (and the serious misunderstanding of it by the Blue Book) has been pointed out by Professor Jameson (p. 57, above). Purchas, in his *Pilgrimage*, has two or three other instances of Dutch traders met on the Guiana coast at this period.

No. 3.

2. The earliest Dutch settlement on this coast may possibly have been on the Amazon in the year 1600; but the earliest date at which the existence of any Dutch occupation can be affirmed with certainty, or even with probability, is the year 1613.

3. Of any claim by the Dutch to Guiana as a whole, or to any part of its western coast, there is thus far no intimation.

*166

***2. THE DUTCH IN THE ESSEQUIBO.**

That there is no credible evidence for the presence of the Dutch in this river prior to the year 1613 has already been seen.¹ All assertions of their presence there before the foundation of the Dutch West India Company in 1621 go back to two documents alone. These are aught but confirmatory the one of the other; and each deserves a closer study. Longest known and implicitly (with more or less of distortion) followed by most later writers is the memorial submitted to the States-General, on August 23, 1751, by the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, in defense of its claim to the colony of Essequibo.² Its aim was of course a thoroughly partisan one. In the report published in the same behalf a year earlier (in the autumn of 1750) by the provincial Estates of Zeeland, this Guiana colony was alleged to have been in existence and in the hands of the Zeelanders prior to the establishment of the West India Company in 1621; but the only document adduced in support of this was an account

book of the year 1627, which could hardly prove anything of the
 *167 sort.³ The Amsterdam Chamber, in the *reply drawn up by it (January 9, 1751) at the request of the States-General, had passed lightly over this point, resting its claim on action of the Company at a much later period, and content with referring somewhat loftily to the published literature of the subject as showing that Hollanders, too, had traded to the Guiana coast before 1621.⁴ But the Zeeland directors felt the claim important, and in their answering memorial (August 23, 1751) came to its support with what seems fresh evidence and with the skill of finished casuists.

¹ As to its earlier occupation by other Europeans see Professor Jameson's report (pp. 46-52) and my own paper *On the Historical Maps* (in vol. iii, pp. 188-191).

² The autograph original of this document is in vol. 2006 of the West India papers, in the Dutch *Rijksarchief*. It was officially printed, and was printed in the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* for 1751, pp. 1079-1135.

³ "Welke Colonie reeds by de Komer Zeeland bekend en bevaren is geweest, ten tytle van het verleenen vunt Octrooi ten jare 1621, uitwoyzens de oudste Boeken en Registers, en onder andere een Journal-Boek van 1627, in opvolging van dat van Conyn, in Essequibo gehouden, doende Rekening van deezelfs Administratie aen de Heeren Majoors van de Wilde Kust in Zeeland."—(*Ned. Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1494.)

⁴ "En met geen meerder gratie word beroepen tot de eerste ontdekking van Guajana en het bevaren van die Landstreek sekerd het jaer 1598. tot het jaer 1670. toe. Want om Uw Hoog Mog. niet op te huden met een historieel verhaal van de Equipagien zoo wel uit Holland, als van elders op de gemelde Kust voor het jaer 1621. gedaan, en waer van de publieke en met den druk gemeen gemaeckte Schriften overvloedige getuigenis geeven," etc.—(*Ned. Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 194.)

No. 3.

Beginning their argument with a reminder of the project of Ten Haeff in 1599,¹ they bring into close connection with him a list of later Zeeland founders of American colonies, without feeling it necessary to point out that the earliest of these began his activity in 1626, and that they have but borrowed the names from an old West India Company record book covering the period 1626-1671. "It is true," they now add, in a sentence well calculated to muddle all later research, "that, as regards the colony of Essequibo, the name of the first projector and founder thereof we have not yet been able with certainty to learn; yet it is nevertheless more than probable that it was first visited and colonized by the Zeelanders, namely, so far as can be traced, by a certain Joost van der Hooge, who thereafter was also the first director of the Zeeland Chamber, and that, if not for several years before the creation of a General West India Company (a conclusion to which much color is given by a certain request presented to the Board of Nineteen in the year 1639 by Jan de Moor, wherefrom it becomes *apparent that already as early as 1613, and so eight years before *168 the charter was granted to the West India Company, the colonies on the Wild Coast were already in full existence), at least by the time of the beginning of that Company such an establishment must already have existed there, in view of the fact that in the first mentions of the river Essequibo in the books, registers, and minutes of the Company then brought into existence one finds this colony spoken of as of an already established possession, strengthened by a fort which then bore the name of Fort der Hooge, after an old noble Zeeland family near of kin to that of the noble lords van Borsselen, and shortly thereafter the name of Kykoveral, and yet without the slightest shadow of accompanying evidence that this had come about through the Company or at its order, as would in that case certainly appear in the resolutions of that body, and nevertheless the Zeeland Chamber was at that time in possession of that river and that fort, and also of the trade which was there carried on—these being, perhaps, brought into their hands by those individual founders themselves, who afterwards, as we have already seen, formed a part of the Zeeland Chamber of the said Company and were made directors thereof, as, for example, Messieurs Van der Hooge, Ten Haef, Elfsdyk, Van Peere, and others, who had theretofore traded to the aforesaid coast, were elected and installed as directors in the aforesaid Chamber."

"But be this as it may," they continue, taking breath in a fresh paragraph, "so long as from the side of the Amsterdam Chamber not the slightest evidence can be produced that the aforesaid colony and river, before or at the beginning of the Company, was traded to by the Hollanders or by any other inhabitants of the State except the Zeelanders, it may safely be concluded, on the hereinbefore specified and more than *probable grounds, that the inhabitants of Zeeland alone and exclu- *169 sively, from the beginning on, have traded to the aforesaid river,

¹ See pp. *146, *147, above.

No. 3.

erected there their establishments, and, under the care and direction of the Zeeland Chamber, have remained in continuous possession thereof. '*In obscuris enim inspicere solemus quod verisimilius est,*' and '*in pari causa, possessor potior haberi debet.*' " ¹

*170 *Now, to anybody who reads with care (as few historians seem to have had the patience to do) these adroitly framed sentences, it is clear that we have here not a positive proof of the existence of the Essequibo colony prior to 1621, but a confession that no such proof can be found. And one needs to read but slightly between the lines to detect that the directors have lighted upon but two items of possible evidence—an uncertain allusion of the year 1639 to the existence of the Guiana colonies in general in 1613, and the mention in early records of the West India Company of a "Fort der Hooge" in connection with the Essequibo.

The alleged request of Jan de Moor in 1639 can not now be verified, for the minutes of the Nineteen for this year are lost; but there is no reason to doubt its existence or its verity. It is, however, clearly a mere reference to the Guiana colonies in general; explicit mention in it of the Essequibo there is confessedly none. It would even seem, from the cautious

¹ "Het is waer, dat men ten opzichte van de Colonie van Essequibo, op voorschreve Kust inagelyke gelegen, de eerste Aenlegger en Stichter van dezelve, by name, tot hier toe niet regt heeft kunnen ontwaer worden; Edoch 't is niet te min meer dan waerschyndelyk, dat dezelve door geen andere, dan door de Zeeuwen, en wel voor zoo verre men zulks kan naspeuren door zekeren Heer Joost van der Hooge, die daer na ook de eerste Bewindhebber van de gemelde Kamer Zeeland is geworden, het eerste is bezocht en bevolkt geweest, en dat zoo niet al eenige jaren, reeds voor de erectie van eene Generale Westindische Compagnie is geschied, (waer toe nogthans vele aanleidings word gegeven door zeker Request by den Heer Joan de Moor, aen de Vergaderinge van Negentien, ten jare 1639. gepresenteerd, waer uit komt te blyken dat de Colonien op de Wilde Kust, al ten jare 1613. en dus acht jaren voor het Octrooi, aen de Westindische Compagnie verleend, al in een volkomen wezen syn geweest) immers al by den aenvang van de Compagnie zoodanig een Etablissement daer reeds moet geweest syn, aengezien ook by het eerste, 't geen men in de Boeken, Registers en Notulen van die toen in s'land gebrachte Compagnie van Rio Essequibo vind vermeld, men omtrent dezelve Colonie bevind gesproken te worden, als van eene reeds bevestigde Possessie, gesterkt met eene Fortres, toen al genaemd het Fort der Hooge, naer een oud Adelyk Zeeuwesch Geslacht, nauw verbonden aen dat van de Hoog Ed. Heeren van Borsselen, en kort daer na genoemd Kykoveral, zonder dat echter daer by eenige de minste schaduwe ontdekt word, dat zulks door de Compagnie of op dezelfs ordre soude wezen geschied, als het gene anders zeker in derzelve Resolutien wel zoude wezen gevonden, en echter was ter dier tyd de Kamer Zeeland al in de Possessie en het bezit van die Rivier en dat Fort, mislagaders van den Handel, die aldaer werd gedreven; zynde dezelve mooglyk veelligt daer in gebragt door die particuliere Aenleggers selve, die naderhand, zoo als wy hier voren gezien hebben, een gedeelte van de Kamer Zeeland, in derzelve Compagnie hebben uitgemaakt en in het bewind van dezelve syn gebragt geworden, zoo als de Heeren van der Hooge, ten Haef, Elfsdyk, van Peere en anderen, die op de voorschreve Kust reeds te voren geëquippeerd hadden, tot Bewindhebber in voorschreve Kamer syn geëligeerd en aengesteld geweest.

"Dan het zy hier mede zoo het wil, zoo lang men aen de zyde van de Prassidiale Kamer geen het minste bewys kan produceren, dat de voorschreve Colonie en Rivier, voor of met den aenvang van de Compagnie, by de Hollanders of eenige andere Ingezetenen van der Staet buiten de Zeeuwen is bevaeren en behandeld geworden, zoo kan en mag men, uit de reeds hier voren opgegevene en meer dan waerschyndelyke gronden, veilig besluiten dat de Zeeuwache Ingezetenen alleen en privativelyk de voorschreve Rivier, van begin af, hebben bevaeren, hunne Etablissements aldaer opgerecht en onder de bezorginge en directie van de Kamer Zeeland daer van in eene gecontinueerde Possessie syn gebleven. *In obscuris enim inspicere solemus, quod verisimilius est, arg. legis 114. ff. de Regulis Juris: et in pari causa, possessor potior haberi debet; see, l. 138. eod. tit.*"—(Nederland-sche Jaerboeken, 1751. pp. 1085, 1086.)

No. 3.

form of the statement, that its testimony to the Guiana colonies at all is rather inferential than direct.

What is urged as to a "Fort der Hooge" would be more serious were it borne out by the contemporary records on which it claims to be based. These very earliest records of the West India Company still remain to us, and in precisely the copies used by the Zeeland directors themselves.¹ True, the very first volume of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber itself is now lacking; but there is much reason to believe that it was lacking when this memorial was written, and, had it been in this that the phrase was found, the memorialists would undoubtedly have cited volume and date, as they have done wherever in their memorial these minutes are used. That there is here *no citation whatever strongly suggests that what is *171 stated is only an impression. Now, in the extant minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, running without a break from 1626 to 1644, and making frequent mention of the Essequibo colony, there is never any mention of a Fort der Hooge at all; nor have I been able to find it elsewhere in the records of the Company. Nor is this colony at first spoken of, as alleged, as a possession strengthened by a fort; for, as appears from an entry of August 23, 1627, it had as yet no fort at all, though the Company then promises to send soon some men to build one. The name of the fort, Kykoveral, which does not appear in the records before 1644, is thereafter constantly met; and had there been earlier a Fort der Hooge named after a director of the Company, the Zeeland directors would hardly have shown to an influential colleague the discourtesy of constantly ignoring its title. Joost van der Hooge is, indeed, named first, at the organization of the West India Company, among the stockholders and directors of the Zeeland Chamber, and this has seemed to some a reason for accepting the story; but they forget that this place belonged to him, *ex officio*, as burgomaster of Middelburg.² It is more probable that the place of his name suggested the tradition. There is nothing in the minutes of these bodies to connect him with Essequibo; and he was not one of those to whom matters relating to this colony were commonly referred. That the authors of the memorial were not writing with the documents before them may be guessed from the fact that, of the three others whom they mention with Van der Hooge as Guiana patroons who had earned a *seat in the Zeeland Chamber *172 by the transfer of their colonies, not all were original members of that chamber.

There is, too, another claimant to the name Fort der Hooge, or Ter Hooge.

¹ There are even preserved, among these volumes, in the Dutch *Rijksarchief*, some of the memoranda made for this very memorial.

² Of this Joost van der Hooge, General Netscher tells us, on the high authority of Mr. Van Vliet, the learned archivist of Zeeland, that he was born in 1585 and after serving six times as Burgomaster of Middelburg between 1618 and 1630, became for the rest of his life (1631-1659) *rekenmeester ter Generaliteit*. (*Geschiedenis van de Koloniën*, p. 337.)

No. 3.

When in 1657 the control of the Essequibo had passed into the hands of the three Walcheren cities (Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere), and they had planted in its region their new colony and had given it the new name of Nova Zeelandia, there stood on the bank of the Pomeroon, we are told, not only the fortress Nieuw Zeeland, and below it the village Nieuw Middelburg, but a little farther downstream the "*Huis ter Hooge*"—believed to have been a fortified lookout.¹ The Zeeland Estates, in their paper of 1750, fell into the error of supposing the colony of Essequibo to have borne from its outset the name of Nova Zeelandia.² This the Zeeland directors corrected; but is it not possible that they fell into the kindred error of forgetting the site and date of the Fort ter Hooge?

The other document which gives for the foundation of the colony of Essequibo an earlier date than 1621 lies in the library of the British Museum, where it bears the mark "Sloane MSS., 3662." It is a thin bound volume, lettered on its back, "Var. Tracts on the E. and W. Indies." The book is, however, all written by a single hand; and the author has made no effort to conceal his identity, for the volume begins with an
 *173 *elaborate preface, to which he has signed at the end his name in full—"John Scott." It is an autograph fragment, or rather a collection of sketches and materials, belonging to an unpublished and probably never finished work on the islands, and coasts of America,
 *174 from Newfoundland to the Amazon,³ and *its author is that Major John Scott, once of Long Island, who after an all too prom-

¹ The ultimate source for this statement and for the maps (e. g., Bouchenoeder's) which set down these places on the Pomeroon, I suspect to be the Middelburg geographer Arent Roggeveen, in his *Brandende Veen*, whose text was written while the colony was still in existence, and whose authority, as he expressly tells us, is that of Cornelis Goliat, who was the engineer of this colony. But Roggeveen spells this on his map "'t Huis der Hooghte," and in his text "'t Huis der Hooght"; i. e., probably, "the house of the height"—for a height well suited to fortification we know there was at or about this point. That Roggeveen, a Middelburger and a contemporary, could so have caricatured the familiar name of "Ter Hooge," had he found that in Goliat's chart, is inconceivable. As to Goliat and Roggeveen, see also pp. 214-217.

² *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1494.

³ In his preface Scott himself thus describes the scope and method of the projected work:

"In my youth I was a great lover of Geographie and History in Generall, but aboute the Eighteenth yeare of my age I tooke up a resolution to make America the scene of the greatest actions of my life, and there to sett mysele a worke (if possible) to finde out the Latitudes, the Longitudes, and to know the oridginall discovery with the situations of all places both on the Continent and in the islands; as also the names of Persons and of what Nations they were who have possessed them, and what fortune each Nation hath had, and (as neare as I could) the fortune of the severall governo^rs successively, and of the respective Collonies, the most remarkable distempers and diseases, the Commodities abounding and advantages of trade, what places were more or less Tenable of Nature, and what were made strong by fortifications, in w^t manner, and to what degree; Moreover how those Colonies have prospered or declined in Trade, increased or decreased in number of Inhabitants from Europe, and the proper causes thereof; Together wth the strenth [*sic*] of the severall Indian Nations, their customes Governments, and Commodities, and what advantages may be made of them in point of Warr or by Trade. I labour'd likewise to discover the Rocks, Sandes Shelves, and Soundings about every Island, and in the Entrance of all Ports, Havens, Rivers, and Creeks, as well on the Terra firma as the Islands, my scope at first being only for my owne particular sattisfaction, but now I am not out of hope these things may be both of some reputacion to my

No. 3.

inent part in the politics of New England and New York had fled to Barbados, and who while there had been chosen to lead the expedition which in 1665-66 captured for England the Dutch colonies in Guiana.¹ Among the chapters here completed are those on Guiana and on the West Indian islands Barbados, Grenada, and Tobago. The first named of these chapters, with a long extract from the second, was a few years ago transcribed by a colonial scholar (though apparently without discovery of its authorship) and published *in a Guiana newspaper.* Thence *175 it was copied into the book of a missionary, Bronkhurst,² and so reached the world of scholars. Its reception by historians has not been flattering, and the name of its author will hardly add greatly to its weight,

selfe, and a generall advantage to the English Nation, by which especially I shall have my end and reckon these eightene yeares last past, by running through all manner of dangers (at seve'll times) to make Col-lections and Observations, have been spent to good purpose for my Country, and thereby put mee in possession of the greatest felicity that can befall a man in this life.

"I had once a purpose to have given you a large discription of all America, but then considering the Spanish Indies had not onely been performed by other Authors but those Authors especially such as are Authentick have writ nothing for the last 60 yeares . . . besides I was loath to cloy the World with long Discourses about old Matters w^{ch} would not have an aspect on such affairs as are proper for our Consideration, but chose rather to give new accounts from observations of my owne (or such living Testimonies as I could credit) Touching those places w^{ch} have not been sufficiently sett forth by any man before me: Purposely omitting that part of the Spanish Indies that I have noe knowledge of . . . I chose rather to content myselfe with w^t (in great part) I know, what my owne eyes have seen, and much of what my feet have trodden, and my sences brought under an exact inquiry, confining my selfe with the River Amazon on the South . . . That River parts Brazile and Guiana, and its mouth is crossed by the Equinoctiall Line; from whence in my Mapps and History I pass Northward to Newfound Land.

"More than 1200 miles along the shore, surveying all the Islands worth nottice [*sic*] comprehended within that vast part of the Atlantick Ocean one hundred and six of which Islands I have been Personally upon, have Travelled most parts of New England and Virginia, and a greate part of Guiana, and other places of the Maine between the Tropick of Cancer and the forementioned grand River, and wth Shippes and Barques have sayled into very many of the Rivers, Bayes Ports, and Creeks within the two boundaries of this discription. As for those places which have not come under my survey, and the Originall of many of the Colonies, whether English, Spanish, French, or Dutch whoes [*sic*] plantacions are settled beyond the Memory of any man that I could meet with, in such cases I took my measures from the best authors as Herera Ovida and Acosta among the Spaniards, Thunis a Grave Authour among the French, John Delaet among the Dutch and from many other Authours and sev'll curious manuscripts that came to my hand besides the Carte [*sic*] of which I ever labour to gett the best extant and besides actually to coveroe [*sic*] with good Artists that had been upon the place, and such persons I ever strove to oblige and draw to me of w^t Nation soever they were; I made it my business likewise to purchase or borrow all the historys and Journalls that I could heare of whether Lattin Ittallian Spanish or Portugais French Dutch or in our Language, wherein I may say I have by reason of a generall generous conversation had luck extraordinary, and herein w^t paines I have taken what cost I have been att is so Notorious, that over and above the knowledge of a great number of Gentlemen which I have been obliged too [*sic*] for a Communication of printed books, Mannuscripts, Pattents Commissions, and papers relating to those parts, the many bookesellers of England and Holland will doe me Right to testifie my continuall inquisition."

¹ For the passages in which Scott himself tells the story of this capture and describes the Guiana of his time, see Extracts, pp. 133-137. His part in this expedition is else known, and Professor Jameson, who knew of the manuscript through Bronkhurst's extracts, had already (p. 64, above), from this internal evidence, established the identity of its author.

² *The Royal Gazette*, Georgetown, July 24, 1879.

³ *The Colony of British Guyana and its Labouring Population*, London, 1883.

No. 3.

for Scott's reputation for accuracy of statement is not unimpeached.¹ His facilities for information were, however, remarkable, and especially so for Guiana.² For his statement as to the founding of the colony of Essequibo in 1616 by one Captain Gromwegle,³ and for the reasons why it must be doubted, I may refer to the report of Professor Jameson.

I have only to add that my own examination of the manuscript records, while vindicating Scott in assigning to 1664 the death of Groenewegel, and while carrying back to 1645 that governor's advent in the colony, brings to light no earlier mention of him in the books of the West India Company, and convinces me that he could not earlier have been commandeur on the Essequibo. That in 1616 he or any other built there a fort seems unlikely from the fact that a fort needed to be built there in 1627.⁴ That he may in that year have come to some other Guiana colony is not impossible, though the records of the Zeeland admiralty for this and the adjacent years fail to show the name of such a captain.⁵ In view of the fact that *176 *Scott credits to Groenewegel's "ingenious observations" only a part of the particulars of this story, and in view of his demonstrable inaccuracy as to dates and names in what else he tells us of the beginnings of colonization in Guiana, I think it must be felt that, though there are doubtless elements of truth in his story, his authority is much too slight for a statement else so unsupported, and so inconsistent with facts better known.⁶ Is it not more probable that Scott has confused with the original establishment of the Dutch in the Essequibo the founding of the first

¹ See the citations of Professor Jameson, p. 64, above. [i. e. U. S. Com. Report, vol. i, p. 64.] Lord Willoughby, there quoted, knew him well and was by no means an unfriendly witness.

² See (in addition to note, p. *174) Extracts, pp. 134, 135, and p. 135, note.

³ So, and not Gromweagle, as Bronkhurst prints it, it is always spelt in the manuscript—of course, or the Dutch *Groenewegel*.

⁴ See p. 180, below. Had it been merely the repair of an old fort that was needed, or even its replacement by a new one, this would almost certainly have been shown by the wording of the record. True, between 1616 and 1627 a fort might have been destroyed and abandoned; but such an event was likely to leave trace in record or tradition.

⁵ These records are for this period complete at The Hague; and between 1613 and 1621, at least, no such name can be found in them.

⁶ Among these better known facts (in addition to the evidence, negative and positive, derived from Dutch records) are the following: Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1617, on that second voyage to Guiana which resulted in the sack of Santo Thomé, the Spanish settlement in the Orinoco, thus writes, in his journal, under date of December 10, of his instructions to the party sent up that river: "I also gave them order to send into Dessekebe for I assured them that they could not want Pilotts ther for Orenoke, being the next great river adjoining unto it, and to which the Spaniards of Orinoko had dayly recourse." Now, Sir Walter Raleigh, despite his long imprisonment, was perhaps the best posted European of his time as to the affairs of Guiana. Moreover, he had brought with him and had just put ashore at Cayenne for trade with the Indians two Dutchmen, and had he nobbled in that port with the captain of a Dutch trading-ship, "one Janson of Flushing, who had traded that place about a dussen yeares." It is scarcely conceivable that, had there been then a Dutch colony in the Essequibo, Raleigh could have failed to learn it. Even Sir Robert Schomburgk infers from this that the Dutch were not then in Essequibo, and in his footnote on the passage, reconciles it with his theory of an earlier Dutch occupation of that river by stating that, though "the Dutch were here established as early as 1580-90," "they were, however, driven from their settlements by the Spaniards, assisted by the Indians"—he is clearly thinking of the alleged ex-

No. 3.

colony of planters there—the *Nova Zeelandia* of the Walcheren cities—in 1658? Of the latter *Groenewegel was, as we shall presently see, indeed, the first Commander, and so in a sense the founder. *177

In June, 1621, the truce with Spain having now expired, there came at last into existence the long-projected Dutch West India Company. Its charter granted it monopoly of trade over all the coasts of America, both Atlantic and Pacific, not to mention West Africa, the islands, and the Antarctic continent, and this without a suggestion of frontier within these bounds. All existing Dutch colonies on these coasts passed, therefore, into its hands. The only claim for reimbursement which finds mention in the official records is one made by the Zeelanders for their “tobacco plantation on the Amazon.”¹ Of other establishments on the South American coast nothing is heard.

Even after the grant of the charter, however, the Company was long in organizing. The stock had first to be taken up. The Zeeland shareholders did not meet till May 26, 1623,² to choose the directors of the Zeeland Chamber; and the supreme board of the Nineteen, made up of deputies from this and the other chambers, first came together on August 3, 1623.³ Among the items of business prescribed for this opening session one finds mention of the coast of Brazil, at the one side of Guiana, and the Punta de Araya, the salt depot, at the other, but no word of the Wild Coast itself.⁴ We learn, *however, that already a “goodly number of *178 colonists” are presenting themselves. But it is not until the session of September 10, 1624, that one reads among the topics for consideration:

The deputies of Zeeland will please bring with them the instructions given to the ships bound for the Amazons, and further information as to the condition of things in that quarter; and the deputies of all the chambers

pulsion of Dutchmen from the Moruca in 1596. That both these latter assumptions are errors is of no consequence to the question now in hand. (See Raleigh, *Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk, pp. 196–203.) In the second place, Fray Pedro Simon, the contemporary Spanish historian, writing at Bogotá within the same decade, narrates in much detail the chastisement by the Spaniards, in 1619, of the hostile Arawaks in the Pomeroon, the Essequibo, and the Berbice. What is more, he states that these Indians have, up to their corruption at this time by the English (he means Raleigh’s party), been always the friends of the Spaniards. He clearly knows nothing of any presence of the Dutch in these rivers. (See his *Noticias*, pp. 664–666, and Professor Jameson’s report, p. 51, above.)

¹ As to this foundation on the Amazon, see p. *148, above, note.

² This I learn from the minutes of the shareholders themselves (Hague, Rijksarchief, West India papers, vol. 470).

³ So testify the Nineteen’s own minutes (West India papers, vol. 51). Cf. Extracts pp. 38, 39, note.

⁴ Yet, in the English document quoted above (p. 162) from the British colonial papers, a document conjecturally calendared under January, 1623 (at which date no session of the Dutch West India Company had yet been held), one reads: “The West Indian Companie in Holland do now send two or three shippes full of men unto the Amazonas intendinge speedilie to supplie them wth manie more for Plantation.” It would be of value to know the grounds for the ascription of the document to so early a date. Nothing in its contents demands it; and a time subsequent to the rupture of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, in 1624, would seem more congenial to the presentation of such a memorial. The copy in question of the document is endorsed “For the Prince, his Highnes.”

No. 3.

shall come instructed, so as to devise means for the securing of that region, whether by the planting of suitable colonies or otherwise.¹

At the session, however, after hearing the memorial of the Zeeland deputies, nothing was done save to furnish a copy to each of the chambers for consideration and report.

Unluckily, the loss of the later minutes of the Nineteen² leaves us in the dark as to the immediate sequel; but from a passage in the Zeeland memorial of 1751, possibly based on these records, we learn that in 1627 articles were adopted "for the establishment of a colony on the Wild Coast,"³ and that on March 4, 1628, the Nineteen asked from the Zeeland Chamber a written report on the "colonies of the Amazons." A bright light is also thrown on the Company's plans by their still extant form of "Commission for Captains," drawn up in 1626:⁴ "Since we have undertaken," declare the directors, "in virtue of the charter granted by the States General of the United Netherlands to this Company, to send *179 certain ships to *the West Indies, there to further the peopling of uninhabited places, and among other things to build a fortress, in order to be secure against the raids and invasions of the Spaniards and other nations our foes, and since to accomplish this with the greater sureness, we have need of a capable, true, and experienced person to have command thereover as captain," therefore they do appoint the candidate in question.

But meanwhile there comes to our aid a body of records which from now on will give far more definite information as to these Guiana colonies. The minutes of the Zeeland Chamber itself, whose first volume (1623-1626) has, alas, long been lost, are from May 4, 1626, onward for twenty years (to May 31, 1646) preserved to us intact. We find, indeed, in these precious volumes, for some time after their abrupt beginning, no explicit mention of any colony. But already on May 21, 1626, it was "resolved to look about for a capable person for director of the business in the Amazons; and if a capable one can be found to send him thither by the first ship."⁵ Of ships to the Amazons one hears abundantly.⁶ On October 8, 1626, the Burgomaster Jan de Moor and Confraters Godin and Ten Haeff were made a committee "to report in writing what new trading places within the limits of the charter might be found where it would be advisable for the Company to carry on business, in order that, on their report, action may be taken by the Nineteen."

And at last, on November 26, 1626, we find what I believe the earliest mention in extant records of any Dutch establishment on the Essequibo:

¹ For the Dutch, see Extracts, pp. 38, 39.

² This first volume, alone preserved, covers the period from August 3, 1623, to December 24, 1624.

³ *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, pp. 1088, 1089. The articles are probably those of which only a part is to be found in the colony-book of the Zeeland Chamber. See Extracts, p. 53.

⁴ For the document in full, see Extracts, pp. 40, 41.

⁵ See Extracts, p. 41.

⁶ See Extracts, pp. 42-45, for examples.

No. 3.

The committee on wares is authorized to make up a suitable cargo to the Amazons for the yacht *Arnemuyden*.

Resolved, To send with the aforesaid yacht *Arnemuyden* 20 ripening *youths, in order to land them in the Amazon, the Wiapoco, or *180 the Essequibo—wherever the folk of our Chamber may be found—for the purpose of being employed there. And each of them shall be granted 2, 3, or 4 guilders a month, according to their capacities.¹

Again, under December 10, 1626, we read:

Resolved, To let Jacob Canyn come home from Essequibo, as he asks to do, and to fill his place with another.²

And only two days later, December 12:

Johannes Beverlander is taken into the service of the Company for three years, to lie in the river of Essequibo along with Jan van der Goes; and that for twenty-one guilders a month.³

It is more than six months before there is again in these minutes any mention of the Essequibo. Then, on August 23, 1627,⁴ it was, on report of a committee—

Resolved, To raise the wages of Jan van der Goes in Essequibo, after his first three years (for which he is bound to the Company), to five pounds Flemish a month, and to send the supplies asked by him, as is set down in the request, together with other necessities, and to authorize him to retain five or six men out of the ship *Arent*, and that by next [ship] we shall send him 30 men and cause a fort to be made.⁵

*Thereafter nothing more in 1627. But from these brief items *181 out of the first year of its known existence I think it possible, if due weight be given to what is omitted as well as to what is said, to draw with safety two or three important inferences. First, that the establishment in the Essequibo antedates May, 1626. Second, that so late as 1627 it was still a trading post rather than a settlement, with not so much as a fort yet erected. Third, that its commander, as yet a mere agent without a title, had in August, 1627, not yet completed the third year of his service. It is of course possible to reconcile all these with a longer Dutch occupation; but, when taken in connection with the absence of all authentic evidence

¹ For the Dutch, see Extracts, p. 42.

² Extracts, p. 43. It has been inferred from this passage that Canyn was Commander of the Dutch establishment on the Essequibo; and in support of this has been quoted the passage of the Zeeland Chamber's memorial of 1751, which speaks of "an account-book of 1627, in continuation of that of Conyn, kept in Essequibo, giving a report of its administration to the superiors of the Wild Coast in Zeeland." (For the Dutch of the entire passage, see note, p. 166, above.) This account-book (*Journal-Boek*) can no longer be found. It seems more plausible to infer from the two passages that Canyn, or Conyn, was only clerk of the Essequibo post; and the entry of December 12, by which Beverlander seems sent to take his place, while Jan van der Goes is named as in command, without any preceding or following resolution for his promotion, seems to me convincing.

³ Extracts, p. 44.

⁴ The date 1626, given by Netscher for this entry, and from him borrowed by others, is only a printer's error.

⁵ Extracts, p. 45.

No. 3.

for their earlier presence in that river and with the purpose of the West India Company, so clearly implied in September, 1624, to plant new establishments on this coast, I think it not rash to conjecture that Jan van der Goes was at the head of the first Dutch occupation of the Essequibo, and that the beginning of that occupation was in or about the year 1625.

And I am able to add a bit of evidence which seems to me to raise that conjecture to a practical certainty. In the year 1625 the Dutch merchant and geographer Jan de Laet gave to the world the first edition of his *New World; or, Description of the West Indies*. His preface, written after the work was completed, is dated November 15, 1624. His book is one of great zeal and industry, and of exceptional conscientiousness. Moreover, Jan de Laet was from the outset a director of the West India Company, and alive both to its interests and to its new sources of information. Yet in this edition of 1625 his description of the Essequibo is drawn mainly from

English sources. He quotes, however, in support of his statements as *182 to its navigation and products, "our people who some *years ago visited this river." Of the Spaniards he says that, according to the account of the Englishman Masham, they had some people here in 1591 [1597], but "seem to have come to naught again." And a little further on, in his description of the Orinoco, he tells us, following Raleigh, that "among other traffics which the Spaniards there carry on, one is to go with canoes to the rivers of Barima, Pomeroon, and Essequibo, and there to buy women and children from the Caribs, and with great profit to sell them again in Margarita."¹

The book of De Laet met with great success. It became evident that a new edition would be demanded. But before this appeared, in 1630, there were some things which needed to be changed. On January 28, 1627, one reads in the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber (De Laet was a member of that of Amsterdam) this entry:

In reply to the letter of Confrater Jan de Laet asking of the Chamber of Zeeland that it will please send him certain copies of log books of [voyages to] the Amazons and elsewhere, consent is given, on condition that he be instructed to send them back within a month or six weeks.²

It is significant that just these journals should have been asked. More significant is the change, in the new edition, of the description of the Essequibo. There is no mention, indeed, of Dutch settlement. On the contrary, the allusion to an earlier Dutch visit to the Essequibo is stricken out. But the account itself has grown fuller and more definite. The English writers fall into the background. There is knowledge of the Essequibo's division above into three arms, and that good land lies on all three. And the Spaniards no longer "seem to have come to naught,"

¹ *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1625, pp. 474, 475, 480.

² For the Dutch, see Extracts, p. 44.

No. 3.

but "have come to naught." The passage *in the chapter on the *183 Orinoco is, however, retained—perhaps by oversight.¹

Now, it is quite possible that, had there been in 1630 no Dutch colony on the Essequibo, Jan de Laet might still have written his text of 1630; but it is quite impossible that, had he known a Dutch colony there in 1624, he could have written his text of 1625.²

*I have dwelt on the beginning of the Dutch establishment in the *184 Essequibo, that I might, if possible, fix its date with certainty. What needs to be told of its growth may be told more briefly. In 1627 it seems still but a trading post. But meanwhile other Guiana posts were becoming colonies. Before the end of 1626 two bodies of settlers had been gathered, and early in 1627 were sent out, the one to the Wiapoco, the other to the Cayenne.³ In June of 1627 the Nineteen enacted a scheme of common government for the Guiana colonies, present and to come, Cayenne to be its seat and each of the others to send thither deputies;⁴ and tempting privileges were insured to private founders of colonies. In the same month they empowered Jan de Moor to send a fresh colony to Tobago.⁵ In July were sent out the settlers for the new colony of Abraham van Pere, on the

¹ *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1630, pp. 577, 583.

² To be compared with these passages is also that description of Guiana, published by Jan de Laet in another work in 1628, which is printed in full at p. 355, below.

Interesting, too, in this connection is a bit of English evidence. In February, 1627, Capt. Henry Powell landed on the island of Barbadoes, then wholly uninhabited, 40 or 50 English settlers. He then set out for the neighboring mainland of Guiana to buy from the Indians materials for the plantation. Twenty years later Powell himself (in a petition for the return of the Indians he had then carried off from the main—the document is in the Bodleian Library, *Rawlinson MSS.*, C. 94, and was printed by Mr. N. Darnell Davis in *Timebri* for June, 1891) thus told the story of the expedition:

"Having left the aforesaid servants upon this Island, I proceeded in my voyage to the Mayne, to the river of Disacaba [Essequibo], and there I left 8 men, and left them a cargason of trade for that place. And I traded with the Indians of the aforesaid Mayne for all things that was to be gotten for the planting of this Island of the Barbadoes. And coming down the river of Disacaba, there was three cannoes with Indians of the people that I had trade with, followed me to the river's mouth and upon a small Island at the river's mouth went ashore, a little before night, faire by the shippe, and had a desire to speake with me. I went ashore to them, and lay that night upon the Island to know their intent to follow me so farre. Their answer was that they did perceiue by ye things that I had bought of them that I was bound to plante an Island that lay to the Northward of them and that they had relation from their forefathers that had been upon an Island that way that was not inhabited, and they described the name of the Island to me, and that they had a desire to goe with me as free people to manure those fruits, and that I should allow them a piece of land, the which I did, and they would manure those fruits, and bring up their children to Christianitie, and that we might drive a constant trade between the Island and the Mayne, for there was manie more of the Indians of that place, that had a desire for to come for that Island, the next yeare, if I would come there againe."

It will be noticed that the Englishman had apparently no knowledge that there were then Dutchmen in the Essequibo. And this seems also clear from another document of Captain Powell's, a sworn statement made by him in 1656; and also from the affidavit, in 1660, of a John Powell (probably his nephew), who was with him in this expedition. These two (from the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and from the Bodleian, respectively) are likewise printed in *Timebri* for June, 1891.

³ See Extracts, p. 43; and, for further details, De Laet, *Historie . . . van de . . . West-Indische Compagnie* (1644), ff. 111, 112, and Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 58–57.

⁴ See Extracts, pp. 47–53.

⁵ See Extracts, pp. 54, 55.

No. 3.

river Berbice. A fort was to be built for them, and equipped with guns at the cost of the Company.¹ But no colonists for the Essequibo.² That the Company reserved for itself, and had no mind to intrust to patroons; but it neglected to colonize it for itself. It was this, I suspect, and especially what was being done for the neighboring river, which called forth from Jan van der Goes the complaint, perhaps the threat, which one can divine behind the generous action of the Zeeland Chamber on August 23, 1627. The Essequibo, too, they conceded, should have its colonists and its forts; Jan van der Goes should receive his supplies at once, and, if he would but be patient, in time a larger salary.

*185 *The five or six men to be retained from the *Arent* and the thirty who were promised were very probably the desired colonists for the Essequibo.³ That the thirty were sent, there is little reason to doubt; for, on April 10, 1628, it was voted "to provision the yacht *Armuyden* for ten months, and also for three months for as many colonists as are to go along. The said ship shall go to the Amazon, the Wiapoco, the Cayenne, and so on to the Essequibo, manned with 35 men. The same ship shall carry over all the necessaries for the colonists."⁴

That the promised fort was built is not so certain. Nor have we anywhere in these early years, except perhaps from the sentence of Jan de Laet as to the whereabouts of the good land, a hint as to where in the river the colony was planted. That its center, if not its sole seat, was the island at the junction of Mazaruni and Cuyuni is, however, made nearly certain by several considerations. In the first place there is found nowhere in later records any tradition of another site or of a removal. In 1764 the Zeeland Chamber declared to the States-General that "from all old time" the fort had been at this place. Again, the island was the only natural stronghold of its sort. It was, moreover, probably suggested by a prior occupation—an occupation leaving a tangible inheritance in solid stone walls which to the end were utilized in the Dutch constructions here, and which in part remain to this day.⁵

¹ See Extracts, p. 45.

² What is said by General Netscher (p. 54) of the alternative destination of certain colonists in November, 1626, is an error. The passage about "Amazon, Wiapoco, or Essequibo" belongs only to the "20 ripening youths," who were, of course, to be employés at the trading posts.

³ By "colonists," however, must not be understood tillers of the soil, much less free planters. "The colony of Essequibo," said the Zeeland Chamber itself in 1751, in the memorial resulting from its search through its own records, "from the beginning on, down to the year 1656 was inhabited only by such persons as were employés of the Zeeland Chamber, and who . . . at that time were called 'colonists' and were kept there for the carrying on of trade, which soon grew to such proportions that in some years a hundred barrels or more of annatto dye came over at once."—(*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1097.)

⁴ Extracts, p. 55; also p. 53 and note.

⁵ As to the origin of these old walls of Fort Kykoveral there are three distinct theories. (1) That they are Spanish. The evidence as to a Spanish occupation of the Essequibo has been discussed by Professor Jameson (pp. 45-52, above) and in my own paper *On the Historical Maps* (vol. iii, pp. 188-191). (2) That they are Portuguese. This belief first appears at the time of its dismantling, in 1764, when the Essequibo governor described it as "an old Portuguese work, built extraordinarily tight and strong." Half

SITE OF FORT KYKOVERAL
AS SKETCHED BY GENERAL NETSCHER IN 1846
(See note, pp. *185-*187)

SECTION OF WALL OF FORT KYKOVERAL
AS SKETCHED BY GENERAL NETSCHER IN 1846
(See note, pp. *185-*187)

RUINED ENTRANCE AND WALL OF FORT KYKOVERAL
AS SKETCHED BY GENERAL NETSCHER IN 1846
(See note, pp. 9185-9187)

No. 3.

*The colony was for long not a commercial success. In 1632 the *186
Nineteen decided to abandon it,¹ as they had already abandoned, in
1631, that on the Cayenne.² The colonists, indeed, seem to have come
home in a body, Jan van der Goes at their head. But after conference
with him, the Zeeland Chamber (April 8, 1639)³ voted not to give it up.
Abraham van Pere had offered to carry on the trade to Essequibo in con-

a dozen years later, in 1770, Hartsinck, in his *Description of Guiana*, declared that "this fort was, by the Portuguese, built of quarried stone on a small island lying in the mouths of the rivers Cuyuni and Mazaroni (but was in 1764 broken up, after which there was built with the stone a sugar-windmill on the Company's plantation Duinenburg, and later, in the year 1768, with the remaining stone a similar mill on the Company's plantation Luixbergen)," and again that "Fort Kykoveral was built of hewn stone (surely by the Portuguese, since the arms of that realm are cut in stone above the doorway)"—"zekerlyk door de Portugeezen: dewyl het Wapen van dat Ryk boven de Poort is uitgehouwen." (*Beeschryving van Guiana*, i, pp. 207, 208, 262). (3) That they are Dutch. This has found support in the statement of Major John Scott (given in full by Professor Jameson on p. 63, above) that in 1616 a fort was built here by the Dutch captain "Gromwegle." The worth of this evidence has been discussed both by Professor Jameson (pp. 64, 65) and by myself (pp. *172-*177). The Rt. Rev. William Hart Coleridge (Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Isles, 1824-1841), who once visited this remote portion of his diocese, has left a description of the ruins which strangely mingles Portuguese founders with the date assigned by Scott to the Dutch. Mentioning "the old fort Kykoveral," he remarks that it was "built in 1616," and that there remains of it a postern in brick, on the side remote from Cartabo. On the key of the arch of this postern, he says, one can make out, though half effaced, the Portuguese arms. The wooden pillars which once sustained the "stellings" are, he adds, still visible. (This passage which occurs in a note to a pastoral charge delivered at Georgetown, Demerara, July 18, 1839, is accessible to me only in French translation—the charge being reprinted at pp. 1157-1162 of vol. II of the great *Rapport sur les questions coloniales* by Lechevalier, 1843, 1844: it fell into my hands too late for a successful search for its English original.) On the other hand, General Netscher, the careful modern Dutch historian of the colonies which now form British Guiana, who in 1845 and again in 1850 closely examined these ruins with intent to verify Hartsinck's statement as to the Portuguese arms, found over the doorway nothing but a simple cross. The sketches of the place then made on the spot by him in his journal I have, through the kindness of that generous scholar, been permitted to examine; and, in response to my request to be allowed to reproduce them, he has with his own hand made a copy of them, which I have the honor to submit herewith. In further explanation of the sketches he has had the kindness to add the following note:

"Remains or ruins of a very small ancient Spanish fort, for nearly a century the residence of the Commandeurs of the colony Essequibo, called by the Dutch *Kykoveral* on account of its domineering situation at the confluence of the Massaruni, Cuyuni and Essequibo—as seen and superficially sketched by me in 1845, and seen again in 1850. Only two-thirds of the stone walls of the fort were then and are probably still existing; the part on the Cartabo side is built of granite or quartz; the northeastern side of the wall is brickwork of \pm 4 feet at the bottom, with a gate or portico of 8 feet by 4 feet (inside), and 2 embrasures for artillery. The rest was all in ruins and nothing was left of the building or barrack.

"Genl P. M. NETSCHER.

"THE HAGUE, October 19th, 1896."

General Netscher has himself, in his *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën* (pp. 338, 339), discussed the origin of the fort, pointing out that the presence of the Portuguese in the Essequibo prior to the Dutch occupation is a thing wholly foreign both to Dutch and to Portuguese tradition, and inconsistent with all we know of the circumstances. He tells me, too, that the Spanish and Portuguese scholars and diplomats before whom, at every opportunity, he has brought the question, agree that the cross was an emblem much more likely to be thus used by the Spaniards than by the Portuguese.

¹ *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, 1750, p. 1494.

² *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, 1751, p. 1090.

³ Extracts, p. 65; cf. *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, as above.

No. 3.

nection with that to his colony of Berbice.¹ The contract was
 *187 *closed with him on July 16,² and in August Jan van der Goes was
 reengaged, with two assistants, to take charge of affairs there.³

Thus the Essequibo establishment, even if it had been aught else, now
 fell back into a mere trading post. It is clear from the contract with Van
 Pere that no products are expected from that colony except the dyes sup-
 plied by the Indians. Rates are, indeed, stipulated at which "in
 *188 case the Company *shall please to send any person to Essequibo with
 the aforesaid ships" of Van Pere they may do so; but this seems to
 be meant only for the *personnel* of the post, for one hears in the minutes
 of no others. Still the Essequibo did not pay. On April 16, 1637, there
 was again discussion in the Zeeland Chamber as to its profitableness, and
 the matter was referred to the committee on commerce.⁴ But while this
 was pending there came an interesting consignment from the colony. On
 May 14, 1637, "Confrater van Pere was authorized to turn over two kegs
 of syrup, or sap of sugar-cane, arrived from Essequibo from Jan van der
 Goes, to Sr. Segers, in order that he may try to reduce it to sugar."⁵ It
 is the first mention of agriculture in the colony, and a suggestion of that
 industry which was later to be its greatest source of revenue.⁶ But not
 yet: Jan van der Goes, it appears, was dissatisfied, and the Company was as
 clearly dissatisfied with him. On August 17, 1637, we read that "inasmuch
 as Jan van der Goes had written from Essequibo that he, with all the folk
 who were there with him, was minded to come home by the first ship, it
 was some time ago resolved for the present to send thither in the place of
 the said Van der Goes, by the ship *De Jager*, Cornelis Pieters Hose; and on
 account of the great demoralization of the folk and their wish to come
 *189 home, *it is resolved that they shall be allowed to come home and
 the colony provided anew with five-and-twenty other respectable
 persons, from whom the Company may receive more service, and more

¹ Extracts, p. 67.

² Extracts, pp. 67, 68.

³ Extracts, pp. 66, 67. There he was at the visit to Guiana, in 1634, of the North Holland mer-
 chant, De Vries, who came seeking a site for a colony of his own. De Vries coasted no farther west
 than the mouth of Demerara. There Jan van der Goes came in a canoe to meet him, and is called by
 him "head man in Essequibo on behalf of the West India Company" ("*Jan van der Goes . . . van
 de Rivier van Isekobie, die daer Opperhoofd was van wegen de West-Indische Companie*"), a title which
 suggests the head of a commercial establishment rather than the governor of a colony. (De Vries, *Korte
 Historiaal*, p. 135.)

⁴ Extracts, p. 71.

⁵ Extracts, p. 72.

⁶ Under date of April 2, 1635, there is, in the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, an entry which, at
 first blush, might suggest that tobacco, too, was raised in Essequibo. In the chest of a skipper arrived
 from the Guiana coast there was found, along with a letter of Jan van der Goes and a bag of money,
 eighty-three rolls of tobacco. But the fact that this was a puzzle in the Chamber itself, and that nothing
 more is heard of the matter, makes it more probable that the tobacco, if it came from Jan van der Goes
 at all, had been smuggled in from the Orinoco, the usual source of tobacco for Essequibo in later years.
 The best reason for believing that it may have been grown in the colony is that it was pronounced
 "very poor." In any case, we hear nothing further of tobacco. (See Extracts, p. 69.)

No. 3.

edifyingly withal." And Confraters Lonissen and Van Pere were made a committee to pick up these new servants, with instructions "to look for the discreetest persons so far as shall be possible."¹

This resolution perhaps mainly aimed at a salutary effect on the deserting colonists, who must, it seems, already have arrived; for just three days later (August 20, 1637) we read that "the persons who have been enlisted for Essequibo, being mostly from the people who came with Van der Goes and have not much to live on, shall for this once, and without its being a precedent, receive a shilling a day for costs."²

Jan van der Goes, however, remained for the present in Holland, and in the minutes of 1639 and 1640 we hear much of a certain expedition led by him to the Orinoco in search of a silver mine; but as the enterprise was confessedly into hostile territory in time of war, and as it came to naught, it has no interest here.³

Meanwhile the establishment on the Essequibo went on as before. In 1640 (August 6) we read that "the Committee on the Business of Essequibo having reported as to the folk and the cargo which they had deemed advisable to send thither, their report was adopted, and the committee was authorized to arrange with Van Pere and Van Rhee [the patroons of Berbice], inasmuch as they are sending a ship thither, regarding the transportation thither of our folk and *goods, as well as the charges *190 for bringing from there the cargo of dye." Yet it is unlikely that the "folk" here mentioned were colonists proper (i. e., settlers); for "folk" is in these records regularly used for any group of the Company's own servants, while for settlers that word is rarely employed.

In 1642 (June 30) there was drawn up by the Zeeland Chamber and inserted in its minutes, a standard list of the supplies to be shipped to the Essequibo at each of the infrequent consignments to that colony. This list⁴ throws much light on the size and aims of the post. It would seem safe to infer from it that there were then employed on the Essequibo not more than thirty men, and that their business was wholly the gathering of dyes; for the articles are such as would be bartered to the Indians or used in the gathering of these products and of the food supply of the colonists. On delivering these supplies, the ship was to "take in such dye and letter-wood as at the time shall be ready" and return directly home.

In 1644 one finds in the quoted address of a letter to "Adriaen Jansz., Commandeur, and Adriaen van d. Woestyne, Clerk, at Fort Kykoveral in Essequibo," for the first time such titles for its officials and a name for its fort.⁵ They suggest a new departure; but there is nothing else in the

¹ Extracts, p. 72. It is not impossible that this exodus of the colonists may have had to do with a projected attack upon Essequibo by the Spaniards of the Orinoco. (See Extracts, p. 76.)

² Extracts, p. 72.

³ For all the passages relating to it see Extracts, pp. 96-100.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 100-102.

⁵ Extracts, p. 102. "Adriaen Jansz." may possibly be but a distortion of the name of Jan Adriaensz. van der Goes.

No. 3.

minutes to imply it. By March 9, 1645, Adriaen Jansz. has given place as Commandeur to Aert Adriaensz. van Scherpenisse.¹

The Essequibo establishment was still not a success. The charter of the Dutch West India Company seemed about to expire, and it was time its affairs were set in order. On May 29, 1645, a committee of the Zeeland

Chamber, submitting suggestions to this end, reported that, "as concerns the river *of Essequibo, the committee's opinion is that now for some time it has been traded to with small profit to the Company, and for the reason that individual colonists * are permitted to trade there as well as the Company, so that the goods coming from there can not fetch their proper price. On this point they are of advice that, at the expiration of the charter, either the trade there ought to be held exclusively for the Company or it were better that the aforesaid place should, subject to the proper fees, be thrown open to free trade."²

On January 18, 1646, there was drawn a contract with Abraham van Pere for a special voyage to Essequibo after the annatto dye; and now there is inserted a clause binding him to bring also any other merchandise he may find there.³ On May 23, 1647, there is a similar special contract of the Company with a ship belonging to an outside party: going out with goods for Brazil and supplies for Essequibo, it shall bring back from Essequibo "the dye and other goods which the Company may have there, and from the Caribbean Islands, if it choose, a cargo of tobacco, cotton, or other products of the soil."⁴ Similar contracts were made on November 19, 1648, and on January 14, 1649. Annatto dye is the only product of Essequibo named.⁵

Such are our scanty materials for a notion of the character and limits of the Dutch colony on the Essequibo at the close of the long war with Spain. So far as they enable us to infer, it was a body of two or three *192 dozen unmarried *employés of the West India Company, housed in a fort at the confluence of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni with the Essequibo, and engaged in traffic with the Indians for the dyes of the forest.⁷ Agriculture, save for the food supply of this garrison, there is little reason for supposing. Of tobacco or of sugar one hears nothing after the mention of the specimens received in the time of Jan van der Goes. The first sugar

¹ Extracts, p. 108.

² Under the privileges granted to colonists by the Company in 1627 and 1628, the members of any West Indian colony were at liberty to trade freely on the unsettled coasts. Against this encroachment on their monopoly in Guiana the Zeeland Chamber had now for many years protested in vain. (See Extracts, pp. 69, 70.)

³ Extracts, p. 104.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 104, 105.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 106-108.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 110-112.

⁷ The only other avocation mentioned is that of fishing: one Jan van Opstall, an employé of the Company in Essequibo, in 1644, complained of the loss of a finger while fishing for the Company, and asked compensation, but the Company could not find this in the contract. The fishing was probably for the food supply of the post—as often later,

No. 3.

mill on the river seems to have been established in 1664; and at that date there was as yet no provision for the registry of lands in Essequibo.¹ This purely commercial character of *the Essequibo establishment is *193 the more striking because the other Dutch colonies on the coast, both those of the patroons and those planted directly by the Company, had all been of settlers.

How far afield or in what direction, their commerce with the Indians or their exploration of the country took the Dutchmen of Essequibo, or what they counted the limits of their occupation, we have as yet no means of knowing. The Company had as early as 1627 thought of providing Jan van der Goes with a sloop,² and there is no reason to doubt that he had used one to visit neighboring rivers unoccupied by Europeans, as even the private colonists of Berbice were encouraged to do.³ Of outposts there is thus far no mention.⁴

Such as it was, the post on the Essequibo remained in 1648, as it had always been, the westernmost establishment of the Dutch on this coast, and was now, with the exception of Berbice, their only Guiana colony.⁵

With the conclusion of a lasting peace with Spain and with the renewal for another quarter century of the Dutch West India Company's charter,

¹ Both these facts appear from the petition of Jan Doensen, July 8, 1664, who was establishing a sugar mill at Brouwershoek, opposite Fort Kykoveral, on the north bank of the mingled Cuyuni and Mazaruni, near their junction with the Essequibo. For lack of a colonial registration he begged the Company to register it in Holland; and the Zeeland Chamber, not knowing what else to do with it, entered it "till further order" in their "Book of the Colonies"—where it remains unique. (See Extracts, pp. 132, 133.) The creek by which the mill stood has ever since been known as Sugar Creek (*Zuiker Creek*). The petition clearly implies that this mill was the earliest. It, of course, does not follow that before this mill no sugar was raised in the colony, but only that, if so, it was pressed out after the primitive Indian fashion. But the Zeeland Chamber itself, in its memorial of 1751 (*Ned. Jaarboeken*, 1751, p. 1092), affirms, as a result of its search through the records, that "beside the monopoly of trade to the colony, the Zeeland Chamber of its own authority also established therein plantations for the cultivation of sugar and of other products there growing, whereof the earliest example is found in their Minutes under June 8, 1671;" and it even bases an argument on this late beginning of cultivation. That the date should be earlier is suggested not merely by Doensen's petition, but by an entry of 1669 (Extracts, p. 138); but it is not unintelligible that the Chamber should overlook things which happened in the period (1658-70) when the colony was under the control of the Walcheren cities. They are unlikely, however, to be in error as to the earlier years. Modyford, the English governor of Barbados, indeed wrote home in 1662, in a letter urging the colonization of Guiana, that "the Dutch have already on two or three rivers built sugar workes, one of them at Marawini . . . another at Berbice River and another at Esseeque [Essequibo]." But he may more easily have been mistaken as to this one point than the Dutch records. (See *British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574-1660, pp. 373, 374; for a transcript of the document I am again indebted to Her Majesty's Government.)

² Extracts, p. 46.

³ Extracts, pp. 46, 47.

⁴ When, in 1634, the Dutch merchant De Vries, in his prospecting tour along this coast, reached the Demerara, Jan van der Goes came thither to meet him; but there is nothing in De Vrie's account to suggest the existence of a post there. (See his *Korte Historiël*, p. 135.)

⁵ The Spanish document conjecturally ascribed by the Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 1," Appendix I, pp. 56, 57) to 1640 (this is modified in the *Errata* later published, to "some time before the treaty of Münster") is palpably of much later date. The Pomeroon was not settled till 1658, and Surinam was in British hands till 1667. Though untrustworthy for any date, the document belongs, perhaps, to about the year last named.

No. 3.

one might look for a rapid colonial development. But the Company was now robbed of the privateering which had been its leading source of revenue, and bankrupted by the long and fruitless struggle for Brazil.

*194 It is not till 1655, when the hopelessness of the recovery of Brazil had become apparent even to the Company itself, that the Zeeland Chamber seems first to have thrown open again the Guiana coast to colonization, on condition that the colonists should draw all their supplies and wares from Zeeland and ship thither their cargoes.¹ And it was not till late in 1656 (October 12) that they drew up a prospectus, inviting, under tempting conditions, the settlement of the Wild Coast.² This they followed, in 1657, with a new body of "liberties and exemptions" for patroons.³ That these prospectuses were publicly promulgated does not appear, yet the invitation certainly reached the ears of both patroons⁴ and of colonists, and "on March 22, 1657, the first free colonists, to the number of twelve persons, some with and some without family, wife, children, and slaves, arrived" in the *Essequibo*.⁵

But the Chamber still shrank from assuming alone the management of such a colony, and in 1657 (June 9) we find its members petitioning the provincial Estates of Zeeland to assume the direction of the enterprise, "it being their intention," they state, "with the approval of the Estates, to establish a colony and new population on the Wild Coast of *Essequibo* and neighboring places, stretching from the first to the tenth degree north
*195 of the Equator between the rivers **Orinoco* and *Amazon*, where there is granted them the exclusive right to voyage and trade, by virtue of their agreement with the West India Company"—i. e., the agreement of this Chamber with the Company as a whole.⁶

This petition failed through the opposition of some of the less commercial members of the Estates; but before the end of the year they found a taker for the task. The three great trading towns of Zeeland, the Walcheren cities—Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere—offered alone to undertake the matter; and there was transferred to them, in conjunction with a committee of the Zeeland Chamber and subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the Company and of the State, the colonization and management of the entire coast. "The aforesaid cities," ran their contract with the Company, "shall establish and plant colonies on the continental Wild Coast between

¹ *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1098. It would seem that the Nineteen was also at this time promoting colonization in Guiana; for the Zeeland memorial of 1750 quotes from its minutes, now lost, a "body of liberties for founders of colonies," under date of August 30, 1655, in which colonists were forbidden to approach the colonies of the Zeeland Chamber nearer than fifteen Dutch miles along the coast or in the interior. And reference is in this connection made to their minutes for September 20, 1656, and September 3, 1659. (*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1504, note.)

² Extracts, pp. 113-117.

³ Extracts, pp. 120-123.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 117-120.

⁵ *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1098.

⁶ Extracts, p. 124.

No. 3.

the first and the tenth degrees."¹ The agreement between the cities themselves (December 16, 1657) is content to speak of their enterprise as "the business regarding the peopling and cultivation of the Wild Coast in America under the charter of the West India Company."²

Of their actual procedure we are happily fully informed through the still extant minutes of the managing board of the colony, made up of the representatives of the three cities, four among whom were also members of the Zeeland Chamber, sitting at the West India House in Middelburg. They rechristened the Wild Coast "Nova Zeelandia," and choosing as Director of the colony that same Aert Adriaensz. who had already for a dozen years been in command in the Essequibo,³ they added to *him *196 (December 24, 1657) one Cornelis Goliat, whom, on account "of his experience in fortification, military science, and land-surveying, as well as in ciphering and book-keeping," they made "Commissary over the stores of the aforesaid place and Commandeur over the 25 soldiers to be sent thither, and furthermore engineer for the parceling out of lands, the making of maps, and the laying out of sundry strong-places or forts for the protection of the colonists." Thus burdened with functions, Goliat was dispatched to the Guiana coast, and on August 19, 1658, they received from him a "short description of the rivers Demerara, Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Moruca, lying on the coast of Guiana, otherwise named the Wild Coast, now Nova Zeelandia." His results had, long ere this, profited the colonists themselves; for these, setting sail from Zeeland on February 2, 1658, had under his guidance established themselves, not in the Essequibo, but in its neighbor river to the westward, the Pomeroon, and the adjoining stream, the Moruca.⁴

Of this establishment, on which was expended most of the energy of the new effort at colonization, and which soon monopolized in current use the name of Nova Zeelandia, I have elsewhere to speak.⁵ The Essequibo was, however, not abandoned. There still, at Fort Kykoveral, was stationed the Commandeur of the entire colony; and when, by 1664, the Pomeroon experiment was languishing, the erection of a sugar mill in Essequibo points to the turning of agriculture toward that river. A sudden end of things to both settlements was brought before the end of 1665⁶ by an invasion of the English *from Bar- *197 bados, who, under Major John Scott—taking advantage of the

¹ Extracts, pp. 125, 178.

² Extracts, p. 126; cf. pp. 125, 178.

³ There can be little doubt, at least, that he was the same as the Aert Adriaensz. of Scherpenisse, whom we find named in the Zeeland Chamber's minutes for 1645. (Extracts, p. 103; cf. also pp. 129, 139.) He was certainly the same who had been in command there since 1650: (Extracts, p. 139.) His surname of Groenewegen (Major Scott's "Gromwegle") is mentioned but rarely in the records.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 127-129.

⁵ See pp. 214-217 below.

⁶ The date assigned this enterprise in modern books is 1666. The loss of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber from the end of February, 1666, to the close of that year leaves us without light from

No. 3.

war then in progress between Great Britain and Holland in Europe—captured all the Dutch establishments westward of Berbice and left garrisons in the Pomeroon and in the Essequibo. But the Indians, more friendly to the Dutch, were induced to refuse the English all supplies; and the starving garrisons, after being harrassed and shut up in their forts by the French, the allies of the Dutch, surrendered within a few months to Berge-naar, the Dutch commandeur in Berbice, who early in 1667 turned them over to a fleet sent for their rescue by the provincial Estates of Zeeland. Thus “Essequibo and Pomeroon, first taken by the English, then plundered by the French,” and now “by the whole world abandoned”—to use the phrases of the Zeeland Estates themselves—passed again into the hands of the Netherlands.¹

But into *whose* hands? The commandeur of Berbice would gladly have held them as his capture; but the Zeeland Estates ignored his claim and occupied them “as *res nullius*” (abandoning the Pomeroon, but maintaining a garrison in the fort of Essequibo) till they could find an owner who would meet the cost of their expedition. They at last (late in 1668)

offered them to the three cities; but, these, dismayed at the *198 expense of a fresh beginning, would no more of them, and *thought of selling the colony. There was only the West India Company to fall back on. The Company, now nearing its end and more impecunious than ever, was slow to come to terms; but on April 11, 1670, its Zeeland Chamber concluded with the Zeeland Estates a compromise, by which it should again receive “the Fort and the Colony of Essequibo,” on condition of paying the costs of the garrison which had occupied it and of pledging (beside certain favors to the neighboring colony of Surinam, newly won from the English, and *not* for the Company) that “the colony of Essequibo” should henceforward be open to all Zeelanders, “excepting that the trade in annatto dye shall be carried on by the aforesaid Chamber [of the West India Company] alone.” And on October 15, 1670, the States-General, having heard “the request of the directors of the West India Company of these lands, setting forth how the Chamber of Zeeland had some time ago begun to form a colony on the Wild Coast of America upon the river Essequibo, and how this colony, having fallen during the English war into the hands of the English, was recovered again out of the hands of the English by the forces

that quarter, unless the break be in itself significant. From the English colonial papers and from Scott's own account, one gathers only that he set out from Barbados in October, 1665, and reached there again in April, 1666. But the narrative of the Surinam governor, Byam, makes it probable that Essequibo was attacked late in 1665; and this is the date named by Adrian van Berkel, who was there in 1671 (*Amerikaansche Voyagien*, p. 26), and by the Zeeland Chamber in its review of the incident in 1686 (Extracts, p. 179). For 1666 I find no such contemporary authority. It must, of course, be remembered that to the English of that day the year 1665 ended in March of what we now call (and what the Dutch then called) 1666; and an error may easily have thus arisen.

¹ For the details of this episode see the English accounts printed in Extracts, pp. 133-138; *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, pp. 1496-1501,—1751, pp. 1102, 1103; and Extracts, pp. 179, 180.

No. 3.

sent out to the coasts of America by the province of Zeeland, and that thereafter the aforesaid province of Zeeland had suffered itself to be persuaded to place it again in the hands of the Company," sanctioned the transfer and its conditions.¹

All this time the colony, though many of its settlers had perished or fled over sea to the West Indian Islands, had not been wholly deserted; and it is not unlikely that the virtual abandonment of the Pomeroon accrued to the advantage of Essequibo. The former had been richly supplied with slaves, and 1,200 of these, seized by the English, were turned over by them in Essequibo at their surrender in 1666. These were doubtless put to use, and even before the formal resumption *of the colony by *199 the West India Company, one finds considerable consignments of sugar as well as of dyes. But it is from that event and from the arrival of the energetic skipper, Hendrik Rol, in 1670, as the first governor² under the new régime, that a new era of prosperity for the colony seems to date. In his first year there were but three private plantations in Essequibo, two of them worked by 12 or 14 slaves apiece, the third, lying an hour above Fort Kykoveral (doubtless on the Mazaruni), by 28 or 30. In 1671 he won from Berbice the control of the Demerara. By 1673, if not earlier, he was trafficking with the Caribs in the Barima, as well as with the Arawaks, and he was also just opening a trade with the Orinoco.³

Such was the condition of the Guiana colony when, in 1674, the old West India Company, so long in the agonies of death, at last expired. To take its place there had already been created (by charter of September 21, 1674) one wholly new, with territorial limits widely different. Instead of the entire coast of America, there were granted to the new one on that continent only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon." Of the situation or limits of these places there was no other definition than the phrase "situate on the continent of America."

*To the new West India Company, however, the meaning was not *200 doubtful; and they entered without ado upon the administration of the colony. So slight was the break that Hendrik Rol was not disturbed, but remained its Commandeur until his death. But from the advent of the new Company its records are preserved to us in far greater completeness.

¹ As to all this see *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, pp. 1501-1508.

² From here on I shall often call by this more familiar title the Essequibo Commandeur. His functions were mainly civil, not military, and eventually there existed beside him in the colony a head of the garrison, known as the commandant. That the Commandeur was not called Governor, as he wished to be, seems to have been only a matter of rank and pay; and it costs us nothing to give him the more appropriate title. Strictly speaking, however, the Essequibo governor remained a Commandeur till, in 1751, Storm van 's Gravesande received the higher title of Director-General, Demerara then receiving a commandeur of its own, though still subject to the authority of the Director-General, who resided in Essequibo. From 1784 the Director-General resided in Demerara, and it was Essequibo which had the Commandeur. In 1792, when the colonies passed from the West India Company to the State, the Director-General became a Governor-General, and this title he retained.

³ A. van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 43-48; Extracts, pp. 138-141.

No. 3.

From 1675 we have without a gap the missives by which the Company governed the colony, and from 1679 almost as uninterruptedly the letters and documents which came from the colony in return. From this wealth of material it is clear that the continuity of the colony was henceforward unbroken. Twice, indeed, before its final occupation by Great Britain it was for a time in English or in French hands—from 1781 to 1784 and from 1796 to 1802. But these occupations, bloodless and purely military, suspended neither its local institutions nor the trend of its territorial growth.

This territorial growth, though slow, was steady and knew no serious interruptions. The field of its activity, however, had striking changes. Until well into the eighteenth century the plantations of the Essequibo clustered themselves for safety about Fort Kykoveral, at the junction of the Essequibo with its two great western branches, and along the portions of these three rivers just above this junction. Down to this time much the larger part of the colony was on the west of the Essequibo.¹ When, in 1701, the colonial Court of Policy found it wise to divide the colony, for purposes of military organization, into two districts, it was thought fair to let the plantations in the Mazaruni make one, those in the Essequibo the other.²

*201 *But, as these upper lands became exhausted, the more fertile lower reaches tempted even those who were already established above; and at the completion of the new fort on Flag Island, near the mouth of the river, and the transfer thither from Kykoveral (in 1739-40) of the garrison and the seat of government, the exodus had already become general.³ By 1773 there was no longer any demand for grants of land up the river, and nearly all of it was given up to forests and annexed as timber grounds to the plantations below;⁴ and by 1777 there was, with one exception, not a sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation above Flag Island—in fact, no culture whatever except a few cassava grounds.⁵ Flag Island hugs the east side of the river, and whether it was due to this fact or to the opening and rapid colonization of the Demerara, while the Pomeroon remained closed, or only to the greater attractiveness of the lands, the centre of gravity of the colony speedily transferred itself to the east of the Essequibo. Before the plantations on the west had reached the mouth of that river, those on the east formed a solid row clear around to the Demerara.⁶ The Pomeroon was not reached by them until the very last years of the eighteenth

¹ Cf. note, p. 348, below.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 68. The translation is here not untrue to the manuscript, but the manuscript is only a contemporary copy and the sense demands that "the (de) river" should be "that (die) river," and that the "river" (*riviere*) of the following line which from its form might be either a singular or a plural should here rather be translated "rivers."

³ Already by 1748 the Cuyuni could be counted very remote. (Extracts, p. 316.)

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 183 (No. 255).

⁵ Extracts, p. 540.

⁶ See Atlas of the Commission, maps 66, 67, 68, 70.

No. 3.

century.¹ Meanwhile, the original site of the colony became a wilderness. As early as 1764 Storm van 's Gravesande could speak of "the few colonists who still live up the river"—meaning, as the context shows, at the old site of the colony, about the junction of Cuyuni and Mazaruni.²

*In the river Essequibo itself cultivation had at the outset of the *202 eighteenth century been carried as far up as the first great rapid, that of Aretaka.³ About the middle of the century a Jew named De Vries had even successfully attempted a sugar plantation above this first fall—doubtless only far enough up to secure fresh land.⁴

A town, even a village, there was never at any time on the Essequibo. "This is perhaps the only instance of a European colony, among thousands throughout the world," said in 1782 the proclamation providing for the creation of the new capital on the Demerara, "which has arrived at some magnificence without the establishment of either town or village."⁵ The settlers lived, as they preferred to live, scattered on their plantations. The Company's officials and garrison were for long all housed on Kykoveral. In 1716 the Commandeur got permission to build a new government house on the mainland just opposite the island, on the Mazaruni side of the point formed by the two streams. The house was dubbed "House Near-by" (*Naby*), and the hamlet which gathered about it was called Cartabo, from the plantation which occupied the point. After 1740, when the colonial government was removed to the new fort on Flag Island, Cartabo fell to ruin. According to Hartsinck, writing in 1770, when it was "now in ruins," it had consisted "of twelve or fifteen houses."⁶ On Flag Island, now coming to be called Fort Island, there likewise grew up a cluster of buildings: the fort, the public offices and warehouses, the quarters of the garrison, the dwellings of the officers—inventories of these buildings appear from time to time *among the records of the Company; but *203 a village in addition never arose there.⁷ Even the colony church was for long not here, but on the plantation of Ampa, midway from Flag Island to Kykoveral.⁸

But while the territory thus actually occupied by the colony for purposes of cultivation, whether in the neighborhood of Fort Kykoveral or in the coast district, was confined within such narrow bounds, there was another colonial activity, which laid far wider regions under tribute.

¹ Extracts, pp 612-637. As to a single squatter on the Pomeroon, an isolated plantation on the Moruca, and a forbidden attempt to settle on the Marima, see pp. 222, 242, below.

² "*Nog boven in de riviere wonen.*" Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 134. Cf. also maps 66, 67, in the Atlas of the Commission; these make yet clearer this desertion.

³ See Atlas of the Commission, map 59.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131. For other mentions of De Vries see pp. 85, 88.

⁵ Rodway, *History of British Guiana*, II, p. 8.

⁶ *Beachyving van Guiana*, I, p. 263.

⁷ For a sketch of what was there in 1748 see a corner of map 60 in the atlas of the Commission.

⁸ Of the half-mythical Nieuw Middelburg on the Pomeroon (1658-66) I must elsewhere speak. See pp. *215-*217, below.

No. 3.

This was the colony's trade; for this trade was mainly a trade with the natives.

As we have seen, this was at the outset and for more than a quarter century of its existence its exclusive function. Even after plantations had there been established by its proprietors and the colony thrown open to private planters, it was alone this trade with the Indians which the Company retained as its own monopoly; and for many decades this remained its chief source of income and the object of its most jealous care. This it was in defense of which it built its forts, planted its outposts, maintained its garrisons. It would, therefore, be palpably unjust not to take this into account in any measurement of its territorial rights. To determine, however, its worth as a form of occupation, one must examine somewhat more closely its character and methods.

The products mainly sought by this trade were such as could be furnished by the Indians, and by the Indians alone: the dyes and oils and precious woods of the forest—annatto (called by the Dutch *orlane*), letter-wood, carap-oil, balsam copaiba. Annatto, the most important of these, was worked up by the Indians into balls or cakes for transportation; *204 but *all alike were gathered without cultivation.¹ The natural supply of these was, therefore, at best, but constant, and the increasing demand made it necessary to seek them ever farther afield. The means employed to this end by the colonial authorities were of two sorts, which must be clearly distinguished. They had, first, the agents whom they called outrunners (*uitloopers*). These, who must have existed from the very beginning of the colony, scoured, by canoe or on foot, the whole country, stirring up the Indians to bring in their wares and barter them at the fort or themselves carrying into the wilderness the trinkets for exchange and bringing back the Indian produce. The outrunners were regular employés of the Company—in the later time usually half-breeds or old negroes familiar with the Indian dialects—and seem to have been sent on definite tasks. "All the old negroes," wrote the Essequibo governor to the Company in 1687, "are off for their several old trading places among the Indians, to wit, six for annatto, two for balsam copaiba, and two for letter-wood and provisions."² Later these outrunners regularly appear in the muster-rolls of the colony. The districts or routes of their activity are, however, never named. Occasionally in the correspondence of the colony one hears of them in this region or in that, but too vaguely to infer their exact whereabouts."³

Of far more moment to the present investigation is the second means employed by the colony in the trade with the Indians. In addition to their outrunners (*uitloopers*) they came also to have their outliers (*uitleggers*). It was by this title, as we have seen, that the employés first sent to the Esse-

¹ Yet it is to be noted that the dye-trees had to be planted by the Indians. (Extracts, p. 166.)

² See letter of November 4, 1687, printed by Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 374-377.

³ See, e. g., Extracts, pp. 150, 161, 172, 257.

No. 3.

quibo were known; and, in truth, the relation later borne by the posts *of the outliers to the central fort of the colony was not unlike that *205 borne for long by the colony itself to the home land. It was somewhat more than half a century after the beginning of the colony when a beginning was made of this new method. The suggestion may very possibly have come from Berbice. In 1671, when the neighbor river of Demerara passed into the control of the Essequibo colony, the Berbice authorities had in that river a post of 15 or 16 men, and the commander of this force had been stationed there some fifteen or sixteen years.¹ But it could scarcely have been on the taking possession of this river, nor yet on the occupation, two or three years later, of the Mahaicony, farther east, where also the Berbice colony had had an outlier, that the system actually went into effect; for it can hardly be doubted, from the tenor of Commandeur Beekman's letter suggesting such a post on the Pomeroon in 1679, that this was the beginning of a policy new to Essequibo.² Yet it was not long thereafter before there were posts on the Demerara and the Mahaicony as well. In 1691, the date of the first muster-roll preserved in the colonial records, we find mentioned only Pomeroon and Demarara; but by 1700, the date of the next roll left us, Mahaicony has joined them.³ From this point on to the end our record of these posts is fortunately complete; not only are muster-rolls much more frequent, but, what is better, the pay-rolls of the colony, sent year by year to the home authorities and preserved with scarcely a break in the series, give us the names *not only of the posts *206 themselves but of every employé at these posts to whom a guilder was paid on the colony's behalf. They tell us the name, nativity, and term of service of all the outliers, or postholders, as they come later to be more commonly called, and of all the byliers (*byleggers*), or under post-holders, who to the number of one or two were associated with them in the management of the posts.⁴

From these sources it is clear that these posts were few, definite, constant. Besides the Pomeroon, the Demerara, and the Mahaicony there were but two other quarters of the Essequibo colony where such a post was ever in existence; in 1736 there was established (and thereafter maintained) a post on the upper Essequibo, and thrice during the eighteenth century (1703, 1754-58, 1766-1772) a post was planted on the Cuyuni. These five were all. The location of these posts did not, indeed, always

¹ So testifies Adriaan van Berkel, the Berbice secretary, who visited the post in that year, and who made the bargain by which the river was turned over to Essequibo. (*Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 80, 31.) It is clear from Van Berkel's account, as from other sources (cf. Extracts, pp. 188, 139), that the Essequibo colony was already claiming the Demerara and carrying on trade there; but it does not appear that it had there, like Berbice, a force in actual possession.

² Extracts, pp. 144, 145.

³ Extracts, pp. 192, 199.

⁴ For specimens of these records, see Extracts, pp. 192, 199, 205, 207. As to the completeness of the series, see notes, p. 311, below.

No. 3.

remain precisely the same. The post at the mouth of the Pomeroon was, before the middle of the century, pushed a long way up the adjoining river, the Moruca, and before the end of it, migrated back to the seacoast again. That on the Essequibo was at least once moved much farther up the river. The three successive posts on the Cuyuni were almost certainly at as many different points. That on the Demerara was about the middle of the century absorbed by the new colony which had arisen in that river. Yet each quarter had but its single post; however, for strategic or other reasons its site might vary, its relation to the colony remained the same.¹

*207 *What may have been the political significance of these posts is less easy to determine. Among the forms of occupation specified by the Treaty of Münster, in 1648, as precluding visit and trade by the subjects of the other power, was that by *loges* (in the Dutch text, *logien*). This word was at the time defined by the Holland Estates to mean warehouses.² But it is by this word that the posts are described (notably that on the Cuyuni) in the formal remonstrances of the States-General to Spain (1759, 1769).³ The postholder and his one or two white assistants were usually old soldiers and remained enrolled among the military of the colony, at least until the year 1775.⁴ The posts were supplied with arms, and the northwestern post, at least, had cannon as well; it was sometimes garrisoned with a larger force, and more than once stoutly and successfully resisted attacks from an armed foe.⁵ When, after the raiding of the Pomeroon colony by the French, it was resolved in 1690 to abandon the plantations there, the West India Company instructed the Essequibo governor to leave there "three men with a flag for the maintenance of the Company's possession."⁶ It was possibly this order which was in thought when in 1737 a later governor wrote the Company that the Moruca post must be kept up "because it was established for the maintenance of your frontiers stretching toward the Orinoco."⁷ The

¹ True, there seems to have been for a year or two (1703-1705) a second post on the Pomeroon—for what reason does not appear. Toward the close of the century, after Demerara had become a partially distinct colony, it established one or two posts of its own; but these do not concern the present discussion. For the proof of what is here stated as to the posts on the Pomeroon, the Moruca, and the Cuyuni I must refer to the later pages dealing with those rivers. As to the post on the upper Essequibo, see p. 208 of vol. iii of the Commission's report. Of the project, never carried out, to establish a post on the Barima, I shall speak fully in connection with that river. As to the Company's share in the establishment of the posts, see note, p. *315, below.

² See note, p. *80, above. Cf. also pp. *81, *89.

³ Extracts, pp. 384, 469.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 443, 502, 504.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 236-238, 241, 256, 455, 456; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 74, 115, and *passim*.

⁶ Extracts, p. 191.

⁷ Extracts, p. 278.

No. 3.

presence of a post is, however, more than once coupled *by the *208 Essequibo governors with the thought of taking or maintaining possession of a district.¹

The functions of the postholder and his assistants have been so fully and so clearly described by the colonial governors themselves, in documents now accessible in print, that they can hardly need here so much as a summing up.² The foremost during the earlier history of the colony was, of course, the traffic with the Indians. But with the oversupply of the markets or the gradual exhaustion of the forests, others took the foreground. "The most important work of a postholder," wrote the Essequibo Director-General in 1778, "lies in this, that through friendly and companionable intercourse with the Indians he seeks more and more to win them to us, that he further keeps a sleepless eye on the doings of the neighboring foreigners, both Christian and Indian, that he watches for runaway slaves, and has them caught and returned by the Indians."³ To this, in the case of posts situated on avenues of inland communication, like that on the Moruca, or, to a less extent, that on the upper Essequibo or that on the Cuyuni during its brief existence, was added the supervision of travel and of import and export. Of the trade in *poitos*, or Indian slaves, which their Spanish neighbors believed the chief activity of these posts, there is less mention than might be expected in the records of the Essequibo colony. In the interest of the good will of the Indians, the rules governing it were *strict.⁴ Though always *209 carried on to a greater or less extent, it is possible that the share taken in it by the Essequibo posts has been exaggerated by the identification with them of the itinerant slave-gatherers of other colonies, who likewise found in the Caribs of this wild intervening region the best purveyors of human flesh and blood.

But, beside this trade of the Company, and in spite of the monopoly long maintained by it, there was also a trade with the Indians carried on by private colonists. So far as this was the work of planters, aiming chiefly at the supply of their own wants, it needs no attention here. But there was in the colonies a class of men who gave themselves wholly to trade, especially to the slave trade and to smuggling. "Since this river begins to be filled with many inhabitants," wrote Commander Beekman, of Essequibo, in 1687, "some of them rove continually among the Caribs,

¹ E. g., Extracts, pp. 160, 322; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," 117, 181. Of the hoisting at intervals of the Company's flag (as stated by Mr. Rodway, *Annals of Guiana*, ii, p. 89), I have been able to find no mention. Even Mr. Rodway does not mention it in his later *History* or in his report on *The Boundary Question*, though in the latter he discusses the posts at much length.

² See, e. g., Extracts, pp. 241-243; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 191, and especially the instructions given to the postholders themselves (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 131-133, 140, 248; Extracts, pp. 581-584; and below, p. *241).

³ Extracts, p. 548.

⁴ See, e. g., the ordinance of 1686, printed by Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 367, 368.

No. 3.

buy up everything, and glut them with wares."¹ These were the so-called "rovers" (*swervers*).² They were mainly Europeans, and seem to have spent their lives in scouring the forests, making vast journeys into yet unvisited wilds, not less, perhaps, to gratify their love of exploration and adventure than to win a livelihood. To one who would draw from the peregrinations of these wanderers any inference as to territorial boundaries, there present themselves two serious obstacles: our almost utter ignorance of their routes, and the probability, from what little we do know, that they were wholly indifferent to boundaries of any sort. If, too, we find rovers

*210 from Essequibo far afield in the region *stretching toward the Orinoco, so too we find there rovers from Berbice and from Surinam, from the French colonies on the main and in the islands, from the British in Barbados, from the Portuguese in Brazil, and from the Spaniards at the west.³ Some, too, seem to have changed their political allegiance at will.⁴

The chief external trade of the colony, and the only one of interest to the present research, was that with the Spaniards of the Orinoco. Begun as early as 1673,⁵ it seems always to have been carried on by that inland water route connecting the Moruca with the Barima, and must have involved more or less of intercourse with the Indians of this region.⁶ Now connived at, now hampered by the Spanish authorities, it was always encouraged by the Dutch West India Company, save for a brief period of prohibition (from 1684 on) when they were clearly moved by distrust of their own governor.⁷ Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century this trade was carried on mainly by *211 the Dutch. But from 1761 it became the settled *policy of the Company and of the colonial authorities to transfer the conduct

¹ Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 876, where the letter is given in full.

² This word is, in the Blue Book, rendered by a puzzling variety of English ones: not only by "rover," or "wanderer," but by "runner," "traveller," "trader," "itinerant trader," "itinerant hawker," "depredator" (p. 117), even by "pirate" (pp. 116, 117).

³ The earliest of whom I have found record are those named by Major John Scott (see Extracts, pp. 184, 135), who in 1665 gave him excellent information as to the Upper Orinoco. For further mention of rovers, or of those who were probably such, see Extracts, pp. 156, 158, 159, 161-164, 172, 182, 229, 230, 239, 274-276, 278, 306, 315, 319, 320, 332, 372, 373, 403, 414, 547, 548; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 74-76; 91, 93, 95-97, 100, 102, 103, 113, 116-118, 125, 130, 132, 135, 136, 148. Spanish documents have also much to say of them. Their lawlessness is noted by Dutch and Spanish alike. The competition of the Surinam traders was especially complained of by the Essequibo authorities (Extracts, pp. 239, 278, 322, 332).

⁴ Such as that Ignace Courthial, who played so large a part in the intercolonial trade during the eighteenth century.

⁵ Extracts, p. 140.

⁶ There is in the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber for 1750 a very puzzling passage (Extracts, p. 333), which seems to imply that Spanish traders came from up the Essequibo, and which may perhaps point to a traffic by way of the Cuyuni. Of the trade in horses, which was carried on by the Dutch *via* that river at the beginning of the eighteenth century and which some have thought a trade with the Spaniards, I speak elsewhere. (See pp. *308-*316, below). More or less of smuggling seems always to have been carried on by that route.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 168, 173, 182; and, for further discussion, see pp. *260, *268, below.

No. 3.

of this trade to the Spaniards.¹ So successful were they that from this time forward one scarcely hears of Dutch traders to the Orinoco;² and in 1794 the Governor-General, though himself a son of the colony, was seemingly ignorant that this trade had ever been in other than Spanish hands, and described to the home authorities with interest the Moruca-Barima route as "the course of the Spanish lanchas."³

Fishery must from the first have been of prime importance to the food-supply of the colony.⁴ From an early date it was systematically carried on both in the upper rivers and on the seacoast to within the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amacura.⁵ Hunting, too, especially that of the wild hog abounding in these regions, was a matter of moment; and it led the Dutch up the Cuyuni and Mazaruni and into the coast region as far as the Amacura.⁶

Of the mining enterprises of the colony, so far as these led beyond the plantations, I shall speak in connection with the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni; and something as to the cutting of timber and thatch must be said in discussing the Pomeroon, the Waini, and the Barima.

*The treaties of the Dutch West India Company with native tribes *212 are carefully preserved; but there is none with the Indians of Guiana. No such treaty is known to the extant records of the Company or to the documents transmitted from the colony. In 1776 the Essequibo Director-General, having sought in vain in the colony itself for documents throwing light on the original compacts between the colonists and the Indians, wrote to the Company to learn if they could supply him with copies of any such. "There must have been made in the olden day," he urges, "some convention between the Europeans and the free Indian nations," "though there is here nothing of the sort to be found."⁷ But the search of the Company must have been equally ineffectual, for his question was left unanswered. Nor have I found anything in the records to suggest that the Dutch here ever looked on the Indians as possessing any ownership of land.

To sum up this long chapter:

¹ Extracts, p. 394 (cf. also p. 318); Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 116, 119.

² The readiness with which it was taken up by the Spaniards is suggested by Storm's words, in 1764, about their passage of the Moruca post (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131). So, too, in his letter of September 27, 1768 (id., p. 126), the clause "the road to the Spaniards leads past this post" should rather be translated "the road of the Spaniards hither" ("*Ook is de passagie der Spanjaerden naer hier voorby de door*").

³ Extracts, pp. 616, 617. In the transcripts herewith submitted (vol. ii) pains have been taken to include whatever might throw light on the history of this Orinoco trade. The table of contents will prove, I think, an adequate guide to this.

⁴ Cf. note, p. *192, above.

⁵ The Orinoco and Amacura fishery I first find mentioned in 1681 (Extracts, p. 150), but then in terms which suggest that it was no new thing. Of later Spanish attempts to have this coast fishery of the Dutch I shall speak in connection with the several rivers.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 152, 157; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 62.

⁷ Extracts, p. 509.

No. 3.

1. So nearly as can be determined, the Dutch occupation of the Essequibo dates from the year 1625.

2. Until 1657 the colony, a mere post for traffic with the Indians, consisted of a score or two of the Dutch West India Company's employ  s housed on the island of Kykoveral at the junction of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni.

3. Settlement, begun 1657 and from 1658 carried on with vigor both in the Essequibo and the Pomeroon under the charge of the Walcheren cities, was interrupted for a year or two by the British seizure of 1665-66; but, resumed in 1670 by the old West India Company and continued from 1674 by the new, met with no further interruption.

4. From its beginning until 1740 the colony, radiating from the *213 junction of the three rivers, had its center and major part *west of the Essequibo and south of the Cuyuni, but from that time on drew toward the seaboard, till by 1777 cultivation above Fort Island was practically abandoned.

5. No *town* existed, at any time, on the Essequibo.

6. Trade, from the first, knew far less narrow limits than settlement. That with the Indians was carried on (1) by the West India Company's outrunners and (2) by its posts, and (3) by private rovers. The routes of the outrunners are little known; the rovers were irresponsible and heedless of frontiers; the posts were few, fixed, certain, and had a military and political as well as a commercial use. Trade with the Spaniards of the Orinoco was carried on through the territory now in question, by way of the Moruca-Barima passage. Till after the middle of the eighteenth century it was mainly in the hands of the Dutch, but later fell wholly into the hands of the Spaniards.

7. Fishing and hunting, from an early date, led the Dutch into the upper rivers, and westward along the coast as far as the Amacura and the mouth of the Orinoco.

8. Of treaties with the Indians there is no record.

*214

***3. THE DUTCH IN THE POMEROON.¹**

The first Dutch occupation of the Pomeroon, so far as is known to historical records, was in the year 1658.² It was in that year that the three

¹ The name has been spelled in a strange variety of ways: Baroma, Barouma, Baruma, Baumerons, Baumeronne, Bauron, Baurum, Bauruma, Bolrrum, Boueron, Boumeron, Boumeronne, Boumeroune, Bouroma, Bourons, Bouronne, Bourum, Bouweron, Bowroom, Bowrooms, Paroma, Pauroma, Paurooma, Pawroma, Pomeron, Pomerun, Ponmaron, Pontmarron, Poumaron, Poumeron, Pouroona, Powmeron, Pumaron. Yet I have not seen any spelling in which the accented vowel (answering to the *oo* of Pomeroon) is not *o* or *u* or some equivalent of these. (I have once found Bauroema, but the Dutch *oe* is pronounced like our *oo*. "Pomeroon" first appears late in the last century.) This makes impossible any confusion with Barama or Barima.

² I have already pointed out (pp. 136, 137, note) the baselessness of the assertion of the presence of the Dutch there in 1580. This and all other suggestions I have seen of an earlier date than 1658 for the

No. 3.

Walcheren cities, having taken off the hands of the West India Company the colonization of the Guiana coast, sent the engineer Cornelis Goliat to survey the region and lay out the new colony.¹ It was doubtless on *his advice that they made the Pomeroon the site of their leading *215 settlement. Goliat sent home a description of the region from the Demerara to the Moruca, with a chart and a plan of the proposed settlement. On the right bank of the Pomeroon, some 15 or 20 miles above its mouth, there was to be a town which should bear the name of Nieuw Middelburg. Above this was to be built an imposing fortress called, after the colony, Nova Zeelandia. Below the town, on the same side of the river, was to stand the "House of the Height,"² doubtless a fortified lookout, such as was usual in the Dutch colonies. But it is greatly to be feared that none of these ever approached completion.³ "Had it not been for the English war," wrote the Zeelanders themselves less than a century later, in their memorial of 1750, "Nova Zeelandia would surely have become one of the most flourishing colonies of America, one Cornelis Goliath having brought over a new map of the region and having already framed a plan for the building of a town, Nieuw Middelburg; yet Zeelandia Nova was not to attain this good fortune, but through the sword of our foe [the British] and the plundering of our then ally [the French] was to be left lying empty and waste."⁴ It lived but half a dozen years. Colonists, indeed, poured in, negro slaves were liberally supplied, *and by 1665 the governor of the neighboring English colony of *216 Surinam could pronounce it "a most flourishing colony," "greatest of all [the Dutch] ever had in America."⁵ But the end was at hand.

occupation of the river are demonstrably misunderstandings of the careless statement of Hartsinck. In 1619, according to the contemporary Fray Pedro Simon (*Noticias Historiales*, p. 664), the Spaniard Gerónimo de Grados made an expedition into this river and compelled the natives to yield submission and give him provisions (cf. also p. 258, note). It is, of course, not impossible, or even improbable, that after their establishment in the Essequibo the Dutch traded also in the Pomeroon; but there has been found no evidence of this.

¹ Extracts, pp. 127, 128. The prospectus of the new colony, issued on November 26, 1657, is printed by Otto Keye, in his "*Ondersecheyt tusschen Koude en Warme Landen*," or "*Beschryvinge van het heerlycke ende gezegende Landt Guajana*," (1659, 1660) which is itself but a larger prospectus. In this the colonizers are called "Patroons of the Zeeland Colony at Essekebe [Essequibo], Paurooma [Pomeroon], and Maruga [Moruca]," and the author speaks more than once (as, e. g., at p. 104) of their "*colony on the Rivers of Paurooma and Maruga in Guajana*."

² "*Huis der Hoogte*," not "*Huis ter Hooge*," as it has been commonly called. For discussion of this name and its meaning, see pp. *170-172, above. That at this point there was a height, the first of its sort on the river, we know from the careful reconnoissance made in 1779 by the Spanish officer Inciarte, who chose this hill as the natural site for his projected fortress.

³ That the foundations, at least of the fortresses were laid appears from a letter of the Essequibo governor in 1760, wherein he declares these still to be found there (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 114).

⁴ *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, pp. 1500, 1501. Even apart from the English invasion, however, the colony had begun to languish. The means of the three cities were unequal to the task. As early as 1660 Vere was unable to pay its stipulated share of the costs, and before the end of 1663 the managing council in Zeeland had become so embarrassed that it broke up altogether (Extracts, p. 179). There is, therefore, the more reason for doubting that the plans of Goliat fruited in realities.

⁵ Extracts, p. 187.

No. 3.

In the winter of 1665-66 the English from Barbados, led by Major John Scott, after taking possession of the Essequibo, swooped down also on the Pomeroon, and left the colony in ruins. What was left was devoured by the military occupation of the French, who followed the English in its possession. It was an entire year before the invaders were here dispossessed, and the settlers had meanwhile scattered to the four winds.¹ But, though thus destroyed prematurely from the earth, Nova Zeelandia still lived on paper. Even before the colony's ruin the chart of Goliat fell into the hands of his enterprising townsman, the geographer Arend Roggeveen of Middelburg, and when a little later that map-maker brought out his fine atlas of these coasts—the "Burning Fen, lighting up all West India"—Nieuw Middelburg, with its fortress Nova Zeelandia and its Huis der Hoogte, took a handsome place on the map, which it did not lose till almost
 *217 our own day.² All *through the eighteenth century no map was complete without them. They still figure in the Venezuelan maps of the present century. This was the only town which, even on paper, the colony of Essequibo knew until the rise of Stabroek, toward the end of the last century; and it is not strange, perhaps, that their Spanish neighbors of the Orinoco, unable to understand a community all scattered on

¹ See pp. *196, *197, and authorities there cited. According to the minutes of the States-General, it was on March 3, 1667, at the request of the Zeeland Chamber, "examined and considered whether and on what basis" the colonies which had been captured by the English and retaken by the French might be claimed back; whereupon, "after deliberation, it was found good and resolved that Mr. Van Benningen, the minister extraordinary of this State in France," be instructed to demand "the restitution of the islands of Tobago and St. Eustache, together with the colony of Pomeroon, all situate in America" (. . . *"de restitutie van de eylanden Tobago ende St. Eustache, midtsgaders van de Colonie van Baumeroma, alle in America gelegen"*). A fortnight earlier, on February 16, 1667, authority had been given the Zeeland Chamber to send out a certain person "whom for the preservation of their colonies they had resolved to send to the Wild Coast, in order there to take command of Fort Kykoveral, situate in the River Essequibo." But between these dates (on February 28) Admiral Crynseen, who had before the end of 1666 been sent out by the Zeeland Estates, arrived on the Guiana coast, and soon had the colonies in his possession.

² Roggeveen's *Brandende Veen* was first printed in 1675, but the text was written while the colony yet existed, for he speaks of it as still in being. He quotes Goliat as his authority, and seems to follow him implicitly. According to his narrative it would seem that Goliat's chart began at the Coppenam. "*De selve is my ter hant gekomen*," he says, speaking of the coast west of that river, "*van eenen Goliath, zynde Ingenieur en Commandeur van Esqueba, met de volgende Rivier tot Pomeroon toe, heel curieus afgeleight*" ("This has come into my hands very carefully drafted by one Goliat, engineer and commander of Essequibo, together with the following rivers as far as the Pomeroon"). This last clause doubtless refers also to Goliat's map, and is of interest as showing the limit of his survey. In his description of the Pomeroon, to which he gives the alternative title "or Rio Nieuw Zeelandt," Roggeveen writes: . . . "There are sundry other branches, emptying both from the west and from the east into the river, which one must pass before one reaches the House of the *Hooght* and *Nieuw Middelburg*, and the Fort *Nova Zeelandia*" ("al eer men komt by 't Huys der Hooght, ende Nieuw Middelburg, ende 't Fort Nova Zeelandia"—italics as in Roggeveen's text). "The town *Nieuw Middelburg* and the Fort *Nova Zeelandia* are built by the oft-mentioned Goliat, as engineer and commandeur at that place, whose description here ends." Goliat is said to have been "known, above all, as a very capable and accurate surveyer and map-maker," and distinguished himself in that field after his return from Guiana (*Nagtglas, Levensberichten van Zeeuuren*). Roggeveen settled in Middelburg about 1658, and had great local eminence as a geographer. He is said to have platted his maps himself. (*Nagtglas*, as above.) In the title of his atlas he calls himself

No. 3.

plantations, assumed it to be the Dutch capital. But, though the Pomeroon colony was gone, the "place" was still counted of an importance to warrant its *mention in 1674, along with Essequibo, in the charter *218 of the new West India Company. There is, however, in the records of that body for some years no mention of any attempt to make use of it.¹

It was in October of 1679 that Abraham Beekman, then Commandeur in Essequibo, wrote to the Company (in the earliest letter from the colony now found among its records) that "The river Pomeroon also promises some profit. In order to make trial of it," he explains, "I sent thither in August last one of my soldiers to barter for annatto dye." The soldier *had been temporarily recalled because of a raid of the *219 Caribs; "but the scare being now over," writes the Commandeur, "I shall send him back there within four or five weeks (the dye season

"*Arent Roggeveen, Liejhebbet Mathematicus, professie doende in de zelfde Konst tot Middelburg in Zealand.*" Roggeveen's map is faithfully followed, as to the sites of these places on the Pomeroon, by Hartsinck's description (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 259) in 1770, and by Bouchenoeder's map of 1796-98 (atlas of the Commission, map 70), which, however, marks them as "ancient" or "ruined." The passage of Roggeveen's text which especially shows the colony in existence when he wrote is one not without an interest of its own. "It is needless," he says, in speaking of the Essequibo, "to write much further of the character of this river, for this has become well enough known since the three cities, Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere, have there erected a colony; yet their principal relations are with the river Pomeroon." (*Om veel verder van de gelegentheit deser Rivier te schryven, is niet noodigh, alsoo sulcks genoegh bekend is geworden, t'zedert dat de drie steden, als Middelburgh, Vlissinghe en Veere, aldaer een Colonie hebben opgerecht; doch de principaale correspondentie is in de Rivier Pomaron.*)

¹ Just when the last European of the Nova Zelandia colony left the Pomeroon can not be learned. The Dutch admiral, Crynassen, on taking possession in 1667, is said to have left a garrison in that river as well as in Essequibo (Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, 224); but this was doubtless only until the wish of the Zeelanders could be learned as to the resumption of the colony. We hear no more of Europeans there; and, in 1671, a Berbice attempt, reported by Adriaan van Berkel, to send thither a cargo of wares, together with the Essequibo governor's confiscation of the venture, implies that only Indians were then in possession there. A manuscript among the "Evertsen papers" (marked "Moore, 1790"), in the Lenox Library, containing a cipher for use by the squadron destined in 1672 for the recapture of New York, gives signs for Cayenne, Surinam, Berbice, and Essequibo, but none for Pomeroon. Yet in 1673 the English captain, Peter Wroth, discussing the resources of the Dutch for the defense of Surinam, thought it possible that they might "strengthen themselves from the garrisons of Berbice, Issakebe [Essequibo], and Baruma [Pomeroon]." (*British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1669-1674*, pp. 517, 518.) Another English document of a half dozen years later, though it evinces some geographical confusion, has doubtless reference to the district between the Essequibo and the Orinoco. It is a petition to the King by one Marke Fletcher, who, "having pitched upon a place to the leeward of Surinam and Essequibo, called Demerara, fitting for a plantation and place of trade," "requests His Majesty will grant his patent for establishment of same, or at least a provisional order to prosecute the affair with assistance from the governors of the Leeward or Caribbee Islands, and privilege to transport to Barbadoes and other islands the trees and canes cut down for clearing the ground." (*British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1677-1680*, Nos. 714, 771, pp. 255, 281. These two entries evidently refer to the same petition, and I have treated them accordingly.) Demerara is, of course, not to the leeward of Essequibo; but, in view of the wording of the petition and of the circumstances, the place had in mind probably was so. It is not strange that the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in reply, desired first "to be informed on certain points: as to whether any are seated thereabouts, what tract of land he means to take in," etc. Thus they answered on July 30, 1678. A sequel does not appear.

No. 3.

not fairly beginning there before that date), and if the trade prospers it would not be a bad idea to build there a little hut for two or three men, so that they may dwell permanently among the Indians and occupy that river. Thus these would be stimulated to furnish a deal of annatto—for the place is too far off for them to bring it here to the fort.”¹

Of this post, which was speedily established, one hears often in the letters of the next few years. The annatto trade flourished there, but by 1686 the Company had a better use for the Pomeroon. An Essequibo planter on a visit to Holland—one Jacob de Jonge—persuaded them to open that river to himself and other settlers. After satisfying themselves that the Walcheren cities and the Zeeland Estates no longer had a valid claim there, they granted the petition, made of the new settlement an independent colony, and appointed De Jonge commandeur. He set out at once for his colony, arriving and beginning operations there in April, 1686. Colonists followed, and the settlement was in a hopeful way, when, after even a briefer life than that of its predecessor of 1658–1665, a European war again proved fatal. On April 30, 1689, just three years after the colony’s birth, the French, guided by the Caribs through the water passage leading from the Barima, and reinforced by those savages, fell upon the settlement in the night and utterly dispersed it.²

No attempt was ever made to reestablish it. The West India Company, on receiving full tidings, only instructed (November 15, 1689) *220 the Essequibo commandeur to leave there the *Company’s flag, with three men, in order to retain possession.³ The post was established and maintained, though, as would appear, with but two men instead of three. At least, according to the muster-roll of September 6, 1691, there were there only a postholder and a single assistant.⁴ In 1700 it was on the same footing; but in this year we begin to hear a new name for its site; where the pay-roll for this year makes Jan Debbaut “postholder in Pomeroon, at the Company’s trade house,” the muster-roll makes the same soldier “postholder in Wacupo.”⁵ By 1704 the pay-roll, too, adopts the new title for the post, calling Jan Debbaut “postholder in Wacupo.”

Now, the Wacupo, or Wacuepo, is a branch of the Pomeroon, joining it from the left just a little above its mouth; a branch of much commercial and military importance because it has (or had), at least in time of high water, a navigable communication with the river Moruca to westward, and, through that river, with the system of bayous by which canoes make their way to the Waini, the Barima, and the Orinoco. Through this passage it doubtless was that the French had made their

¹ Extracts, pp. 144, 145.

² Extracts, pp. 174, 181, 188; Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” pp. 60–66.

³ Extracts, pp. 190–192.

⁴ Extracts, p. 193.

⁵ Extracts, p. 199. From 1700 to 1703 the muster-rolls fluctuate between Wacupo and Pomeroon; after that, they call this post always Wacupo—spelling the name variously.

No. 3.

way in 1689 for the destruction of the colony. It was, therefore, very natural that a post for the protection of the Pomeroon should find a site on the Wacupo; and this site offers a ready explanation for the double name. This solution gains support, too, from another name. In the journal of the Pomeroon Commandeur for 1686 one reads of a "postholder in Courey."¹ Now, Courcy, or Korey, is the name of the swampy meadows through which the canoe-channel led from the Wacupo to the *Moruca (or, rather, to its branch, the Manawarima);² and *221 no point on the Wacupo could be a more natural site for a post than the junction with the passage through these wet meadows. If a post were already there in 1686, it is surely not improbable that its buildings should be chosen for the later occupancy.

It would appear, however, that there was now for a year or two a second post on the Pomeroon; for we learn from the pay-rolls that on July 14, 1703, Paulus Veefahrt was made "postholder in Pomeroon," and both the pay-roll and the muster-roll for 1704 register him there, with an assistant, while Jan Debbaut and his assistant are still accredited to Wacupo. On April 6, 1705, however, he was discharged from the Company's service; and, although on the muster-roll for June 18, 1705, his assistant, Dirk Schey, still appears in the Pomeroon, it was perhaps only to finish out the year. In the following year we find him serving as bylier in Demerara, and the name Pomeroon does not again occur among those of the posts.³

The post of Wacupo remained and flourished. Twice during the War of the Spanish Succession its garrison had successful brushes with the foe—in 1709 and in 1712—the second time repelling with its four men a much superior force of French and Spaniards.⁴ In 1707 Commandeur Beekman suggested the laying of a toll "in the rivers Moruca and Pomeroon" on the traders from other colonies who passed through these inland waters for traffic on the Orinoco, but his successor deprecated the step as involving too great expense.⁵ It would, indeed, have been necessary to plant a new post on the Moruca or to remove that of Wacupo to some point where it would *command both entrances to the Orinoco route. *222 For other reasons this step had at last to be taken. In 1726 (October) the then Commandeur announced to the Court of Policy his conviction that the Wacupo post was too far out of the ordinary course of boats and his wish to remove it to the Moruca. With the secretary and one of the councilors he made a tour of inspection and selected there a site for the post; and the Court of Policy voted (December 2, 1726) "to establish the house and the Post of Wacupo upon the aforementioned site as soon as

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 64.

² Extracts, p. 237. Cf. Atlas, map 68.

³ In the muster-roll of October 20, 1707, the Wacupo post is called, it is true, "The Company's dye-house in Pomeroon and Wacupo."

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 74; Extracts, pp. 236-238, 241.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 78; Extracts, pp. 229-232.

No. 3.

possible." That this step was then or soon after taken is my belief. My reasons for it I shall set forth in detail in my study of the occupation of the latter river.¹

The removal of the post to the Moruca must have left the region of the Pomeroon practically deserted. Planters since 1689 there had never been.² A little before the middle of the eighteenth century ("ten or twelve years ago," wrote the Essequibo Director-General to the Company in 1758) one Erasmus Velderman was granted by the Court of Policy permission to dwell in the river and raise there the cassava needed to keep him alive, but without owning any land; and when at his death (prior to 1758) he assumed to bequeath his holding to an Essequibo planter (Jan La Riviere), the Court forbade the inheritance. Velderman may have cut some timber there, but if so, thinks the Director-General, it was probably very little.³

Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande (1743-1772) was indeed frankly and earnestly opposed to all occupation of the Pomeroon until the available lands not only in the Essequibo but in the Demerara (which had been *223 opened under his auspices, *and of whose success he was justly jealous) should all be taken up.⁴ In 1758 he wrote to the Company that permission to cut timber in the Pomeroon had in 1753 been granted by the Court of Policy to one Edward Ling (an Englishman from Barbados then resident in Essequibo), but that, after taking out only two shiploads, Ling had gone back to Barbados. But there is here certainly a *lapsus memoriae* as to the scene of Ling's operations, for the records of the Court of Policy show that he asked to cut, not in the Pomeroon, but in the Waini, and that in 1754 the Court expressly reaffirmed this in refusing the similar petition presented by Abram Van Doorn (one of their own number) and several other colonists. They had granted, they said, to Ling and his partner "liberty to cut timber in the Waini, but by no means in the Pomeroon." If Ling cut timber there notwithstanding, as is of course not impossible, it was clearly in express violation of his permit.⁵

In 1756, however, another English planter, Isaac Knott, again asked permission to cut timber in the Pomeroon, to supply the demand in the English West India colonies; and this time the Court of Policy, tempted, perhaps, by the large annual payment he offered, gave its consent. The Director-General, however, protested; and through the home authorities his opposition seems to have been effective.⁶

¹ See pp. *230, *231, below.

² In 1698, indeed, the Company instructed Commandeur Samuel Beekman to send again a planter thither (so says Beekman's letter of August 11, 1698); but it does not appear that one was actually induced to go.

³ Extracts, pp. 375, 376; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 106.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 108; Extracts, pp. 373, 374.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 343, 376; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 98.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 367, 371, 373, 375-377; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 108. One Jacques de Salignac is mentioned by the Zeeland Chamber as if a fellow-petitioner for the same favor. The matter seems now to have dropped out of thought; but the Pomeroon remained closed. One Williams, a

No. 3.

Thus the Pomeroon remained, as the Director-General called it, "a district bringing no earthly profit to the Company"—*he might *224 have added "or to the colony"—until the very last years of the eighteenth century. It remained under the care of the Moruca post,¹ and was mainly resorted to by the colonists for the cutting of timber or of thatch.² In 1783, indeed, while the colony was in the possession of the French, grants of land in the Pomeroon were made to certain French colonists, on condition that they should begin work on their plantations within six months.³ But before the year was half gone the restoration of the colony to the Dutch was under negotiation, and it is hardly likely that any of the grantees were so rash as to enter upon the occupation of such uncertain property. Certain it is that after the Dutch reassumption of the colony, in March, 1784, nothing is heard of these settlers in such colonial records as reached Holland. From this time on, it is true, applications for lands in the Pomeroon poured in thick and fast.⁴ But the authorities suffered these to accumulate pending formal action for the throwing open of the river. Not until the year 1794, in fact, although the coast plantations had then for some years been approaching the mouth of the Pomeroon, was completed the survey and map on whose basis that river itself, with the adjoining territory as far as the Moruca, was to be thrown open to settlement; and not till the following year did the home authorities take action thereon. The plan submitted by the Governor-General of the colony included a reservation of ground for a town at the mouth of the Pomeroon, and provided for fortifications at both *sides of *225 the entrance to that river.⁵ These suggestions were still under advisement,⁶ and little or nothing could yet have been done toward the actual occupation of the river when, in April, 1796, the British took possession of the colony; and the Bouchenroeder map, completed after this seizure, shows no trace of cultivation in this river.⁷ But by the year 1802-3, when it was for a little time once more in Dutch hands, it seems fair to infer from the way in which the river is mentioned,

colonist who had deserved well of the Company in the suppression of a slave revolt, ventured in 1774 to ask for "2,000 acres of land in the river Pomeroon, on the east side," in order that he might raise timber there (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 186); but his petition was probably shelved with the others.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126.

² Passes granted to boats for this purpose become very frequent in the records in the later years of this century.

³ I owe the knowledge of this to Mr. Rodway (*History of British Guiana*, ii, p. 21), who had access to the records still remaining in the colony.

⁴ A multitude of them are still to be found in the volume of the West India papers (Hague, Rijksarchief, vol. 2012 d) marked "*Stukken betrekkelijk het uitgeven van Gronden, Essequibo en Demerary, 1785-179 [1]*." None ask for land west of the Pomeroon.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 607, 608, 612-632; Atlas, map 69.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 637-639.

⁷ Atlas, map 70.

No. 3.

both by the authorities in the colony and by the Colonial Council in Holland, that cultivation had now reached if not invaded it.¹

From the first Dutch occupation of the Pomeroon, in 1658, down to late in the eighteenth century, the claim of the Dutch to that river seems to have been unquestioned. The attack of the English in 1665-66 and that of the French in 1689 were hostile invasions in time of war. In 1769, for the first time, we hear in Dutch records of a counterclaim: the Spanish governor of Orinoco was said to have declared that the territory was Spain's as far as the bank of Oene, in the mouth of the Essequibo.² During the years which followed, though Spain and Holland were at peace, there was more than one Spanish incursion into the Pomeroon;³ but, though ravages were committed along the coast and Indians abducted from the interior, there was no attempt actually to take possession of the river. Of the *Instruccion* of the Spanish Intendant-General of Venezuela, in February, 1779, for the occupation and settlement of Guayana "to the borders of the Dutch

*226 colony *of Essequibo" the Dutch authorities seem to have known nothing; but of the reconnoissance later in that year by the Spanish officer Inciarte, which not only made careful inspection of the Pomeroon, as of the rivers west of it, but even selected a site for a fortified place in that river,⁴ they knew. The Moruca postholder reported the presence of the Spaniards, and the Indians had heard them say that they were coming back in three months to erect a fort; but the Director-General having assured himself that they were "all gone without having done any harm" to the post or to the Indians, evinced no disquiet about the matter, and no steps seem to have been taken toward protest or further investigation.⁵ The latest incursion known, that of 1794, was repelled by the Indians, under the lead of a Dutch colonist.⁶

It appears, then, in brief, that:

1. The river Pomeroon was first colonized by the Dutch in the year 1658. This colony, while still in its infancy, was destroyed by the British in 1665-66.
2. After lying a score of years unpeopled, it was again colonized in 1686; but only to be laid desolate by the French in 1689.
3. Thereafter the river was never again thrown open to settlement until the very last years of Dutch occupation.
4. It remained, however, in the constant possession of the Essequibo colony, guarded by a post and drawn on for dyewoods, timber, and thatch, being explicitly held in reserve for the later growth of the colony.

1 Cf., e. g., Extracts, pp. 652, 660.

2 Extracts, pp. 467, 468, 495; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 175, 176.

3 Thus in 1769, 1775, 1786, 1794. See pp. *244-*246, below.

4 See his report, in Seljas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87-96.

5 Extracts, pp. 561, 562.

6 Extracts, pp. 632-637.

No. 3.

*4. THE DUTCH IN THE MORUCA.¹

*227

Only 2 or 3 miles west of the Pomeroon there empties into the sea the little river Moruca.² It comes, however, from a very different quarter of the compass. Taking its rise in the low coast lands to the west, half way to the Waini, it flows for two-thirds of its course southeastward, nearly parallel with the seacoast. Then, receiving from the interior the two creeks, Haimara and Manawarima, it turns, at its junction with the latter, sharply to the northeastward and so reaches the sea. The stream owes its importance to this unusual direction of its course and to the fact that from its upper waters there is a passage navigable by canoes, at least during the rainy season, to the rivers at the west, and so into the great water system of the Orinoco. The powerful current forever sweeping westward along the Guiana coast renders the eastward voyage along that coast all but impossible for sailing vessels, as also for boats propelled by hand; and the Moruca became, therefore, as to some extent it still is, the *regu- *228 lar avenue for the coasting trade with the Orinoco—not alone that of the Essequibo, but that of the other Guiana colonies as well.³ Through these inland waters a foreign foe from the mouth of the Orinoco or a band of hostile Indians could steal into the Moruca, and even, through another passage navigable at high water, into the Pomeroon, without that certainty of warning which hindered an approach by sea. It was doubtless by this route that the Spaniards carried on that early traffic with the Pomeroon and the Essequibo of which we know through the pages of Raleigh and of Jan de Laet.⁴ Through it, doubtless, in 1637 went that Dutch expedition from the Berbice and the Essequibo which laid Santo Thomé in ruins.

But the first mention in Dutch records of any attempt to take the stream into possession is when in 1658 the engineer Goliat inspected the coast in search of a site for the new colony of Nova Zeelandia. In that year he sent home a "short description of the rivers Demerara, Essequibo, Pomeroon and Moruca," and when the Pomeroon was made the site of that new colony the Moruca seems to have been included.⁵ In the book put forth to

¹ The name appears in many forms: Maroc, Maroca, Marocco, Maroco, Marocque, Marocques, Maroque, Maruca, Maruga, Maruka, Moroca, Morocco, Moroco, Morococa, Morowoco, Morroca, Moruca, Morucca, Moruga, Moruka. De Laet spells it also Ammegore (*Novus Orbis*, 1633, p. 649); but this is almost certainly a confusion with the name of the Amacura—cf. his p. 660.

² Maps disagree somewhat as to the distance of the Moruca from the Pomeroon; but this was the result reached by the two colonial surveyors in 1794. (See Atlas, map 69, and cf. Extracts, p. 619. The Dutch rod of that day, it must be remembered, was only three-quarters the length of the English one.) Strictly speaking, no exact statement is possible, since the Pomeroon empties at such an angle to the Moruca and to the coast that the western limit of its mouth is indeterminable.

³ Cf., e. g., Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131.

⁴ Cf., pp. *182, *258. The baselessness of the long-current error that in 1596 the Spaniards drove the Dutch out of the Moruca has been convincingly shown by Professor Jameson on pp. 58-60, above [i. e., U. S. Com. Rep., v. 1].

⁵ See pp. *214-*216, above for the authorities for these statements. It has seemed best to repeat here much already told in speaking of the Pomeroon, rather than to leave the story of the Moruca incomplete. Their close association gave them in much a common history.

No. 3.

tempt settlers to the colony the settlement itself is spoken of as the "Colony on the rivers of Paurooma [Pomeroon] and Moruca [Moruca]," and its projectors are called the patroons of the Zeeland Colony in Essequibo, Pomeroon and Moruca; Byam, the contemporary

English governor of Surinam, calls the Colony in 1665 "Bowroom *229 *[Pomeroon] and Moroco;" and Major John Scott, who in the winter of 1665-66 captured the colony for the English, says that he was commissioned to seize several settlements of the Netherlanders in Guiana, "as Moroco [Moruca], Wacopow [Wacupo], Bowroome [Pomeroon], and Dissekeeb [Essequibo]."¹

After the ruin of the Pomeróon colony in 1666 we hear no more of the Moruca; and there is no reason to suppose it occupied again before the reestablishment of that colony in 1686. Then, in the correspondence of the Commandeur, De Jonge, we find it again mentioned, though only as a near place for barter with the Indians.² As, however, it was proposed to make plantations on the Wacupo, at its very threshold, on the Maua-warima, the main tributary of the Moruca itself, and in the Korey savannas between the two, there can be little doubt that the lower Moruca also would speedily have been inhabited, had not this colony, too, been abruptly ended by the raid of the French in 1689.

From this time onward it is nearly a score of years before I again find mention of the Moruca. In 1707 the Dutch commandeur of Essequibo, Samuel Beekman, proposed to the Company the laying of a toll "in the rivers Marocques and Boumeron [Moruca and Pomeroon]" on boats, balsam, Indian slaves, and cacao brought in from the side of the Orinoco through this passage by the traders of Berbice; but Beekman's successor, who followed him in the same year, opposed the project, and it was not carried out.³ That the Wacupo post, though so near, did not then or for some time after effectively guard the entrance to the Moruca seems de- *230 ducible from *the Commandeur's objection to this toll on the ground of expenso, and from the fact that when, in 1613, an Essequibo agent was met at the mouth of the Pomeroon by a party of French and Spaniards and driven back into the Moruca, he could only reach the post two days later by way of the upper passage through the savannas of Korey.⁴

It was in order to make the post an effective guard of the Moruca, as well as of the now less used Wacupo entrance to the Orinoco route, that in October, 1726, Commandeur Gelskerke informed the Essequibo Court of Policy of his intention to inspect the Wacupo post, "knowing that the said post lies far out of the ordinary course of boats which come hither through the inland waters;" wherefore, "it was his intention to choose a fit place in the river of Moruca to which he might transplant the house and post,

¹ See pp. *196, *197, *215, *216, above; and Extracts, pp. 135-137.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 64.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 74; Extracts, pp. 236-238, 241.

⁴ Extracts, p. 237.

No. 3.

since all boats which come through the inland waters must pass that way." Accordingly, in company with the secretary and one of the councilors, he made a journey thither, and in December reported to the Court of Policy their decision "that the fittest place" for the post "was at the landing where those fetching horses, coming from the Orinoco into the river Moruca, usually make a stop (a place called in the Indian language Accoujere), it being possible to build the house there so close to the river side that a hand grenade can be thrown into the boats, the river being at its narrowest there."¹

There is every reason to believe that the transfer thus foreshadowed was then or soon after actually made. For, though for many years the post retained the old name of Wacupo, one begins from 1731 on to find coupled with this name that of *Moruca,² which gradually *231 crowds the other from use.³ And when, in 1757, the Spaniards of Orinoco, hearing that the Dutch were building a new post on the Moruca, sent to reconnoiter, they found the old post still 6 leagues up the river from its mouth—a point which seems fully to tally with the site chosen in 1726.

It is at such a site, well up the Moruca, that the post appears on the map of Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, in 1749,⁴ and on the little Jesuit map handed in by him in 1750.⁵ And this site well answers to the description given in 1747, by the Spanish governor, in a description of the inland passage for boats, of "the stronghold called the post, which the Dutch of Essequibo maintain with three men and two small cannons, 16 leagues from the colony toward the ship channel" of the Orinoco.⁶ The Capuchin missionaries who visited it in 1769 described it as "a thatch-covered house on the east bank of the river Moruca," and declared it to have been tolerated there about forty years.⁷

For the purpose of giving warning of the approach of an enemy the post at its new site was speedily put to use. In May of 1628 the Court of Policy, having learned from the postholder of the seizure by the Orinoco Spaniards of a Surinam fishing vessel, and being else informed of the probability of a war between Holland and Spain, "resolved to reinforce the aforesaid post of Wacupo with two soldiers and to direct *Jan *232 Batiste [the postholder] to keep the necessary beacons in order, so that" they might "receive the earliest information in case the Spaniards

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 80. The Dutch of the phrase defining the site runs: "*aen de waterplaats daer de paarde Haedders, uit d' Oronocque in de Rivier van Maroco komende, ordinair pleysteren.*"

² The name "Wacupo and Moruca" does not occur in the pay-rolls until 1733, but is frequent thereafter. Cf. Extracts, pp. 378, 305, 307, 309, 322; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86, 88, 94.

³ From about 1747. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 89, 91, 94; Extracts, pp. 317, 321, 327. It is not until 1754 that the name "trading-place in Moruca" appears in the pay-rolls.

⁴ Atlas of the Commission, map 60.

⁵ Atlas of the Commission, map 61.

⁶ Venezuelan "Documents," iii, p. 184.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 114.

No. 3.

should send any armed vessels to this colony," and the postholder was instructed, in case the post of Wacupo should be attacked, to "defend it to the utmost." The soldiers were accordingly sent, together with these instructions.¹ Apart from such reenforcement of soldiers at times of danger, the post was equipped (as we learn from a report as to ordnance received by the Company in 1731) with four small cannon—two two-pounders and two one-pounders.²

If it had been in the thought of the colonial authorities that the advance of the post might lead to increased trade with the Indians the hope was disappointed. In 1737 the governor had to report to the Company that "the post Wacupo and Moruca, formerly the most important trading-place for the Company's annatto trade, has these last years fallen off in this business." He had taken pains to learn the cause of this and had found it due, not to the neglect of the postholder, but to the competition of the Surinam slave traders, whose more lucrative traffic made the Indians sluggish about dye gathering. "While I see no way of changing this," adds the governor in words full of interest, "we must nevertheless keep up this post, because it was established for the maintenance of your frontiers stretching toward the Orinoco."³

By 1754 another use for a post on this side of the colony had forced itself upon the thought of the planters. The escape of slaves to the Orinoco was a growing evil, and the current sweeping westward along the coast made it quite possible for these runaways to take the route outside *233 by sea instead of the *inland passage guarded by the post. To intercept these coastwise fugitives, the post, a half-dozen leagues up the river, was, of course, quite useless. In January, 1754, it was accordingly resolved by the Court of Policy, on petition of the citizen militia, "to place a post on the side of the Moruca," at its mouth, "to prevent the desertion of slaves."⁴

The panic soon after, caused by the rumor of a Spanish invasion from the Orinoco, gave the colony for a time other things to think of, and other uses for the Moruca post. On September 2, 1755, Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande, alarmed by the prospect of a Spanish attack, had written of detaching "eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the post of Moruca, which will," he fears, "bear the brunt."⁵ A week later (September 10) the militia officers petition "that an armed boat be placed at Moruca to keep guard" and to report any approach of the enemy;⁶ and by October 12 the Director-General is able to report to the Company that "two small vessels have been made (whereof one is ready,

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 81.

² Extracts, p. 256.

³ Extracts, p. 278.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 97; but notice, p. 98, the temporary abandonment of the project.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 99.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 101.

No. 3.

and the other almost so) to keep guard¹ between Moruca and Pomeroon," and another, a private barque, "equipped to go and lie by the angle of the Pomeroon." In the same letter he reports that he has "sent order to Moruca to cause all inland waters and passages to be blocked,"² so that the foe "may not be able to pass with small vessels."

Yet, on January 5, 1756, the panic having subsided, the Court of Policy again took in hand the change of the post; for it was clearly at this time in thought, not to establish a new post at the mouth of the Moruca, but to remove the old one *to that site. This was accordingly *234 ordered.³ The order was, however, not carried out. This we know, first of all, from the Spaniards. Toward the end of 1757, Iturriaga, the commander of the Spanish forces in the Orinoco, heard through the Capuchin missionaries that the Dutch were building a new fort on the Moruca. Accordingly he sent a subordinate to visit the place and bring back tidings of the result of his reconnoissance. This subordinate, on December 2, 1757, reported in writing that the only basis of the rumor was the intention of the Dutch to remove to the mouth of the Moruca "the guard which, under the name of post, they maintain on the Moruca channel." For this purpose, he learned, they had "cut down trees and made clearings. He heard, also, of the houses to be built for the Arawak Indians and the Dutch;" but this news he was unable to verify with certainty. Iturriaga, on receiving this report, conjectured that to prevent desertions and for the protection of the sugar plantations from slave revolts, the Dutch might build there a small fort, with a few small cannon, and manned by from four to six men.⁴

But, three months later, the subordinate sent to reconnoiter had another report to make. On March 30, 1758, he wrote that the change of the post on the Moruca had not taken place. The Dutch had built at the mouth of the river only a house 15 yards long, with a stockade and gates; "and this," he writes, "is for the use of those engaged in the trade of the Colony, and to serve as a rest-house while the river is in flood." The old post was still kept up at its old site, 7 leagues up the *river from the sea, and was equipped with three unmounted *235 cannon, three-pounders, and manned by a corporal and two soldiers, besides the Arawak Indians. The latter were gathered in three villages, of ten or twelve houses each, lying a league apart on the banks of the Moruca.⁵

¹ "*De wacht*" (not "the way," as in the Blue Book).

² "*Toe te laets kappen*," i. e., to block by felling timber.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 106. This action is stated by the minutes of the Court to be "in satisfaction of the resolution of this Court dated the 7th October, 1753" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 106). As the resolution is accessible, if anywhere, only in Guiana, no transcript of this resolution of October 7, 1755, existing among the papers transmitted to Europe, I have been unable to examine it.

⁴ Venezuelan "Documents," iii, pp. 161-169. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 89, 90.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 91. Venezuelan "Documents," ii, pp. 102, 103.

No. 3.

The post was doubtless, then, at this old site when in 1758 (January 6) the Essequibo secretary wrote of a canoe load of cattle aground "in a certain canal, called Itaboe, situated under the Company's post Moruca,"¹ and at this old site it is shown by all fresh maps of the colony drafted prior to 1784.² The most minute and satisfactory account of the site of the Moruca post, however, is due to another Spaniard, the young officer Inciarte, who in 1779 made an official reconnoissance of the entire region from the Orinoco to the Pomeroon. His lucid report³ makes it clear that the post was on the south of the river, at a point in its upper course where the streams turns at right angles from a southeasterly to a northeasterly trend—a point opposite the modern Catholic mission of Santa Rosa.⁴

*236 *As to how the watch-house, or rest-house, at the mouth of the river, was cared for is to be gathered only from passing allusions. A settler, one Beissenteufel, was granted land for a plantation at the mouth of the river on condition of maintaining there the outpost watch. But, soon after, he had the misfortune to blow himself up with a barrel of gunpowder, and it is possible that the watch-house was then abandoned, though it may have been somehow kept up until the abandonment of the plantation, in 1767.⁵ Yet in 1765 the Moruca postholder, who had apparently come down to the coast in the effort to intercept certain fugitives, could report, "I am lying between the mouth of Moruca and Pomeroon, so that I can see everything that passes the seacoast"—language which certainly does not imply the presence there, at that date, of a regular lookout.⁶ And the historian Hartsinck, writing in 1770, after mentioning

¹ Extracts, pp. 374, 375.

² Atlas of the Commission, maps 64, 66, 43, 68. Cf. also the Spanish maps of Cruz Cano and Surville (maps 50, 71), and especially map 43, the English map (1783) of Thompson, who was for a time in command of the colony during the English occupation of 1781-82.

³ Printed in full in Seijas *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87-96 (pp. 84-89 of the English translation).

⁴ See, e. g., the Schomburgk map published in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5." The site thus described by Inciarte perfectly tallies with that assigned the post in the most careful of the extant Dutch maps of this region (Atlas of the Commission, map 68—though transmitted in 1791, the map must have been drafted not long after 1769), except that the whole course of the Moruca, as in all maps of the last century, is represented as northerly. That the post was on the "east" bank, i. e., the right bank, of the river was also testified by the Capuchin missionaries in 1762. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 285, 286.) And with this all the maps agree. Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of the colonies, writing in 1770, indeed says: "On the said river or creek Moruca, which about 2 or 3 [Dutch] miles from the sea unites itself with the creek Wacupo, . . . we have at the junction of these creeks a post, which was formerly a fortified house equipped with several cannon, but is now fallen to ruin." But Hartsinck was never in the colony, and his geography of all this region is too confused to inspire faith in his conclusions. The "now fallen to ruin" is perhaps only the strong phrase of an Amsterdamer for that neglected state of the colony's defenses which was just then being made a ground for the overthrow of the Zealanders' monopoly.

⁵ See pp. *242, *248, below, and cf. Extracts, p. 580.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 137.

No. 3.

the post's erection there in 1757 at the joint cost of the Company and the planters, declares that "it has since fallen to ruin."¹

At this site the post remained until the English and French occupation of the colony in 1781-1784. For a decade before this, however, there had been discontent over its remoteness from the sea. On August 27, 1772, Director-General Storm *van 's Gravesande wrote the Com- *237 pany of his surprise to find it so far back, and pointed out that, while "it lies indeed directly before the inland passage through the Itabos and there wholly commands that,"² "it is absolutely useless as far as regards the runaway slaves, who pass along the coast by water;" for these had now learned to take the sea route and profit by the westward current. This complaint grew frequent. By 1777 the colonial Court of Policy was unanimously of opinion that "the post in Moruca is located too high in the creek, and therefore should be removed and placed lower at the seacoast;"³ but the commandant of the garrison insisted, in opposition to the rest, that the post should be made a military one, with a corporal and eight soldiers, since a civilian with Indians could not arrest the deserting soldiers who escaped by that route.⁴ The Director-General protested to the Company that, as a postholder's chief duties were only to win the good will of the Indians, to keep a watchful eye on neighboring foes, whether European or native, and to catch runaway slaves by the aid of the Indians, the soldiers would do more harm than good.⁵ But the Company seems to have sided with the commandant, and on June 24, 1778, the Ten ordered that there be erected at the seacoast a new and purely military post, equipped with four or five 8 pounders and the necessary ammunition, and manned by a corporal, a cannoneer, and three soldiers; and, notwithstanding the Director-General's protests, these instructions were reiterated on May 7, 1779. A sketch plan for the proposed post *was also transmitted.⁶ It would not appear, from the resolution *238 itself, that this was meant to disturb the old post on the inner waters, but the Director-General seems to have felt himself free to interpret it otherwise, for on September 23, 1779, he wrote to the Amsterdam Chamber: "I have had a piece of forest cleared by the Indians for the Post of

¹ "*Op de Westhoek van deze Rivier [Pomeroon] is, in den Jaare 1757, op koste van de Compagnie en de Burgery van Essequibo te samen, een Post gelegd, om het wegvluichten der Slaaven, over Zee, te beletten: doch dezelve is sedert in verval geraakt.*" (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, pp. 258, 259.) This phraseology, it must be confessed, suggests a more considerable post than the lookout above described; and this is not less true of the language of the Director-General in 1779 and of the Court of Policy in 1785. (Extracts, pp. 561, 580.)

² *Dezelve legt wel regt voor de binnenlandsche passagie door diffabos [sic] en kan die daar volstrekt beletten.*" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 180, where, however, as will be noticed, the translation is not quite exact.) "*Diffabos*" is, of course, for *d'illaboe*: the letter is a copy by a secretary, and there are in it several slips of this sort (cf. vol. iii, p. 141, note.)

³ Extracts, p. 539.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 539, 542, 543.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 543, 544.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 556, 559.

No. 3.

Moruca on the old site again, at the angle and mouth of the Pomeroon, in order to move the post back thither, since the present post is of little or no use." He is preparing, that is to say, to establish it at the point between the mouths of the Pomeroon and the Moruca, where the lookout had been placed in 1757.¹ "Yet," he adds, "since for this twenty-five or thirty men are needed, in order to lay it into polder [i. e., to dike it], and the dry season is already too nearly gone, I have resolved to go thither myself in the coming March and April . . . so as to carry out the work promptly under my own oversight."² That this plan was carried out I find no reason to question; yet the new site can hardly have been more than ready for the post when early in March, 1781, the colony was seized by the English.³ Whether or no the English maintained the post, the French, who succeeded them in the possession of the colony, abandoned it; for on December 5, 1783, the Spanish officer, Inciarte, who had made so successful a reconnoissance here in 1779, reported the abandonment to his superiors,⁴ urging them to take advantage of the opportunity by occupying the place.

This, however, so far as is known, was never done.

*239 *When, in 1784, the Dutch reassumed possession of the colony, steps were promptly taken for the carrying out of the Company's long deferred plan for a military post at the mouth of the Moruca.⁵ Its

¹ See pp. *234, *236, above.

² Extracts, pp. 561, 562.

³ Note again that the map of the English captain, Thompson (Atlas, map 43), who was commander of the English forces here, represents the post at the old upper site.

⁴ . . . "pero noticioso de que con motivo de haberse apoderado los franceses de la dicha colonia de Essequibo durante la guerra, han abandonado los holandeses la Posta avanzada que tenian á orillas del rio Moruca."

⁵ Extracts, pp. 579-586. Since my return from Europe my attention has been called (by Mr. Rodway's study on *The Boundary Question*, lately published by the government of British Guiana) to a passage which, as it purports to come from a Dutch document, deserves here a word of comment. The document in question is the report of a joint committee of the West India Company, composed of deputies from the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers, which sat at the Hague in May, 1783, and drew up a plan for the reorganization of the Guiana Colonies, then in the hands of the French but about to be given back to the Dutch. This report is printed in the appendix to the fifth volume of the *Brieven over het Bestuur der Colonien Essequibo en Demerary gewisseld tusschen de heeren Aristodemus en Sincerus*—an anonymous attack on the control of the colonies by the Company, published at Amsterdam in 1785-86. As there printed, the report contains, among many others, this recommendation: "That also on the Orinoco a post for defense both against the escaping of slaves and other things ought to be established, and manned with a detachment from Fort Island" (*Dat meede aan de Oronoque een post van defensie so tegens 't wegleopen der slaven als anderzints behoord te worden aangelegt en met een detachement van 't Fort-Eiland voorzien*). I remember no such startling phrase in the manuscript of this document (which, in that case, I should of course have transcribed), and the suspicion is irresistible that there is here an accidental omission of a word or two, and that the resolution originally read "on the side of Orinoco"—i. e., on that frontier of the colony. (Compare the phrase of the Essequibo Court of Policy, in 1777: "On the frontiers, and to the side of Orinoco, there lies a post in the creek of Moruca."—Extracts, p. 539.) But, to my deep regret, there is not time to seek light from Holland on this point, and my suspicion must remain only a suspicion. Whatever the case, no such instruction as this was transmitted to the colony; and the language of the Holland Estates and of the Director-General of the Colony, in September, 1784 (Extracts, pp. 574, 577), and especially that of the Colonial Court of Policy in reestablishing the Moruca post in March, 1785, (Extracts, p. 580), make it very improbable that there had been serious intent to

No. 3.

site we know with exactness from the map made by the colonial surveyors in 1794.¹ It was on the *east bank of the Moruca, at its *240 very mouth. There it thenceforward remained.

With this final change of site there took place also, in pursuance of the Company's directions of 1778, a considerable change in the management of the post. Theretofore the Moruca post, like the other posts, had been regularly manned only by an outlier (*uitlegger*), or postholder, and a bylier (*bijlegger*), or under-postholder, aided by the Indians, who were encouraged to dwell about it.²

transfer that post to the Orinoco. It is to be noticed that the Hague report, as printed in the work above described, recommends specifically no other provision for the defense of Essequibo than the restoration of the fort on Fort Island and the creation of this alleged Orinoco post.

¹ Atlas, map 69. Cf. Extracts, pp. 612-632. Were it not for this careful official map, which puts the matter beyond doubt, there are sundry passages whose phraseology might suggest that the post was on the *west* side of the Moruca. Thus (1), the instructions of the Ten in 1778 (Extracts, p. 552) prescribe that the new post shall be built "at the western point of the creek Moruca." (2) When, in 1785, the colonial Court of Policy took measures for its establishment, "it was resolved to fix the place therefore on the lower point of Moruca." (Extracts, p. 580.) Now, the "lower" point, in the parlance of the Guiana coast, should certainly mean that down the current—the western point. (3) In 1794, in an inventory of the papers found in the government archives in Essequibo, there is listed "a projected plan of the post on the west side of the creek Moruca." (Extracts, p. 611.) And (4), in a rough sketch-map of the Pomeroon region drawn in 1793 by the surveyor Chollet (Hague, Rijksarchief, map No. 1544), the post is actually represented on the west of the Moruca at its mouth. But, as regards these, it may be remarked that in three of them the error, if such, may have but a single source. The transmitted plan was very probably that sent in 1779, and might be expected to bear a title borrowed from the resolution of 1776 which gave rise to it. And the phraseology used by Director-General Trotz in acknowledging this plan—"a drawing for the post of Moruca on the west coast of our river" (Extracts, p. 363)—sounds not unlike a courteous attempt to call attention to an error. Chollet's map of 1793 was confessedly a hasty and misleading one; it was dissatisfaction both with this and with that of the rival surveyor, Van der Burght, which led to the Governor-General's personal visit of 1794 and to the careful map of that year. Moreover, as colonial surveyor, Chollet probably had access to the maps in the government's archives and may very possibly have been misled by the title on the very plan above described. Less easy of explanation is the phrase of the Court of Policy in 1785; but it is at least possible that they may have used "lower point" in distinction from the point up the river where the post had so long stood, or that the point may be thought of as "lower" with relation to the Essequibo and the colony as a whole. What makes it hardest to believe that the post could ever have stood on the west bank is the certainty that it was not there in 1794 and the absence in the careful records of the years preceding of any mention of a removal. Yet reliance on such negative proof is proverbially hazardous. There is, too, in the *Reisen* of Richard Schomburgk a noteworthy passage as to substructures still existing in the mouth of the Moruca at the date of his visit, a half century ago.

² On the duties and prerogatives of the Moruca postholder much light is thrown by the extant instructions drawn up for him in the year 1767 by the Essequibo governor. These "Provisional Instructions" issued to Postholder Diederik "Neels" by Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande on October 7, 1767, are to be found only in the colonial records still preserved in British Guiana. They have been printed in translation by Mr. Rodway in his report on *The Boundary Question*, published in 1896 by the government of British Guiana. As they have not been reprinted in the Blue Books of the British Government, and are hence not easily accessible, it will perhaps be of use to give them in full here—of course, in Mr. Rodway's English only, the original Dutch being out of reach:

"1. He shall treat the free Indians kindly and gently, and do them no wrong, or allow anyone else to illtreat, injure, or oppress them, and he shall try as far as lies in his power to induce them to come and live on the post.

"2. He shall pay strict attention to, and the Indians shall take notice of, the desertion of either red

No. 3.

*241 *Now, in 1785, it was put under the command of an experienced
 *242 soldier, who bore the military title of commandant, and *whose
 pay, instead of the old monthly stipend of 14 florins, was the hand-
 some yearly salary of 800 florins.¹ At first his subordinates seem to have
 been all soldiers, but with 1787 a bylier again appears, and thereafter we
 find the post equipped with two or even three of these.²

After the expiration of the West India Company and the assumption
 of the colonies by the State, in 1792, the only post which continues to ap-
 pear on pay and muster rolls is that of Moruca.³ It continued to be main-
 tained until the occupation of Essequibo by the British in 1796.⁴ When in
 1802 the Dutch reassumed possession, one of their earliest acts was the
 resumption of the Moruca post, which had been left by the English occu-
 pants in a sadly dilapidated condition. It was made the station of a de-
 tachment of soldiery, but continued still, and doubtless to the end (Septem-
 ber, 1803), to be administered also as a post.⁵

or black slaves, and all possible means shall be adopted to pursue and capture them, and they shall be promptly paid for their capture as customary.

" 3. He shall not allow anyone to pass the post without a pass or permit, except well-known inhabi-
 tants who are pursuing their slaves, and who have had no time to obtain permits; he must help and as-
 sist such persons as much as lies in his power, and assist with propriety all others who come with
 passes.

" 4. He shall, as far as possible, pay strict attention to everything that transpires in Barima and
 give an exact written report of the same, and also of anything extraordinary that transpires on the
 post.

" 5. Free trade is only allowed him on or about the post; he shall be bound, when required, to
 trade on behalf of the Honourable Company, and he shall likewise be allowed to do so for other parties.

" 6. In regard to boats, hammocks, etc., which are brought to be sold, he shall be bound, if re-
 quired, to give us the preference to purchase them for the same prices which are offered by others.

" 7. From the Spaniards arriving with tobacco, etc., he shall demand 5 per cent. import duty, and
 shall deliver the amount here.

" 8. Passes and permits given to pass the post shall be considered as valid for one journey only, in
 order to prevent abuses.

" 9. And he shall further conduct himself in everything becoming to a loyal and vigilant Director,
 and shall be supplied with further instructions or amplifications of what he will have to do.

" L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

" RIO ESSEQUEBO, AT FORT ZEELANDIA, 7th October, 1767.

" Anyone passing the post with a pass to hire Indians, he shall order this person or these persons
 to call at the post on their return, so that he may inquire of the Indians if they have been illtreated or
 forced when they were hired; in which case he shall forthwith report the same to the Directeur-General.
 After the end of the three months, this being the expiration of the Indian's time (term of service) and
 the period for returning to their houses, they shall call again at the post to notify him of their return,
 and that they were paid and not illtreated."

¹ Extracts, pp. 550-586. For Bartholy's earlier career, see p. 618. In the pay-rolls he regularly
 appears as commandant, though he is elsewhere often spoken of as "postholder."

² This appears from the pay-rolls and muster-rolls.

³ Muster-rolls of this period may be found in vols. 804-809 of the West India papers in the Rijksar-
 chief. The pay-rolls for 1792, 1793, and 1794 are in vols. 2657-2659.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 611, 616-618, 632-634. Unprinted records show the postholder there to the end.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 656, 657. In the journal of Governor Meertens, under date of July 5, 1803, there is
 a list of the civil functionaries of Essequibo, among whom the staff of the Moruca post are now included.
 One F. Schmaltz appears as "postholder," on the reduced salary of 400 florins, while poor Bartholy

No. 3.

Plantations on the Moruca there were none after the ruin of the Pomeroon colonies of 1658-1665 and 1686-1689 until the middle of the eighteenth century. There came then a single exception. One Frederic Beissenteufel established at the mouth of the Moruca a plantation which, because of its remoteness, he christened "Loneliness" (*De Eensamheid*).¹ Here he dwelt with his family and slaves, till he was accidentally blown up in an explosion. His widow migrated to Demerara, and the estate, after being in 1766 sacked by a party of Spaniards,² passed into the hands of the Rousselets.³ Mrs. Rousselet complained, however, that it was the greater part of the time under water, and at length refused to pay the taxes levied upon her.⁴ It was accordingly, in 1769, offered at sheriff's sale with its belongings.⁵ It seems, however, to have found no purchaser; and it is of this particular land, not of land on the Moruca in general, that on January 6, 1772, the Essequibo Court of Policy (replying to the complaint of Mrs. Rousselet, who had appealed to the West India Company) wrote that "this land was granted without determination of the number of acres and upon the express condition that the owner or owners should be bound to establish an outpost there—it being an estate lying close to the river Orinoco, full two days' sail from here, [and, having been] for a considerable time left uncultivated by the petitioner [i. e., by Mrs. Rousselet], in a word, fallen to ruin and at nearly every high tide under water, wherefore it must now be sold without delay."⁶

It is probable that the estate remained in the hands of the *government; for, when in 1794 the Pomeroon lands as far as the *244 Moruca were at last laid out for settlement, it was suggested by the colonial governor that those from the mouth of the Pomeroon to the Moruca post should be reserved for the colony's own use; and neither in this suggestion nor in the map of the survey is there any mention of private rights in this district.⁷

With the exception, then, of the Beissenteufels and the Rousselets in

himself (or one bearing his name) is only byller, at 150 florins a year. And there is named for the first time a new official at the post—the "Mission-garden overseer" ("*Missie tuyn baas*").

¹ So it appears year by year in the directories of the colony.

² Extracts, p. 415.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 144, 145; Extracts, p. 440. The Rousselets, who were prominent people in the colony, of course did not live there, but worked the place by means of an overseer. Rousselet, who died soon after this acquisition, had been colonial secretary and seems to have had peculiarly close relations with the Spaniards, which may account for his desiring this Moruca plantation.

⁴ The documents relating to the quarrel with Mrs. Rousselet fill much space in the records.

⁵ Extracts, p. 491.

⁶ See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 179, 180, where a very different translation is given. The Dutch of the essential portion is as follows: . . . "*gehouden zoude zyn aldaar een buytenpost te houden, zynde, een grond gelegen digt by Rio Orinocque, twee dagen ruym zeylens van hier, by de supplianten een geruymen tyd niet gecultiveerd, en ten eenemaalen vervallen meest alle springtyden onder water, dus moest deselve voetstoots verkogt werden.*" The confusing punctuation is, of course, that of the original.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 614, 638. It is true that a bid is said to have been made for it (Blue Book, p. 180); but it is implied that it was for the sake the cattle alone, and the land, if abandoned, would revert to the colony.

No. 3.

the third quarter of the century, the Moruca had, in the eighteenth century, no European inhabitants outside the post. By the time of the renewed Dutch occupation of 1802-3 it is very possible that the coast lands as far as the Moruca had been taken up; for there was then under discussion the granting of lands to the west of that river.¹

As early as 1755 we begin to hear of Spanish threats against the Dutch post on the Moruca. It is, however, only the threat of a missionary father to come and carry off by force certain Indians dwelling under its protection.² In 1760 the Spaniards, elated by their successful raid of 1758 on the post in the Cuyuni, threatened to come ere long and treat the Moruca post in the same fashion; and the Essequibo governor found it wise to reenforce the post with four soldiers.³ In 1768 threats of a raid on the post were ascribed to the Dutch deserters who were aiding the Spaniards in their purging of the district east of the Orinoco.⁴ But it was not until 1769 that the post was actually visited. In February of that year

there came into the Moruca and to the post an armed Spanish vessel *245 bearing a dozen soldiers and two Capuchin fathers and escorted *by a party of Spanish Indians in canoes. The post made no resistance but the Spaniards sought neither to capture nor to occupy it. What they were after was Indians for the missions; and of these they carried off such as they could find,⁵ and with them peopled a new mission at Piedad beyond the Yuruari. The Capuchins, who were in charge of the expedition, even gave to the postholder a certificate that this was their errand, averring that by order of their ecclesiastical superior and with the permission of the Spanish commandant of the Orinoco they had "passed into Moruca in search of the Indians belonging to the missions of the Capuchin fathers."⁶ But, if the visit of the Spaniards left behind no other result, it seriously impaired the efficiency of the post by depleting the number of Indians; so, at least, complained the Essequibo governor in 1772.⁷ In 1774 the Spaniards, to the number of forty, made another descent upon the post, carrying off or killing the free Indians;⁸ and a year later, in October, 1775, there was a yet more serious raid, when with fifty men the Spanish captain, Mateo, approaching by the inland passage and leaving his two ships in the river Biara, came through the Itabo, and was so thorough in his kidnapping of the natives that the postholder complained that "there is no longer an Indian to be found in these parts." In reply to the post-

¹ Extracts, p. 660.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 105.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 115.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 154, 157.

⁵ It appears from the report of the prefect, September 12, 1770, that these Indians thus "brought from Moruca numbered in all one hundred and seventy." (Venezuelan "Documents," ii, p. 267.)

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 160-163, 281-288; Venezuelan "Documents," ii, pp. 109, 187-208, 266, 267.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 179.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 186.

No. 3.

holder's protest, the Spaniard not only affirmed that Moruca belonged to the Spaniards, but that his royal master would shortly set a guard in the Barimani, at the Waini entrance to the inland passage. Yet it does not appear that the post was actually taken into possession, much less retained, *or that any guard was ever actually stationed in the pass- *246 age. In 1786 the Spaniards were again in the Pomeroon for the abduction of Indians, and yet again in 1794;¹ but, as the Moruca post was now at the seacoast, and as the Spaniards doubtless made their way into the Pomeroon by the Wacupo passage, one hears nothing of them in the Moruca.

The elaborate reconnoissance, not only of that river but of the Pomeroon, in 1779, by the Spanish officer, Inciarte, was attended by no breach of the peace; and his report in favor of Spanish establishments on both these rivers, though it resulted in a royal order for the erection of a Spanish village and fort in the Moruca at the site of the Dutch post, seems to have led to no practical results.² Whatever claims to the river might be made by the Spaniards, I can not learn that the Dutch were ever actually disturbed in the possession of their post. There was, indeed, as we learn from sources other than Dutch, an unsuccessful Spanish attack on the post in 1797, while the colony was in the hands of the English; but this was in time of war.

In brief, then:

1. The Moruca was first occupied by the Dutch at their occupation of the Pomeroon, in 1658.

2. It was settled and held by them during the existence of the two Pomeroon colonies (1658-1665, 1686-1689).

3. Thereafter, though clearly regarded as a possession, it was not again actually occupied till the transfer of the Wacupo post to its banks, in or soon after 1726.

*4. Thenceforward it was never abandoned, but was held with *247 growing tenacity.

5. From the seventeenth century until the very end of the eighteenth it had no settlers, save for a single plantation during a few years; but before its final loss to the Dutch its lands may have been once more coming into occupancy.

6. Though more than once visited by bodies of armed Spaniards, who forcibly abducted the Indians settled about it, no Spanish attempt to take it into possession is known to Dutch records.

¹ Extracts, pp. 591, 632-637. It is to be noticed that in 1790 the commissioners reporting on the state of the colony speak of the coming of Spanish boats to the Moruca for the abduction of Indians as though it were an habitual occurrence. (Extracts, p. 601.)

² See the documents in Seijas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87-96. Nothing of all this is known to the Dutch records except the presence of the Spanish party in Pomeroon and Moruca. (Extracts, pp. 561, 562.) Cf. also Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 305-314.

For 100 miles or so west of the Moruca no river enters the sea. The river Waini, however, which there at last breaks through to the beach, runs for half its course nearly parallel to the coast, and at the point where, coming from the south, it sweeps around to this northwestward course is but a score of miles from the Moruca, with which, as we have seen, it is connected by a passage navigable at high water.¹

West of the Moruca there was never a Dutch post, nor ever a Dutch grant of colonial land.² Such occupation as can be shown for the Waini is, therefore, of a somewhat nondescript character.

Prior to the eighteenth century scarcely a mention of the river is found in the Dutch records. For the earliest period this is adequately explained, perhaps by the fact that the Waini, unlike the rivers to the east of it, was the home, not of the mild Arawak, but of the Carib. But when in the

last quarter of the seventeenth century the Dutch had entered into
*249 regular commercial relations with the Caribs of the Barima, and *must have carried on by way of the Waini both that trade and the trade with the Spaniards of the Orinoco, it is somewhat puzzling that the name of the Waini does not oftener appear.

The earliest mention I find of it in Dutch records is in connection with the advent of those hostile Caribs, driven out by the Dutch of Surinam, whose coming seems for long to have interrupted Dutch trade beyond the Moruca. "These Coppenam Caribs," wrote the Essequibo governor in 1685,³ are taking refuge just to leeward of us, about Barima, Waini, Amacura." The name of the river does not appear again until, in the year 1700,⁴ the governor reports the sending of the colony's bark to Waini "in order to salt fish and to trade for victuals." The destination is not spoken of as a new or unusual one; but that the natives were found still unfriendly may, perhaps, be inferred from the fact that the bark returned six weeks later "without having done any trading." A year later, in November, 1701,⁵ it was even found necessary to send thither a reconnoissance in force to look into the designs of the French and to threaten the Caribs of the Waini with the vengeance of the combined Christians and Arawaks of all the Dutch colonies if they should support the enemy.

¹ It has been suggested that the mouth of the Waini was formerly much farther eastward, and that this earlier mouth was perhaps silted up at a very recent period. I have found in the Dutch records nothing to confirm this theory. By 1708, at latest, the mouth of the river must have been where it now is, since the Mora passage is then spoken of as "in the river Waini" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 71); and this is confirmed beyond question by a journal of 1711 (Extracts, pp. 225, 227).

² As to the often alleged post on the Barima, see pp. 291, 292 below. That land was granted west of the Moruca has never been claimed. The passage of January 6, 1772 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 179), which seems to imply this is (as I have pointed out, p. 248, above) wrongly translated.

³ Extracts, p. 178.

⁴ Extracts, p. 197.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 201-203.

No. 3.

Yet by 1703 the Dutch of Essequibo were so much at home there that they could lie in wait in the Mora passage and arrest escaping deserters.¹ In 1711 a Surinam expedition to the Orinoco by the inland route passed and repassed the Waini without hindrance.² They seem to have found there, however, no shelter or Indian landing. By 1717 the Surinam traders were carrying on traffic in that river.³

In 1722 the Waini was so far looked upon as a possession by the Dutch of Essequibo that the engineer Maurain-Sainterre could recommend the establishment of plantations there;⁴ and when, in 1734, Governor Gelskerke intimated a Dutch claim to territory "between the Orinoco and this colony,"⁵ it is probable that lands west of the Moruca post, rather than east of it, were in his thought. Dutch deserters were again arrested in the Waini in 1738,⁶ and fugitive slaves were run down for the Dutch by the Indians of Waini in 1743.⁷ In 1746 Governor Storm van 's Gravesande even wrote of "the Caribs subject to us in the river Waini," and took measures for their protection.⁸ In sending the Moruca postholder thither to reconnoiter, he instructed him "not to set foot on Spanish territory—not even below the river Waini." In the reply approving his action and urging vigilance in maintaining the Company's territory, the West India Company discreetly spoke of the region in question as "the Wacupo and Moruca,"⁹ and in again mentioning the manner the governor adopts this phrase;¹⁰ but the Waini must have been implied.¹¹

In 1749, however, when the colonist Von Rosen sought to induce the King of Sweden to take possession between Essequibo and Orinoco,¹² he represented the Waini, as well as the Barima, as lying uninhabited and wild. In 1755, when, with another colonist, he addressed himself to the King of Prussia, after having in 1754 made a trip of inspection to these rivers, "he no longer used this phrase."¹³ In the interval steps had, indeed, been taken by the Dutch of Essequibo to put the Waini to use. In 1753, owing to the growing scarcity of land for plantations, the governor had measurements made in the Waini as well as in the Pome-

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 71.

² Extracts, pp. 225, 227.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 76.

⁴ Extracts, p. 248.

⁵ Extracts, p. 262.

⁶ Extracts, p. 280.

⁷ Extracts, p. 302.

⁸ Extracts, p. 305.

⁹ Extracts, p. 307.

¹⁰ Extracts, p. 309.

¹¹ Little significance can be attached to the fact that in 1751 the Moruca postholder was by the colonial Court of Policy sent to arrest two Indian slaves "in a branch called Waini" (Blue Book, p. 94), because, although the upper Waini, whose head waters lie close to those of the Pomeroun, was very possibly the stream in question, the stream was looked on by the Court as a branch of the Pomeroun.

¹² Extracts, p. 325.

¹³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 147.

No. 3.

roon.¹ In April, 1754, the Court of Policy granted two colonists a permit to cut timber in the Waini, subject to the payment of stipulated fees to the West India Company,² and in June of the same year another colonist received the same privilege.³

Such, in fact, was Governor Storm van 's Gravesande's conviction of Dutch ownership of the Waini, that in September, 1754, he clearly thought it adequate proof of claim to certain alleged silver mines between Essequibo and Orinoco, that they lay "even south of the Waini";⁴ and when, in the following month, coast-guard boats were fitted out to patrol the coast in view of an expected Spanish invasion from the Orinoco, they were to cruise "as far as the river Waini."⁵

In 1756 the Court of Policy was asked by still another colonist for permission to cut timber in the Waini, as well as in the Pomeroon; and this "for the space of six, eight, or more consecutive years."⁶ The governor this time opposed the petition, though only as regards the Pomeroon,⁷ and the request was referred to the West India Company. In reply to the

questions of the latter, the governor in 1758 explained the situation.⁸
 *252 The concession in 1754 to cut timber in the *Pomeroon had been withdrawn, he said, "and it was resolved to grant none further; but the making of timber in the river Waini was left free to those who should apply for it." "Of this," he adds, however, "no use was made, neither could it be made, for, on account of the sand banks lying before it, that river, where it is true, an infinite number of bourey trees are found, is unnavigable for all craft larger than our buoy-canoes." That the Company ever acted on the petition does not appear; and of actual timber-cutting in the Waini there is at no time any record.⁹

When in 1758 the raid of the Spaniards upon the Dutch post in the Cuyuni led the West India Company to inquire of the Essequibo authorities with care as to their title to that river, the governor in his reply urged that the Cuyuni's situation "so far on this side of Waini (which people claim to be the boundary, although I think it must be extended as far as Barima)" left no question as to its ownership.¹⁰ The Company's answering missive, while asking the grounds of his claim to the Barima and of his "inference that, Cuyuni being situate on this side of Waini, it must therefore necessarily belong to the colony"—since, so far as they knew, there existed no conventions prescribing "that the boundary lines in South America run

¹ Extracts, p. 340.

² Extracts, p. 343.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 98.

⁴ Extracts, p. 347.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 101.

⁶ Extracts, p. 367; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 107, 108.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 371, 374; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 108.

⁸ Extracts, pp. 375-377.

⁹ Yet cf. p. *223, above.

¹⁰ Extracts, p. 386.

No. 3.

in a straight line from the seacoast inland"—raises no objection to his claim regarding the Waini.¹

Similarly, in 1761, when the Spaniards seized some Dutch fishing boats near the mouth of the Waini, the colonial secretary, Spoors, protested to the Company that, whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the limits, "the river Waini indisputably belongs to the Company."² And the Company, though again demanding from the Governor, who had again *claimed the Barima as frontier, his reasons for this *258 opinion,³ left unquestioned the secretary's claim to the Waini.

In May of this year (1761), Governor Storm van 's Gravesande sent a patrol of soldiers into the Waini in search of a party of deserters.⁴ In 1762, when he drew up with his own hand the first directory of the colony, the Waini was the westernmost of the streams named by him as comprised wholly within the colony.⁵

In August, 1762, a fresh seizure by the Spaniards of a fishing boat in the mouth of the Waini led to a fresh assertion by the governor that the river Waini was "indisputably the territory of the Company;"⁶ and the Company, while not echoing this claim in terms, applauded the governor's zeal.⁷ Before learning of this fresh aggression they had asked from the governor of Demerara a map which should accurately locate the mouths of all the rivers between the Essequibo and the Orinoco.⁸

It is strange, then, to find Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, in his letter of protest to the governor of Trinidad about the seizure of the fishing boats, declaring in the same breath that passports are given only to "boats which go from one country or from one colony to another," and yet that the two boats seized at the mouth of the Waini "were both provided with passports in due form."⁹ These passports were perhaps only such as were given to all who went beyond the posts; and the remonstrance just at this time addressed by the Essequibo governor to the governor of Surinam against mentioning in *such passes the name *254 of the Barima, lest umbrage be given to the Spaniards, suggests by its silence that no such umbrage was caused by the name of the Waini.¹⁰

In 1763, describing to the Company the trading posts of the colony, the governor wrote that under the charge of that of Moruca are "the rivers of Pomeroon and Waini,"¹¹ and that the Indians of these rivers, "whose help is always needful for salters and traders, whether the Company's or pri-

¹ Extracts, p. 390.

² Extracts, p. 398.

³ Extracts, pp. 391, 392.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 120.

⁷ Extracts, p. 397.

⁸ Extracts, p. 395.

⁹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 123.

¹⁰ Extracts, p. 403.

¹¹ Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126.

No. 3.

vate,"¹ "have always to be kept under a sort of control." Evidence of this control was the dispatch at just this time of a body of Waini Caribs to aid in quelling the slave insurrection in Berbice.² A year later, in enumerating to the Company the more fertile lands of the colony, the governor names those of the Waini along with those of Mazaruni, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, Wacupo, and Moruca.³

It is in this year (1764) that one first finds an explicit claim to the Waini by a division of the West India Company itself. The Zeeland shareholders, in a memorial to the States-General defending their management of the Essequibo colony, describe the colony as "crossed not only by the chief river, the Essequibo, but also by several small rivers, such as Barima, Waini, Moruca, Pomeroon, and Demerara."⁴ But, alas, the West India Company was at strife within itself, and a counter memorial, submitted in 1767 by "the Representative of the Stadhouder and the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber" (whose rival claim to the colony on behalf

*255 of the Company *as a whole at last carried the day with the States-General) scouted such claims that these adjoining rivers were a part of the colony of Essequibo.⁵ It is even urged by these hostile critics that the Zeeland Chamber is not at harmony with itself as to the limits.⁷

The claim to the Waini implied in the larger claim to the Barima, and the action of Dutch and of Spanish authorities occasioned by the sojourn, in 1766-68, of Dutchmen in the latter river, may best be discussed in connection with the Barima. In 1768 a Spanish attempt to seize yet another fishing boat off the mouth of the Waini led the governor to reiterate to the Company that the river Waini was "indisputably the Company's territory;"⁸ and this time his words had a sequel. In the formal remonstrance, addressed in 1769, at the instance of the West India Company, by the States-General to the Spanish court, a definite claim was made as to the boundary on the Guiana coast. The territory of the Netherlands, according to this document, stretched "from the river Marowyn to beyond the river Waini."

So far as appears in the diplomatic correspondence of the Netherlands, no answer to this claim was ever made by Spain. Spanish aggressions, however, did not cease. In 1775 a Spanish expedition came by way of the Waini to the Moruca post itself, and its leader declared to the postholder that a Spanish guard would shortly be set at the junction of the Waini and the Barimani—the beginning of the water passage to the Moruca. The

¹ "*Nodig voor alle de zoo Comp. als particuliere souters en handelaers.*" An interesting anecdote of a trading expedition into Waini may be found on p. 139 of Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3."

² "*Ook altoos onder een soort van gezag.*"

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 133.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 428-436.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 430, 433.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 156.

No. 3.

postholder, in reply, claimed that not only Waini but Barima belonged to the Dutch; but this, said the postholder in his report of the altercation, the Spanish captain *denied.¹ It is unlikely, in view of the *256 silence not only of the Dutch records but of the Spanish officer (Inciarte) who four years later led another Spanish party by this route even into the Pomeroon, that the Spanish threat of a guard in the Waini was carried out. But from this time forward the river Waini is scarcely named again in the papers of the Dutch colony. When, in 1794, the Governor-General visited the post of Moruca he learned of the Waini only as one of the streams on the route of the Spanish lanchas which came to trade in Essequibo.² Of the nugatory scheme of the Dutch Council of the Colonies for the definition of the Guiana boundary at the Congress of Amiens in 1802, fixing it at the Barima or the Orinoco, I must speak in another connection. The Waini was unmentioned, save for the statement of the Council's envoy that the Spaniards, in their ignorance of it, thought it a mere creek.³ It was this same envoy, Ruysch, who, in a projected charter for the colony, submitted to the Council in 1803, proposed the granting to colonists of timber rights in Waini and Barima, as well as in Pomeroon.⁴ The charter was never adopted. Petitions were, however, now coming in for lands beyond Moruca; and the Council seems to have laid these before the Governor-General for his advice as to the extension of cultivation to the region between Moruca and Waini,⁵ but had not yet received his reply, when in the autumn of 1803 a fresh seizure of the Guiana colonies by the British took them forever from Dutch control.

In summary, then:

1. Settlement in the Waini there was none at any time.

*2. Save for commerce and for the fishery at the river's mouth, *257 the Waini seems never to have been actually put to use by the Dutch.

3. Permission to cut timber there was, however, repeatedly and formally granted by the Essequibo Court of Policy in the name of the West India Company; though, owing to the river's unnavigable entrance, this permission remained unused.

4. The Dutch claim to the ownership of the Waini was officially enounced to Spain in the remonstrance of 1769, and was (however forgotten in the interval) still a basis of action for the Dutch colonial authorities in the period immediately preceding the final loss of the colony.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190. For earlier and later Spanish raids, which must have made the Waini a part of their route, see above, pp. 244-246.

² Extracts, p. 616.

³ Extracts, p. 647.

⁴ Extracts, p. 659.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 659-662.

*258

*6. THE DUTCH IN THE BARIMA.

As the center and seat of the Caribs of this region, and as the door to the inland passage connecting the Orinoco with the rivers to the east, the Barima¹ seems early to have had commercial importance and to have been frequented by all the European nations trading in these parts. According to Raleigh (1596),² who is followed by the Dutch historian of the West Indies (writing in 1624), the Spanish then carried on a regular traffic to and through the Barima, "buying women and children from the Caribs and selling them at great profit in Margarita."³

*259 *In 1598 the first Dutch ships which explored this coast, on reaching the Barima, entered that river and traded with the natives.⁴ When, in 1637, the Dutch of the Guiana colonies, in league, it is said, with the Caribs, went up the Orinoco and sacked Santo Thom  ,⁵ they very probably came through this way.

But it is the French of the Caribbean islands who seem to have been, in the seventeenth century, the especial patrons and allies of the Caribs of the Barima. Father Pelleprat, the Jesuit missionary, tells us that they had invited the French to plant a colony there, and that in March, 1654, he was informed by Indians of that river "that they had already built a fort in which the French could be quartered as soon as they should arrive."⁶ And no sooner do we have reports from the Dutch colony of Essequibo than we find in them complaints of French rivalry in this region.⁷ It was,

¹ Spelled also, in early maps and documents, in sundry other ways, as Balima, Balime, Barema, Brema, Burima, Parima, Paryma, Parymo, Porama, and, in the earlier Dutch records, often Barina. These must not be confused with the earlier spellings of the name of the Pomeroon. This latter name usually appears in the 17th century under such forms as Baroma, Baruma, Bouroma (see note, p. 214, above), the form Pomeroon being scarcely a century old. What alone always distinguishes the names is the accented vowel, which, in the name of the Barima, varies from *i* to *e* or *y*, but never to *e* or *u*; while in that of the Pomeroon it is always *o* or *u*, or some equivalent of these. Much confusion has arisen from their resemblance. Thus the passage of Fray Pedro Simon (*Noticias Historiales*, p. 664) about the expedition from the Orinoco, in 1619, of the Spanish Captain Geronimo de Grados, into "the river Baruma, which is the first in those provinces where the Arawak Nation dwells," has been taken to mean the Barima. But there are reasons quite apart from this spelling of the name why the Pomeroon must be meant. Though Arawaks, like Raleigh's pilot, lived scattered among the Warrows of the coast to the west of the Pomeroon, yet, according to all the early narrators, this region was mainly Carib; and they agree (e. g., Keymis, Harcourt, De Laet—and cf. Major John Scott, *Extracts*, p. 136) in making the Pomeroon, or its little neighbor, the Moruca, the first occupied by the Arawaks. Moreover, this expedition "for the chastisement of the Arawaks" is called by Fray Simon himself "an assault on the Essequibo and the Berbice, the principal dwelling-place of the Arawaks;" and it was only as a prelude to his attack on these rivers that the Spanish captain entered the "Baruma" at all.

² *Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk, p. 39.

³ Jan de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1625, p. 480; ed. of 1630, p. 583.

⁴ *Extracts*, p. 17.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 212-217.

⁶ As already pointed out by Professor Jameson. See p. 68 of this volume [i. e. U. S. Com. Rep., v. 1.].

⁷ Letters of the Essequibo Commandeur, January 8, 1683; March 31, 1684; January 15, 1685; June 7, 1686. (*Extracts*, pp. 156, 160, 172, 182, 188, 190.)

No. 3.

as will be seen, a rivalry not without results to the Dutch. In 1684, when the French of these neighboring West India Islands raided the Orinoco and occupied Santo Thomé, the Caribs in the Barima showed their loyalty by murdering the crew and scuttling the ship of a Dutchman from Surinam, who had come thither for trade; and already they threatened to come with the French and lay waste the Dutch colony of Essequibo.¹ The threat was no vain one, for in 1689 the French, aided by the Caribs of the Barima, made their way in canoes from that river through the Moruca passage and utterly destroyed the new Dutch colony on the Pomeroon; then, returning to the Barima, fortified *themselves in that river.*²⁶⁰ In 1695, aided by the Caribs of the Barima, they were even stationed in the mouth of the Pomeroon.³

As for the Dutch themselves, that firm friendship with the Caribs which in the eighteenth century made both so formidable to their Spanish neighbors seems as yet only slowly growing up. Again and again these savages had annihilated Dutch colonies on the Guiana coast.⁴ Those of Berbice and Essequibo, which survived, were in a region peopled mainly by Arawaks; and when the letters of the Essequibo commandeurs (preserved from 1679 onward) first give us light upon the inner history of that colony, we find it still in terror of the Caribs.⁵ Already in 1673, however, the energetic Hendrik Rol, then Commandeur in Essequibo, was trafficking with the Caribs of the Barima, and had opened a trade with the Spaniards of the Orinoco which could hardly be carried on without Carib connivance.⁶ It was perhaps to this illicit trade with the Spanish colony on the Orinoco, to which the new West India Company had from the first been stirring up the Essequibo governors,⁷ but *which seems not fully under way *261 until 1679, that the Dutch of Essequibo owed their earliest relations

¹ Extracts, pp. 163, 164. These Caribs, it is true, are alleged to have come from the Coppenam, whence they had been driven out by the Dutch of Surinam; but as they remained in the Barima, they must thenceforward be reckoned to the Barima Caribs.

² Letter of the Pomeroon Commandeur, July 6, 1689 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 66), and of the Essequibo Commandeur, January 7, October 12, 1689. Extracts, pp. 188, 190

³ Letter of the Essequibo Commandeur, June 24, 1695. Extracts, p. 195. As to the English in the Barima I find no explicit evidence, but the phrase of Commandeur Beekman in his letter of January 7, 1689, seems to imply that they were no strangers there, and in 1678 they were cruising in the Amacura, close by. (See p. *294 below.)

⁴ According to Major John Scott, it was they who destroyed a Zealand colony of 1615 on the Cayenne; they murdered the Dutchmen from the Amazon who had taken refuge in the Wiapoco in 1625 (Jan de Laet, *Historie*, pp. 112, 113); and they are believed to have caused the ruin of the ambitious colonies sent to those rivers in 1627. (Cf. Netscher, p. 56.)

⁵ Letter of Essequibo Commandeur, October 20, 1679—the earliest preserved. (Extracts, p. 145.)

⁶ Extracts, p. 140.

⁷ Letters of the Zealand Chamber, February 22, 1675; November 30, 1675; November 6, 1677; December 30, 1678; February 24, 1680; May 22, 1681; September 29, 1681; June 18, 1682. (Extracts, pp. 141-144, 147, 150, 153, 154.) This trade was, of course, in direct contravention of the Treaty of Münster.

No. 3.

*262 with the Barima.¹ *The route of this trade through the inland passage to the Orinoco *via* the Moruca, the Waini, the Barima, threaded only the lower course of these rivers, and lay mainly in the region occupied by the Warrows of the coast; but it could hardly fail to

¹ For Mr. Rodway's statement (*Hist.*, p. 168) that "about the middle of the seventeenth century there was a Dutch outpost at the mouth of the Barima, where a slave market of the Caribs was held," I can find nowhere the slightest warrant. The slave market is probable enough, but not under Dutch auspices. The river was, for that matter, always such a slave mart. The error as to a Dutch outpost comes, I suspect, from some misunderstanding of *Baruma* or *Baroma* (Pomeroon) for Barima, such as I have pointed out in a note above. The mention in Mr. Rodway's unfinished earlier work (*Annals of Guiana*, i, p. 187), in connection with the Pomeroon colony of 1658-1665, of "its outposts at Barima Point" is almost certainly such a confusion, a mistaken inference from Major John Scott's mention of *Bowroome* (i. e., Pomeroon).

Even more certainly due to this source of error are the statements of Mr. Schomburgk (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," pp. 22, 25, 26): "It is affirmed that it [the alleged post on the Barima] was in existence when the English, under Major John Scott, destroyed the Fort New Zealand and plundered New Middelburg, and there are still documents of the Dutch West India Company in existence, by which the directors desired the commandant of Pomeroon to keep the fortified post of the Barima in repair." Major John Scott reports, indeed, his capture of Bowroome, or Baroma (Extracts, p. 135, and *Calendar of State Papers*, as there cited); but this is the Pomeroon. Of the Barima he says nothing of the sort—spelling the name of that river, when he has occasion to mention it, "Parema" or "Poraema" (Extracts, p. 136). And, in the documents of the West India Company, the engineer Gollat, acting as commandant in the Pomeroon, is indeed charged with the laying out of fortifications in "Boumeronne;" but this again means the Pomeroon. (Extracts, pp. 127, 128; and cf. pp. *196, *215, above.) I have read with much care all the extant records of the Dutch West India Company relating to this period and have found in them no mention of the Barima. And General Netscher, who has searched the same records, has been able to find no more than I. Nor does Major John Scott, whether in his report to the British Government or in his manuscript chapter on Guiana, know of any Barima outpost; nor yet the contemporary French narrators, Barbot (agent-general of the French Royal Company of Africa and the Islands of America—his relation is to be found in Churchill's *Voyages*, v, pp. 548-570) and Clodoré (an officer of the French fleet on these coasts—his *Relation* was published in two volumes at Paris in 1671).

Mr. Schomburgk's error is shared, in part at least, by his friend Alexander von Humboldt, whom he quotes (p. 22) to the same effect: "They [the Dutch] had even taken military possession of the eastern bank of the small Rio Barima before the English (in 1666) had destroyed the forts of New Zealand and New Middelburgh on the right bank of Pomeroon." But that great naturalist was, alas, a careless historian, and there is no reason to suspect him here of independent knowledge.

But Mr. Schomburgk has another statement as to the Barima which is more startling and which even more certainly must point to a confusion with the Pomeroon. In his letter of June 22, 1841, to the governor of British Guiana he avers, not only that "the Dutch, when in possession of these colonies, were in actual occupation of the mouth of the Barima," but that "some merchants of Middleburg, subjects of the States-General, had a colony in that river." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 194; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 8.) The earlier memorial by himself from which he professes to quote this claim has not been given in full to the public; and, in the part of it which has been printed (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," 183, 184), no such passage is to be found. As Mr. Schomburgk wrote from his camp in the wilderness, and could hardly have had at hand the means for verifying his statements, it will be perhaps kindest to suppose that his memory was here at fault.

The statement of General Netscher (in an article in the *Tijdspiegel* for March, 1896) that in 1679 Commandeur Beekman proposed to the West India Company to occupy the Barima *anew*, and that this was declined by the Zealand Chamber in a letter of February 24, 1680, on the ground that the Orinoco was too far off for trade, is also a mistake, as I am able to state on the authority of that able and generous scholar himself, who made with me a joint examination of these records and who fully concurs in the results I have reached. The error arose from a misreading of certain old notes taken by him nearly a decade earlier for his history of the Guiana colonies, and is, indeed, in conflict with the text of his history itself, where nothing of this sort will be found.

No. 3.

give a glimpse of the wealth of the forests and to open a door to traffic with their inhabitants. That this Carib traffic was not yet in Dutch hands is clear from Commandeur Beekman's letter of January, 1683, which cautions the Company that the Indians must not be repelled by too shrewd bargaining, since when offered trash for their wares they only meet you with the tart answer that they can swap for plenty of such things in Barima and elsewhere—"and there is some truth in this," he adds, "on account of the traffic which the French from the islands carry on there."¹ But, before the end of this same year, on Christmas day of 1683, Commandeur Beekman sent to the Company another message about Barima. "In Barima," he writes, "I have had *one of the Company's employés *263 take up his abode, since there is much annatto and letter-wood there, and it is close by Pomeroon, and some two or three times lately it has been traded in by Gabriel Biscop and exploited with great success, much to the prejudice of the Company. I hope this will meet your approval. That trade, both there and in Pomeroon, I have forbidden to him, and to all others as well. I wish the Company would take that river also into its possession, as I have provisionally done in order to see what revenues it will yield, since I am of opinion that the Company can do as good a trade there in an open river as can private individuals."²

This passage, the earliest connecting the Dutch with the Barima, deserves careful study. But there is in the following letter of the Essequibo Commandeur one which should be studied with it. Writing again to the Company on March 31, 1684, before there had been time for an answer from Europe to his letter of Christmas day, Commandeur Beekman reports:

Pomeroon begins to furnish annually much and good annatto, and much was brought from Barima, as appears from the inclosed list, under No. 7, from which you will see how much has been got by barter here at the fort as well as by all the outliers; but Gabriel Biscop and other searovers from Surinam not only spoil that trade, but buy up all the letter-wood, which is there fairly abundant and good, and also all the carap oil and hammocks, so that this year I have got only a very few, and they old and wretched. They traverse and scour the land even into the river Cuyuni. In order somewhat to check this, I have had a small shelter made in Barima; and Abraham Boudardt, who is stationed there³ as out-

¹ Extracts, p. 156. From a comparison of this passage with p. 140 it would seem that the one thing as yet sought in this region by the Dutch of Essequibo was the carap oil needed in the preparation of their dyes.

² Extracts, pp. 158, 159. To my no small chagrin, despite very great pains with the proofs, a phrase (happily, not an important one) has here been omitted in the printing. Between the words "*van Gabriel Biscop bevaeren en met*" and the words "*grootse prejuditie*" should stand the words "*groot succes af gehaald, tot*"—as required by the translation opposite.

³ He was the outlier in Pomeroon. At first glance this "there" seems to refer to the Barima, and it is of course possible that Galle (and then Boudardt) was the "employé" mentioned in the December letter as left on that river; but we know that in July, 1684, Boudardt was the Pomeroon outlier (see Extracts, pp. 162, 164). It is not improbable that "there" is vaguely used for the whole region to which both the Pomeroon and the Barima belong—meaning, that is, "in that quarter." Phrases as

No. 3.

*264 *lier in place of Daniel Galle, who is going home, shall *sometimes visit that place and stir up the Caribs to the trade in annatto and letter-wood—which even the French from the islands frequently come with their vessels and get. It would therefore, if I may suggest, not be amiss that the West India Company, in order to get the aforesaid trade, should take that river Barima into possession, and should establish there a permanent outliershship.*¹

At these passages, on which much of assertion has been based, let us look with care. The Essequibo commandeur here reports three acts of his own. Late in 1683—doubtless at the beginning of the dry season, when the dye was collected from the Indians—he had caused an employé to sojourn on the Barima to traffic with the Indians for annatto and letter-wood and perhaps to warn off other traders. That the sojourn was but temporary, and was meant to be so, is clear from a second thing done by the commandeur. By the end of March—the dry season now drawing to a close—he had had built on the Barima a shelter, a structure meant not

for residence, but for an occasional visit from the Pomeroon outlier,
*265 *who was thus to keep the Caribs stirred up to the dye trade.²

A third act reported by the commandeur is of graver significance. He had forbidden to Gabriel Biscop, “and to all others as well,” the annatto and letter-wood trade in the Barima and the Pomeroon. He had, that is to

ambiguous are not rare in these rambling epistles of Abraham Beekman. The phrase “*die plaetse*” in the following line can possibly mean “*those places*” (as translated by the Blue Book), since the *n* of the plural is in these documents often omitted; but its natural and regular meaning is “*that place*,” and this reading alone makes sense here.

¹ That this translation differs in points by no means unimportant from that given in the British Blue Book I am well aware, and can only ask that both be compared with the original Dutch. To the British translation of *uitlegger*, “outlier,” by “postholder,” I have no objection, save that this latter word seems to carry with it implication of a fixedness and stability such as, I fear, had not yet become the uniform quality of an outlier. The translation, “strong little place for a postholder,” given by the Blue Book for the final phrase of the passage, is an impossible rendering, as I was assured by all in Holland to whom I submitted the passage. What is meant is not a building, but a function. See Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 59 (No. 11); Extracts, pp. 159, 160.

² As to what sort of a shelter (*pleisterhuisje*, literally “little rest-house”), this probably was, we need not be in doubt. Adriaan van Berkel, writing of these Guiana colonies only a few years before (1679), gives us a vivid description of one (p. 16). He is speaking of a trip down the Berbice. “This night for the first time I slept on land, in the forest, with my hammock made fast to two trees. Just before I was ready to go to rest our slaves had built for me a *pleisterhuisje*—so called by both Christians and Indians—at the place where the hammock was to be stretched. There are four posts, the front ones somewhat higher than the rear ones, covered over with a roof of leaves, leaves uncommonly large, being usually 4 or 5 feet long and some 2 feet broad. Neither sun nor rain can here vex one, for the leaves lie so close upon each other that not even the rays of that great luminary can penetrate. Such *pleisterhuisjes* one sees along the entire river; and one has them built in a moment wherever one will, for an Indian is like the turtle—everywhere at home.” And, for that matter, one meets them constantly in the records. (See, for example, the journals of the Surinam expedition of 1714 and of Hildebrandt, the mining engineer—Extracts, pp. 224–228, 285–301). Such one must have wherever one stayed overnight. It is possibly worth noting that, while *pleisterhuisje* means a “little shelter,” this on the Barima was only a “*small pleisterhuisje*,” yet it is quite as likely that the commandeur was only belittling the importance of his own action. On the other hand, when proposing a *dwelling* for a postholder he calls it a *huycken*, a hut. (See his letter of October 20, 1679, Extracts, p. 145.)

No. 3.

say, taken the Barima, like the Pomeroon, into the possession of the West India Company, but only provisionally, so as to learn its revenues and while awaiting the approval of the Company; and that he hardly expected his prohibition to be effective he implies by adding his opinion that even in an open river the Company can do as good a trade as other people.¹

Authority either to claim or to maintain such possession he *con- *266 fessedly had none. He can but "hope" the approval of his course by the West India Company and add to the report of his own acts certain suggestions for the Company's action: at Christmas he "wishes" that "the Company would take that river also into its possession," and in March he suggests that "it would not be amiss² for the West India Company . . . to take the river Barima into its possession and to establish there a permanent outliershhip." Before basing any conclusions upon this action it is, then, of the highest importance to know what the Company replied. Yet, before passing to that, it will be well to glance a little more fully at the circumstances of the case.

The West India Company now in question was the new Company created by the wholly new charter of 1674. The charter of the old Company, in 1621, had granted it monopoly of trade, and therewith the right to plant colonies in uninhabited districts, to erect fortresses, to exercise territorial authority, within vast limits—the entire coast of America, not to mention those of West Africa and of the Southern Sea. But the new charter of 1674 knows nothing of such vast limits; of the whole continent of America it grants only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon," and there is no longer any mention of the colonizing of uninhabited districts. Nor are Essequibo and Pomeroon in any wise defined, directly or by implication, otherwise than by their names.³ Even the *Pomeroon *267 was not occupied by the new Company until in 1679, when Beekman, the Essequibo commandeur, suggested that "it would not be a bad idea to build there a hut for two or three men, so that they may dwell permanently among the Indians and occupy that river."⁴ The Indians would thus, he urged, be stimulated to the annatto trade. This was, as I have already elsewhere suggested,⁵ in all probability the beginning of that

¹ If the Blue Book's translation of this clause be correct, "that the Honourable Company *has the right* to trade and traffic there in an open river as much as other private persons," it is a much stronger argument for Beekman's belief that the river is not yet the property of the Company; but I can not believe this translation admissible.

² Etymologically the word "*onbillijk*," here translated "amiss," means indeed "inequitable," as it is translated by the Blue Book, but this was not its current sense, and the context does not suggest that meaning here. "It would not be a bad idea" is perhaps the best equivalent, there being as little notion of want of equity in *onbillijk* as of moral turpitude in "bad idea."

³ The statement of Mr. Schomburgk (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 233; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25) that "the latter" (Pomeroon) "extended to the mouth of the Orinoco" is, so far as my research can determine, unwarranted by anything in the earlier history or in the discussions at the time.

⁴ Extracts, p. 145.

⁵ See p. *205, above.

No. 3.

system of trade outposts of which we hear so much in all the later history of the colony; and it was very probably the success of this suggestion which now led this same Beekman in 1683-84 to urge the similar occupation of the Barima. But the grounds of this later suggestion are not quite the same: he had urged them to "occupy" the Pomeroon,—he urges them to "take into possession" the Barima. The Pomeroon was to be occupied, in order that, by the presence of buyers, the Indians might be stimulated to furnish more annatto; the Barima, "in order to get the trade" which else would go to the French and Surinam traders. It is clear, then, that in the eyes of Commandeur Beekman, the Barima is not yet an actual possession of the Company. Yet it can not be questioned that his prohibition of trade there is a distinct assertion of claim, as his statement that such trade is "to the prejudice of the Company" is the distinct assumption of a right—the claim and right, not of Holland in general, but of the Dutch West India Company, since else the Dutchman Gabriel Biscop could not have been warned off, or spoken of as though as much an intruder as the French.

After all, these were but the provisional acts of a subordinate. What did the Company answer? Directly, nothing. Neither the proceedings *268 of the Zeeland Chamber nor those of *the supreme board—the Ten—show any discussion of the matter. The correspondence of the Zeeland Chamber, in whose hands was the immediate direction of the Guiana colonies, is preserved in full; but in their long reply to Beekman's letter there is from beginning to end no mention of Barima.¹ That reply is, however, a mere string of reproaches. The poor commandeur's financial honor, his justice, his commercial good sense, are in turn discredited. He is accused of transcending his powers. Even the Dutch of his letters is found fault with. Amid this array of charges is one which may suggest why the matter of the Barima is ignored. "Concerning the trade to the Orinoco," which up to this time, as we have seen, had been constantly encouraged by the Company, they now write, "We find it advisable that you stop it, and neither trade thither yourself nor permit trade thither, directly or indirectly, until further orders—since we are of opinion that the Company bears all the expenses and burdens, while others help themselves to the profits." This charge of bad faith in his trade to the Orinoco is repeated in even more explicit terms in a later letter;² and the reopening of this trade was not again urged until Abraham Beekman had given place to a successor. Now, the lower Barima lay on the route to the Orinoco; and it is not impossible that to the angry and suspicious directors the shelter and the proposed post on the Barima promised less for the profit of their own annatto traffic than for that disastrous trade to the Orinoco

¹ Lest there could be a mistake about this, their reply of August 24, 1684, is transcribed and printed in full. See *Extracts*, pp. 164-171.

² Letter of Zeeland Chamber, January 14, 1686. *Extracts*, p. 182.

No. 3.

out of which they suspected their commandeur of making himself rich¹.

*But there was at least one other reason, quite apart from any possible doubt as to their title, why the West India Company was unlikely at just this time to be eager for the occupation of the Barima. The annatto trade was no longer a paying one; and the Essequibo colony was now costing more than it came to. Even the Zeelands were discouraged, and on September 23, 1685, they instructed their deputies to the Ten, "inasmuch as the river Essequibo is in no condition to yield a profit, since the annatto dye is selling badly and is obtained in several colonies," to submit for deliberation "whether it were not more expedient to throw open the river to all private traders."² Their colleagues readily concurred, and on January 14, 1686, Beekman was notified that "the annatto dye is fairly a drug on the market, since it not only comes in larger quantities from Essequibo, but is also brought from other lands and regions," and therefore, "for this and other reasons," the Board of Ten has resolved to throw open the river Essequibo, together with the Pomeroon, to free trade.³ Surely this was no time to add to their burdens the care of another river, and one whose chief product was annatto.

Whatever their reason, it is certain that the West India Company never answered the suggestion as to a Barima post; and Beekman himself never mentioned it again. Early in 1686 the Company cut him off from all relations with the Barima by establishing on the Pomeroon a new colony, and naming as its commandeur Beekman's old foe, Jacob de Jonge. With a colony on the Pomeroon, an outlier there was no longer needed; and throughout the three years of the Pomeroon colony's existence the detailed letters of its commandeur make no mention of the Barima—and no wonder, for it was probably then in the possession of the French.⁴ It was at the hands of *French and Caribs from the Barima that the Pomeroon *270 colony fell, in April of 1689. In October of that year Beekman, still commandeur of Essequibo, reported in alarm that "the French are building a strong-house in Barima; they come there often with three or four barques to trade with those hostile Caribs, and threaten soon to come and pay us a visit."⁵ But the Company, while acknowledging the tidings, only suggested precautions for the safety of Essequibo.⁶ Annatto was then again in great demand, and the Essequibo commandeur was urged to use "every

¹ How serious was their distrust of Beekman may be gathered from the fact that at the meeting of the Ten on December 7, 1686, the deputies of the Zeeland Chamber made formal complaints against that commandeur. These were made a topic of deliberation for the ensuing April meeting, and on April 19, 1687, the Zeeland Chamber was by resolution requested to send in its charges in writing, with Beekman's answer thereto. He was dismissed in 1690.

² *Nederlandsch Jaerboek*, 1751, p. 808.

³ Letter of Zeeland Chamber, January 14, 1686. Extracts, p. 181.

⁴ See p. *259, above, and Extracts, pp. 172, 182, 188.

⁵ Letter of Essequibo Commandeur, October 12, 1689. Extracts, p. 190.

⁶ Letter of Zeeland Chamber, May 18, 1690. Extracts, p. 191.

No. 3.

conceivable means to supply it."¹ This was also urged in the commission of the new commandeur, Samuel Beekman, in December of that year.² But the French seem to have maintained for years their alliance with the Barima Caribs against the Dutch,³ and no more is heard of the Barima in Dutch records of the seventeenth century.

In the muster-rolls of the Company's servants in Essequibo for 1691 and 1701 no Barima post appears among the others.⁴ And when, in 1703, the Essequibo commandeur had occasion to speak of the exclusion of Surinam traders "here in our district," he defined the phrase by "Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Demerara," with no mention of the Barima.⁵ The little shelter built on the Barima in 1684 may long have stood on the bank of that stream; but the Pomeroon outlier, dispossessed in 1686, could have paid it, at most, but few visits. In fact, as it was scarcely built *271 before the French, in that very summer of *1684, were in possession of the Orinoco, while their allies, the Caribs of the Barima, were murdering the Dutchman Gabriel Biscop and breathing out threats against the Dutch of Essequibo, it is highly probable that he never visited it at all. Indeed, it is not altogether impossible that the attempt of the Dutch commandeur to take possession of the Barima may have been one of the inciting causes of this Orinoco raid of the Martinique French and that their own occupation of the Barima during the next decade or two was more constant than can with certainty be affirmed from Dutch sources. The shelter's site is matter for conjecture.⁶ It is most probable that it was not far from the point where the usual route from the

¹ Extracts, p. 192.

² December 9, 1690. It is printed by Netscher, pp. 372-374.

³ See letter of Essequibo Commandeur, June 24, 1695, cited on page 260, above, and action of the Court of Policy, November 19, 1701. Extracts, pp. 195, 201-203.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 192, 199. These are the earliest muster-rolls remaining to us. From this date on there are few years for which they are wanting.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 70.

⁶ The assumption of Mr. Schomburgk, so constantly repeated since, that it was at the mouth of the river, is without documentary warrant and improbable. No object for such a site—without water and remote both from the Caribs, with whom the Dutch wished to trade, and from their own colony—is easily conceivable. It is impossible that such a shelter could have left the remains which Mr. Schomburgk says Colonel Moody found there in 1807. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 194; "Venezuela No. 3," p. 3.) It is far more probable that these were remains of the fort built by the French in 1689 (see p. 270 above.) The Surinam expedition sent to the Orinoco in 1711 stopped at the mouth of the Barima, both in going and coming, and makes no mention of a shelter there, though its journal always mentions one when found. (Extracts, pp. 224-228.) That site would have been a more natural one for the French, who, on their way from the islands to the Barima, would here first reach the mainland, than for the Dutch of the Guiana colonies, who came through the Moruca and reached the Barima by the Mora Passage. I have never yet found in any Dutch document a mention of Barima Point, and have no reason to believe that the Dutch ever attached importance to it. Not even the description of Hartsinck or the map of Bouchenoeder, though so often cited in support of the claim, place the traditional Barima post at the mouth of the river. Hartsinck speaks of it only as "on the river," and Bouchenoeder's map places it above what must be meant for the Mora Passage. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that either had any definite knowledge as to the matter.

No. 3.

Essequibo and the Pomeroon first reaches the Barima, i. e., at or near the junction of the Mora Passage with that river.¹ *A Surinam *272 party returning in 1711 from an expedition up the Orinoco found in the Barima, somewhat more than halfway from its mouth to the Mora Passage, a stopping-place ("pleisterplaats") whose name was unknown to them, and there rested over night.² It was possibly the abandoned shelter of 1684. It seems more probable that the Dutch shelter stood above, rather than below, the Mora Passage, toward the seat of the dye trade, and that this stopping-place of 1711—just a day's canoeing from the mouth of the river—was due to Indians or traders whose approach was from that side.

The pay-rolls of the Essequibo colony, which from 1700 on give us, year by year, full information as to the staff of every outpost, know no post on the Barima. It is not till 1717 that I again find mention of that river in the documents of that colony. Then the private settlers of the colony addressed to the West India Company an indignant remonstrance against the restrictions put upon their freedom of trade, protesting that thus an unfair advantage is given the colonists of Berbice and Surinam, who may trade as they will, whether in Pomeroon, Moruca, Waini, Barima, Orinoco, or Trinidad.³ It is impossible to guess from the context whether the Barima is thought of as belonging to Holland or Spain or to neither, and the answer of the Company is equally equivocal on this point.⁴

In 1722 the engineer, Maurain-Saincterre, who had been sent over by the West India Company to lay out in Essequibo *the new fort on *273 Flag Island, sent home—doubtless at the Company's request—a very thoughtful report on the condition of the colony, with suggestions for its betterment. "One might also," he thinks, "establish many plantations in the rivers Demerara, Pomeroon, Waini, Barima, and in all the creeks thereabout."⁵ Here is distinctly implied a belief that the Barima belongs to the colony. But what the Company thought of it remains in doubt, for they took no action on the suggestion.

A dozen years later there came a yet more pressing occasion for an opinion. In 1734 the Spanish governor of Orinoco sent to Gelskerke, the Essequibo commandeur, to buy supplies for a large body of troops just arrived in the Orinoco, and explained that the troops were to be used

¹ That the route by the Mora Passage was the usual one to the Barima and the Orinoco, both going and returning, is abundantly clear from the records. Thus in 1708 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 71) the Essequibo commandeur says that this creek named Mora "was a spot where the deserters assuredly must pass" in their flight to the Orinoco, and so it proved. (See also the Surinam journal of 1711, cited above—Extracts, pp. 224-228.) The sea route by the mouth of the Orinoco was little used by the inter-colonial commerce. I find no mention of the early use of the upper passage from the Waini to the Barima—the Itabo Moreba—though it is, of course, not impossible that this was in use in 1684 and that the Barima shelter was at or near it and therefore high up the river.

² Extracts, p. 227.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 75, 76.

⁴ Extracts, p. 243; cf. also pp. 238-241.

⁵ Extracts, p. 248.

No. 3.

against a Swedish attempt to plant a colony on the Barima.¹ Gelskerke furnished the supplies, but wrote home to the West India Company in much trepidation.² The story of the Swedes, he feared, might be but a ruse of the Spaniard, whose strength was now alarming, in view of the weakness of Essequibo. Yet the Spanish story seemed confirmed by a rumor which had been for some time afloat in the colony. A Swedish skipper, who a couple of years before had put in at Essequibo, was to return, it was said, "in order to take possession in the river Barima of a tract of land which the King of Spain had given to the late Elector of Bavaria, then governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and which the Elector had presented to the King of Sweden." In any case, troops should be sent to Essequibo; for, urged Gelskerke, "if the Swedes should undertake *274 to try *to establish themselves between the Orinoco and this colony on your territory, it would be my duty to prevent it."³

Now, it is not quite clear from this whether Gelskerke meant that the Barima belonged to the Company, or that, if the Swedes should be unable to get the Barima, they might trespass on the Company's territory adjoining. The former seems the simpler interpretation, yet it is strange that he had not earlier apprised the Company of the rumor about the Swedish captain, and that he has no word of protest either for the alleged Spanish grant or for the more aggressive claim implied by the importation of troops for the forcible dispossession of the Swedes. Nor had he protested to the Orinoco governor, whose own courteous letter had cleverly ignored the question of title while deprecating interference by expressing the conviction that the Dutch would not be able to tolerate so proud and haughty neighbors as the Swedes.⁴

But if the commandeur's position is hard to understand, that of the West India Company is inscrutable. If that body had an opinion it never revealed it. No reply, as to the Swedish colony, was made to the Commandeur, and no communication was made to the States-General.

The Swedes never came, and the Barima remained unoccupied. Yet not without visitors, for in 1735 the Essequibo Court of Policy had to deal sharply with a colonist named Jan Couderas, who had taken a pass thither to collect certain red slaves due from the Indians of the Barima to a fellow-colonist, and having collected the debt, had appropriated it, and had gone off with a party of French from Martinique, whom he found trading on that river. Nor this alone; but, buying a boat with the avails of his stolen slaves, he had come back as its captain for another visit *275 to the Barima, and had even had *the effrontery with a fellow

¹ "Situated between the Orinoco and the Company's post Wacupo," explains the Commandeur in his report of this matter to the West India Company—whether adopting a phrase of the Spaniard's letter or interpolating one of his own, can not be guessed. The Spaniard's letter was not transmitted to the Company and has not been found.

² June 8, 1734. Extracts, pp. 267-266.

³ Extracts, p. 262.

⁴ Extracts, p. 269.

No. 3.

Frenchman and a canoe of Caribs to enter the Essequibo itself after wares for further trade with the Indians. He was said, moreover, to have threatened to carry off the Essequibo colonists who traded to the Orinoco or sought that river for fishing; but this he denied, confessing only his embezzlement. He was, therefore, banished—a penalty dire, indeed, under the circumstances.¹ Was there fear of offending the French? The episode shows, at least, that the French still traded in the Barima; nor is there, in the proceedings, as reported, or in the contemporary correspondence with the Company, any questioning of their right to do so.

The scanty mentions of the Barima thus far found in Dutch records imply, surely, no very exclusive Dutch relations with that river. The next mention, in 1744, is full of promise for a closer tie. The Caribs of the Barima, after much urging from the colony, had captured and murdered a band of runaway slaves; and now their elated chief offered to become responsible for all future runaways escaping toward the Orinoco if only a postholder might be stationed in the Barima²—a petition not so strange if one remembers the rum which was always on tap at a Dutch post for every Indian caller, to say nothing of the less certain but more substantial rewards of which the victorious Caribs had just had token.³

*Commandeur Storm van 's Gravesande, into whose able hands *276 the colony had lately come, forwarded the suggestion at once to the Company, adding in its support that such a post would be of much use for the trade in boats and in Indian slaves.⁴ This time the Company, whose confidence in the new commandeur was exceptional, responded at once, and with favor. They graciously reply that "the placing of a postholder in Barima for the purpose stated by your letter we are not averse to your making trial of, but recommend, however, that you take good care that through this channel no frauds be carried on"⁵—they had just been setting

¹ Extracts, pp. 274-276.

² Letter of April 1, 1744 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 85, and Extracts, p. 303).

³ This estimate of the persuasive power of Dutch rum rests not alone on the complaints of the Spanish missionaries, but on the solid evidence of the accounts of the Company's plantations against the Company's posts for the supply of this necessity. Its consumption at the Moruca post, which lay nearest the Barima Caribs, was especially large, and was expressly justified by this need of hospitality to the Indians. As at the governor's residence, so at the posts, no Indian was suffered to go thirsty away. Even when in 1803 (April 26) Governor Meertens humanely urged placing over the postholders "Protectors of the Indians," he suggested that these Protectors be authorized to purchase "the necessary rum and molasses" "*de nodige Rum en Melassie*" for the welcome of the Indians, and pointed out that "the Postholders should also be put in a position to give a glass of rum to the Indians who should visit them" ("*De Posthouders diende ook in staat gesteld te wezen de Indiaan die by hun koomen een glaasje Rum te geven*"). Even the consoling qualities of spirits were not unknown; for in the same governor's journal (April 9, 1803) we find an order to his quartermaster to deliver "to certain Indians whose father and brother were lately shot dead in the expedition against the bush-negroes" two jugs of rum, some codfish, and six flasks of wine" ("*twee Pullen Rum wat Bakkeljaars en 6 Flessen Wyn*"). The Spanish missionaries complained especially of their powerlessness with the Indians against this Dutch means of allurements.

⁴ Letter of April 1, 1744, as above.

⁵ Letter of Zeeland Chamber, August 24, 1744 (Extracts, p. 304).

No. 3.

forth their suspicions as to the smuggling of sugar out of the colony. Even more gracious, just at this juncture, was the supreme board of the Ten. In the brief but flattering missive written him on October 2, 1744, after reading the letter in which he suggests a Barima post, they make, indeed, no mention of this particular suggestion—possibly because it seemed of minor importance, quite as possibly because it belonged to the Zeeland Chamber to deal with this; but they assure him that “we have seen with peculiar satisfaction both your zeal and your industry for bringing the colony of Essequibo into a flourishing state, as well as the good success of your plans and of your attention to the profit of the Company and to the better administration of its affairs. We approve your arrangements *277 and *transactions for the attainment of these ends.” And, in token of this approval, they send him “two casks of red wine.”¹

Yet this post was never established. Two years later, on March 19, 1746, the commandeur explained to the Company that he had not yet established any post in Barima because he had not yet found a competent postholder for so important a station.² The proposed post is never again expressly mentioned, while his frequent mentions of the Barima from now on to the end of his governorship are of such sort as quite to preclude the existence of a Dutch post in that river. And, what is yet more convincing, the muster and pay rolls year by year sent home from the colony make it sure that no servant of the Company was ever stationed at such a post or paid for service there.

This failure to plant a post there is the more striking because at least as early as 1748 there had come to the commandeur's ears a tradition of the existence there of a Dutch post at some earlier time. In December of that year he reported this tradition to the Company. The Spaniards were advancing in the Cuyuni, and Storm wished to know the proper limits of the colony. According to the dictum of the old men and the Indians, he said, its jurisdiction should stretch westward from the frontier of Berbice as far as the river Barima, where in old days there was a post; but this dictum, he thinks, gives not the slightest assurance.³ Yet he counted it of weight enough to insert a mention of this alleged Barima post in the map he was just then preparing for the Company.⁴ And once again, a dozen years later, he mentioned the same tradition.⁵ He had spoken, he said, *278 with some very old Caribs, who could *remember the time when the Company had a post in Barima. They had often asked, they told him, its reestablishment, that they might no longer be annoyed by the traders⁶ from Surinam.

¹ The Dutch of a part of this is given by Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 114, 115.

² Extracts, p. 304. Cf. Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 86.

³ Extracts, p. 322. Cf. Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 90.

⁴ See Atlas, map 60.

⁵ In his letter of August 13, 1761 (Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 117).

⁶ “*Suervers*,” not “pirates,” but “rovers,” i. e., wandering traders. See p. *209, above.

No. 3.

The tradition thus stated in the two letters of the Essequibo governor was in 1770 given to a wider public by Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of these Guiana colonies, a writer who used both Storm's map and his letters;¹ and it was probably from Hartsinck (or directly from the map and the letters) that it was borrowed by the Bouchenroeder map in 1798.² There is, at least, no reason why both Hartsinck and Bouchenroeder may not thus have learned it through Storm's letters; and I have found no other source from which they could have drawn it. It is through Hartsinck and Bouchenroeder that the tradition has become general.

But what shall be said of the tradition itself? Is it possible that a post else lost to record once really existed on the Barima, or can the tradition be otherwise explained? The period since 1700 may at once be dismissed from thought; the muster and pay rolls make that certain. This falls in, too, with Storm's statement: it is "old" men and "very old" Caribs on whose authority the tradition rests. But in the years just prior to 1700, as we have seen, it is not merely the silence of the records, but the known relations of the French with the Barima, which, from 1684 on, forbid thought of a Dutch post in that river; while the language of Commandeur Beekman in 1684, when urging the Company to take that river into its possession, shows that he, at least, knew no tradition of any *earlier *279 post. Could the employé stationed there by Beekman during the dye season of 1683-84 and the shelter then built for subsequent visits have furnished adequate basis for the later tradition?

What was most likely to have impressed itself upon the memory of a Carib boy was not, in any case, the duration or the frequency of a Dutch outlier's stays in the Barima, but the presence on that river of the white man's shelter or of its ruins, which must often have greeted his eye, and may long have remained to stir his interest, as he paddled through the familiar reaches of his home stream. While the outlier stayed and during his later visits, if any there were, his relations with the Indians could not have differed from those of a regular post-holder. He was of course equipped with the Company's wares. He was commissioned to buy up all Indian products. He was especially charged to warn off those Surinam traders against whose annoyances the Caribs are said to have desired the reestablishment of the post. Nor is he likely to have lacked those means of hospitality, solid and liquid, which may especially have stimulated both Carib memory of a post and Carib zeal for its restoration.³

Though Governor Storm van's Gravesande did not establish a post in the Barima, he did not lose that river from his thought. In 1749, speaking

¹ *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 257. As to Hartsinck's use, direct or indirect, of map and letters, see Extracts, pp. 456, 457, and the preface to his *Beschryving*. The "learned friend" who served as an intermediary was very probably Storm's correspondent, Professor Allamand of Leyden.

² Atlas, map 46; cf. map 70. As to the history of these maps and as to Bouchenroeder's access to materials, see pp. 163-173 of my report on Maps from Official Sources, in Vol. iii.

³ Cf. note, p. *275, above.

No. 3.

of the Surinam traders thither, he declared it "situated under this jurisdiction."¹ That Essequibo traders were also busy there appears in 1752 from the complaints of the Caribs against one.² In 1753 and 1754 Storm reported the rumored arrival in Guiana of emissaries of Sweden for the examination of the Barima, and wished the Company to instruct *280 him how he should bear himself toward *this.³ But he had at the same time what he counted a more serious danger to chronicle. On account of the threatened approach of the Spaniards, the Caribs were departing from the Barima to the Waini, and with them the Dutch traders.⁴ This alarm, however, proved exaggerated, and in the following year an Essequibo colonist could be sent to the Barima to take the evidence of a Carib chief as to a foul deed committed in the Mazaruni.⁵ The Dutch traders, both from Essequibo and Surinam, still resorted thither; for in 1757 (February 15) Storm reported to the Company that complaints had repeatedly come to him from the Orinoco commandant as to their misconduct in Barima,⁶ and that he had written the governor of Surinam about the matter.⁷ It would seem, then, that notwithstanding Dutch trade, the Spaniards assumed some right of supervision in Barima, and that the Dutch governor was well informed of the fact.

The Spanish raid on the Cuyuni post in 1758 roused the West India Company into a show of interest in the question of boundary. They insisted on knowing from the governor the grounds of his claim to *281 the Cuyuni. In answer he urged *the situation of that river "so far this side of Waini, which people claim to be the boundary; though I," he adds, "think it must be pushed out as far as Barima."⁸ And on what grounds, they asked, do you maintain this?⁹ In his letter of reply, this question about the Barima was overlooked or ignored;¹⁰ but there soon came an event which forced it upon his attention. In the autumn of 1760, an armed Spanish boat, "sent out expressly to catch the

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 91.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 96.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 97, 99. Extracts, pp. 340, 341, 348.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 99, 100, 102.

⁵ But this examination, as appears from the dating of the document, perhaps took place in the Moruca region instead. "Aymara-Aykoeroe" (i. e., Aymara Creek) is very possibly but another form of the name of a well-known branch of the Moruca—the "Haymarakaboera" of Chollet's map (Atlas, map 68), the "Haimuracabara" of Schomburgk. The Carib ending *-aykoeroe* (*icuru*) seems, at least, to answer to the *-kabura* (*cabura*) found in Arawak regions; and this creek lying just where Arawak and Carib meet, may well have tolerated this Carib turn to its name—at least at the hands of a Dutchman skilled in the Carib speech and dating a Carib document. There is another *Haimara-kuroo* in the upper Essequibo (Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 22). (Cf. note, p. *331, below.)

⁶ Extracts, pp. 372, 373.

⁷ This letter of Storm's I have sought in vain among the Surinam papers, and Governor Nepven's reply is not to be found among those of Essequibo. But for a most interesting later letter on the same subject see Extracts, p. 403, and cf. p. *283, below.

⁸ Extracts, p. 386.

⁹ Extracts, pp. 389, 390.

¹⁰ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 114.

No. 3.

Surinam traders¹ in Barima"²—so wrote the Essequibo governor to the Company—had captured certain boats of the Essequibo plantations, which were engaged in the annual fishery at the mouth of the Orinoco.³ A part of these had been seized on the Essequibo side of the Barima, "and thus," wrote Storm, "within the Company's territory."

But why, again and more explicitly asked the Zeeland Chamber,⁴ do you hold that everything which has happened on this side of Barima must be deemed to have occurred on territory of the Company? It was in response to this demand that on August 12, 1761,⁵ he mentioned again the Carib tradition of a former Dutch post on the Barima, adding that "the boundaries are always thus defined by foreigners, as may be seen on the map prepared by D'Anville, the Frenchman"—in odd forgetfulness of the fact that D'Anville does not make the Barima the boundary.⁶ "These are the only reasons," he *said, "upon which I base my opinion, since *282 there are no old documents here from which any information could be had." "It appears to me," he continued,⁷ "that the Spaniards are not ignorant of this, else they would not have made so many complaints concerning the behavior of the traders⁸ in Barima. I believe that had they considered it to be their territory, they would have found some means for stopping it."

The Company, satisfied or mystified, was silenced. The Barima was next again mentioned by them when, a few months later (August 23, 1762), they took steps toward securing a new map of the Essequibo colony,⁹ which should include the coast as far as the Orinoco, "with an accurate locating of the mouths of the rivers Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima, and such others as flow into the sea between the Essequibo and the Orinoco."¹⁰

Nor did Storm soon recall it to their attention. The register¹¹ of the colony, the first ever made (suggested, as he explained, by that of Berbice), which, written with his own hand, he transmitted them in February, 1762, defines the territory of the colony as stretching from Berbice not to the Ba-

¹ "*Suervers*," not "pirates," as translated in the Blue Book. As to these "rovers," or wandering traders, see p. *209 of this report.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 116.

³ For the details of this enterprise from the Spanish side, see Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 249-254; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 36-38. From these it does not appear that Essequibo slave traders were less aimed at than those of Surinam.

⁴ March 16, 1761. Extracts, pp. 391, 392.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117.

⁶ See Atlas, map 40.

⁷ In his manuscript this begins a fresh paragraph of the letter, while the preceding sentence does not.

⁸ "*Suervers*," not "depredators."

⁹ Extracts, p. 396.

¹⁰ As to Van Bercheyck (from whom this map was asked) and his map-making, see pp. 136-139 of my report on Maps from Official Sources, in vol. iii. General Netscher prefers to spell the name Van Bergeljk, which is perhaps its modern form.

¹¹ *Naamwijzer*, directory.

No. 3.

rima, but only to the Amacura,¹ which on D'Anville's map lies east of the Barima; and in the list of its rivers the Waini is the westernmost named. And when, in August, he had again to report the seizure of a fishing canoe by the Spaniards, this time at the mouth of the Waini,² he contents himself *283 with *declaring this river "indisputably the Company's territory," without mention of the Barima.³ Yet in April, 1764, in discussing the numerical strength of the Caribs, he again speaks of "the whole jurisdiction of the Company from Abari⁴ to Barima."⁵

Most remarkable, however, in view especially of his earlier and later utterances as to Spanish acceptance of the Barima as boundary, is his letter of August 18, 1764, to Governor Nepveu of Surinam, wherein he advises that governor not to name, in the passes granted by him to traders, the river Barima. "Your naming in those passes the river Barima," he explains, "causes complaints from the Spaniards, who, maintaining that that river is theirs—wherein," remarks Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, "I believe they are right—have already sent some of these passes to the Court of Spain." Wherefore, he added, "in all the passes which I issue I set down only permission to pass the posts and to go among the Indians to trade, without naming any place." There were already, he said, such grave reasons for complaints against the Spaniards, which were even then pending before the Court of Spain, that he could wish them to have no answering grievance as an excuse.⁶

Such being the Essequibo governor's attitude, it was unlikely that he would encourage Dutch settlement in the Barima. Down to this time, indeed, there is in the records no mention of any Dutchman's sojourning in the Barima for any purpose save that of trade. The fertility of this unoccupied region had, however, not gone unnoticed. An Essequibo planter, a German said to have been banished from Surinam, one A. von *284 *Rosen,⁷ had in 1749 tried to impress its value upon the King of Sweden, to whom it was said to belong;⁸ and, failing in that, addressed himself in 1755 to a prince of his own fatherland, Frederick the Great of Prussia.⁹ When this, too, came to nothing, Rosen would seem to have undertaken to settle the Barima on his own account.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119. Cf. pp. *295–*297, below.

² This description was repeated in the subsequent directories, of which there are eight (1762–1769). Cf. e. g. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 135.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 120.

⁴ The boundary of Berbice.

⁵ Extracts, p. 402.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 403, 404.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 147, 148. Extracts, pp. 325, 326.

⁸ Possibly to an interest stirred by this appeal was due the coming of those Swedish emissaries mentioned in Storm's letters of 1753–54.

⁹ In this second appeal Von Rosen, who had now removed to Demerara, was joined by another Demerara planter, earlier a "*swerver*," one Finet. The two had in 1754 made a visit of inspection to Waini and Barima.

No. 3.

In April, 1766, Storm van 's Gravesande complained to the Company¹ that a gang of Essequibo colonists, rag-tag and bobtail, had taken up their abode in Barima under sundry pretexts—salting, trade, lumbering—and were making it a den of thieves. As they were staying on the west shore, which was “certainly Spanish territory,” he was about to write to the governor of Orinoco concerning the state of affairs. The Orinoco governor, however (as Storm later wrote the Company), told him just to go ahead and collar the scoundrels.² Accordingly the Moruca postholder was sent thither, though with strict instructions not to set foot on “the Spanish bank” of the river. He had the good fortune to apprehend Rosen on the east shore—“our bank,” the governor calls it—and arrested him, with a lumberman whom he was maltreating. After trial, Rosen was banished, taking refuge in Orinoco. What became of the other ruffians in the Barima, if others there actually were, does not appear.³ But the Essequibo court now issued an order forbidding all sojourn in the Barima, lest this become a robbers’ nest and involve the colony in a quarrel with the Spaniards; and the Moruca postholder was charged with its active execution.⁴ In the formal instructions *issued to him in 1767 *285 (October 7), he was explicitly charged to “pay strict attention to everything that transpires in Barima and give an exact written report of the same.”⁵

The West India Company, though somewhat perturbed lest the colonial authorities had exercised jurisdiction on Spanish territory,⁶ approved the course of the governor and the new order of the court if the district were really under their authority; and the detailed explanations and assurances of the governor⁷ seem to have set their minds at rest.

The prohibition of sojourn in Barima proved, however, ineffectual. One Jan La Riviere, at least, in spite not only of the order of the Court and its sanction by the Company,⁸ but of the express injunction of the governor not to settle between Essequibo and Orinoco, and even of the insertion of this in his passport, went thither with his slaves and his family, and there had a plantation or plantations.⁹ There he died, leaving his estate to his widow; but she was not long left in its enjoyment. This time it was the Spaniards who purged the river.¹⁰ In the spring of 1768 a coast-guard vessel, sent from Santo Thomé by the Orinoco governor to warn off the foreigners, sailed up the Barima and destroyed the buildings and plan-

¹ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 139. Extracts, p. 414.

² Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 143. Extracts, pp. 425, 426.

³ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” pp. 139, 140. Extracts, p. 441.

⁴ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 140. Extracts, p. 415.

⁵ For these instructions, printed in full from the colonial records by Mr. Rodway, in his report on “The Boundary Question” (Georgetown, 1896), see p. *241, above.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 420, 421.

⁷ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” pp. 142, 143. Extracts, pp. 425, 426.

⁸ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 154. Extracts, pp. 431, 442, 443.

⁹ Extracts, pp. 452, 453.

¹⁰ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” pp. 274–279. Venezuelan “Documents,” I, pp. 231–234.

No. 3.

tations found there, carrying off all their tools. The inhabitants, warned by the Caribs, had escaped, and the widow La Riviere returned to *286 Essequibo.¹ The site of their plantation *in the Barima is nowhere mentioned.² Of protest by the Dutch authorities there seems to have been no thought.

There is never again mention in Dutch documents of the stay of any Dutchman in the Barima. A Spaniard, however, the young officer Inciarte, who in 1779, on his way to the Pomeroon, made a reconnoissance of the lower Barima, found in the Aruka, its lowest western tributary of importance, at the distance of a league from the Barima, a hill "which was inhabited by a Dutchman from Essequibo called Mener Nelch and by *287 certain Indians of the Carib tribe."³ At the foot of *this hill he found the hulls of a large pirogue and of another craft, and was assured by an Indian that these had belonged to the Dutchman. On the hill he found survivals of coffee, banana, and orange trees. Further details he noted in a diary,⁴ which unfortunately is now lost.

¹ The Spanish testimony to this exploit speaks of "sundry" Dutch families and of "the foreigners," and mentions the houses and plantations as if there were several establishments. But, had there been any other settlers from Essequibo, it seems probable that Storm would have learned it, if only from the widow La Riviere, and would have mentioned it to the Company. It is possible that the other settlers, if such there were, were from other colonies—not improbably French or English from the islands. In the library of the British Museum, in that volume of the Egerton manuscripts calling itself *Papeles Tocantes á la Provincia de Venezuela*, Vol. III, 1773-1798 (marked Press 542. G.); there is a copy of a letter, addressed by Andrés de Oleaga, Contador of Guayana, to Josef de Abalos, Intendente of Carácas, which seems to throw a light on this. It contains this passage (fol. 70, lines 19-25): "Covetous of this spacious and attractive territory on the banks of the river Barima, the English of Barbados, united with the Dutch of Essequibo, established a colony, and in the year 1778 were dislodged by action of this government through the agency of the privateer boats of this place; and, in spite of the watch which has been kept, the English have continued to make great ravages on the timber." ("*Envidiosos de este grande y ameno territorio en la margen del Rio Barima, establecieron colonia los Yngleses de la Barvada, unidos con los Olandeses de Esquibo, y el año de 1778 fueron desalojados por disposicion de este Gobierno por las lanchas corsarias de esta Plaza, y por mucho que se ha vigilado siempre han hecho grandes sacas de maderas los Yngleses.*") Now "1778" is here a quite impossible date; for the letter itself, though misdated "1777" (November 15), is an answer to one of August 14, 1778, and must have been written before the end of that year. Inasmuch as the Spanish purging of the Barima in 1768 answers so perfectly to the description in this passage, while none of 1778 is known from the records, it seems a fair conjecture that "1778" is here but an error for 1768, and that the other settlers then ousted from the Barima were therefore English. That Oleaga was likely to know whereof he spoke will appear from the fact that it was precisely he who in 1768 as Royal Accountant in Santo Thomé received and invoiced the confiscated property. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 274-280; Venezuelan "Documents," I, pp. 281-284.) Governor Storm at first believed the attack instigated by certain deserters from the Moruca post and plantation (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 148, 154; Extracts, pp. 440, 442); but there is no mention of these in the Spanish documents, and Storm himself later speaks of it as simply the work of the Spaniards (Extracts, p. 458).

² My reasons for thinking they may have been on the Aruka are stated just below.

³ Seijas, *Limites Británicos de Guayana*, p. 91.

⁴ "Entrando en el citado caño de Aruco, á una legua de navegacion, se da con el primer cerro, el que ha sido habitado pocos años hace de un holandés de Esquibo llamado Mener Nelch, y varios indios de la nacion Caribe. Al pié de este cerro en un cañito encontré un fondo con el casco entero de un gualiro y otro de una piragua grande que un indio me aseguró haber sido del expresado holandés. En el nominado cerro hallamos porcion de árboles de café, anones y naranjos; omito las demás circunstancias por tener anotadas por menor en el diario que tengo formado, al que me refiero."

No. 3.

"Mener" is doubtless *Mynheer*. It would be hard to represent its sound more accurately in Spanish. "Nelch," I suspect to be a distortion of *Nelis*. Diederik Nelis¹ was a man well known to Essequibo records.² In 1765 it was only the timely encounter with "the colonist Diederik Nelis coming from Barima"³ which saved three lost sailors from starvation. In August, 1767, Nelis was living in the upper Essequibo,⁴ "up near the plantation Oosterbeek." It was to him that the Caribs reported the desertion of the post Arinda;⁵ but before the end of that year he had been provisionally made postholder at Moruca, though the governor confesses his incompetence, and implies that he was a man addicted to drink.⁶ There he was kept until 1774, when he was replaced by the bylier Vermeere.⁷ As postholder in Moruca at the time of the Spanish *sack of the La *288 Riviere plantation, and as himself expressly charged with attention to all that transpired in Barima and with the exclusion of Essequibo settlers, Nelis must have become more familiar with the place, and may easily have betaken himself thither on his release from his duties at Moruca. As the La Riviere plantation had already been cleared, and as the same considerations, agricultural and political,⁸ which would direct his choice of site and of soil must have influenced La Riviere before him, it is surely not improbable that the site occupied by Nelis (if "Mener Nelch" was really he) had been La Riviere's as well.⁹

Mener Nelch is not quite the last Barima settler known to tradition. When in 1841 Mr. Schomburgk went up that stream, he found, far up the river, at the mouth of the Herena, a place where, as he was told by the Indians, a white man at the commencement of this century had cultivated sugar. He had possessed, the Indians said, a schooner and several punts,

¹ The name appears also as "Neelie," and at least once (in instructions to Moruca postholder, 1767, see p. 241, above) as "Neels," which sounds strikingly like Nelch.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 137.

³ Extracts, p. 411.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 145.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 149.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 157, 162, 180.

⁷ Vermeere, who had been bylier since 1766, first appears as postholder in the muster-roll of July 4, 1774. As the military pay-roll for this year (for reasons appearing in Extract No. 291) does not mention the posts, the exact day when Nelis was relieved can not be stated. Vermeere had been captured by the Spanish in October, 1770, but was released in 1773, reaching Essequibo again on April 24. Says the pay-roll for 1772 (transmitted in 1773): . . . "Vermeere by de Spanjaards in Octob^r 1770 is gevangen genomen. . . . P. S.: voor't senden van dit guarnisoen soldy boek is opgemaakt. Vermeere weder losgelaten, en op de 24 April 1773 alhier g'arriveert."

⁸ In view of the Company's attitude (see p. 285), a Dutchman west of the Barima was doubtless safer from arrest by the Essequibo authorities, while from the Spaniards, so far as appears, he was no more safe on one side than on the other.

⁹ When, in 1883, Mr. Im Thurn, entered on the charge of this region, there "had even then been settled for some time" on the Aruka "a coloured man from the Demerara River, a Chinaman, and a Portuguese;" and it is on the Aruka, adds Mr. Thurn, that "the chief agriculture of the district has developed since the time of that first visit." See his very interesting article on "*British Guiana; the North-western District*," in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1892, pp. 677, 678.

No. 3.

with which he carried on a timber trade. The spot was still called by the Indians "The last place of the white man."¹ Mr. Schomburgk's conjecture that this white man was "very likely a Dutch settler" is doubtless reasonable enough. His mode of life at least suggests rather a *289 migrant *from some neighboring Dutch, English, or French colony than a Spaniard. Yet it is only a conjecture, and I am able to throw no light upon it from the documents.

The Dutch documents, indeed, know little enough of the Barima after 1768. Storm van 's Gravesande did not again urge it as the boundary; and in the remonstrance to Spain in 1769 the Dutch Government described its territory as extending, not to the Barima, but only "to beyond the river Waini." Not even a Dutch trader is again heard of in the Barima. The West India Company, which theretofore had always encouraged the colonial trade to the Orinoco,² issued in 1761 its instructions that so far as possible this trade be transferred to the Spaniards and carried on, not from Essequibo to Orinoco, but from Orinoco to Essequibo.³ This policy was loyally and effectively carried out; and within two years the current of trade was flowing the other way.⁴ Before the end of the century it was such a thing of course that, when in 1794 the Governor-General (a man long in the colony and exceptionally familiar with its interests) visited the Moruca post, he learned for the first time of the inland route by which "in the rainy season the Spanish *lanchas*, coming from Orinoco to Moruca," made their way from one river into another, and reports this "route of the Spanish *lanchas*" to the Dutch home authorities as "something very remarkable."⁵ It was only "in former days," according to his narrative, that the postholder, his informant, had made "several journeys to Orinoco."

*290 *The relations with the Caribs of the Barima remained, indeed; and one hears from them occasional complaints, mainly of the aggressions of the Spaniards.⁶ Once (26 July, 1769) the Company encouraged stirring the Caribs to reprisals;⁷ and once (11 Oct., 1775) the Moruca postholder met a Spaniard's claim to the Barima and the rivers between it and the Moruca by an answering claim for the Dutch.⁸ But the only errand which after 1768 I find taking a Dutchman into that region is the overhauling of

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 215; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 12.

² Excepting only during the brief interval of want of confidence in Commandeur Beekman (1684-1690).

³ Extracts, p. 394. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126, where, however, there is an unfortunate mistranslation; the original has, not "the road to the Spaniards," but "the road of the Spaniards hither" ("*Ook is de passagie der Spanjaerden naer hier voorby de door*"). Cf. also Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 128, 181, 142; and, for other mentions of the presence of Spaniards in Essequibo at this period, pp. 122, 144, 154.

⁵ "*Iets zeer merkwaardig.*" (Extracts, p. 616.)

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 156, 157, 165. Extracts, pp. 454, 547.

⁷ Extracts, p. 465.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190.

No. 3.

escaping slaves.¹ Of the Spaniards in and about Barima there is somewhat more frequent mention.²

The claim to the Barima as boundary, though its mention by Hart-sinck in 1770,³ its recognition on the English map published in 1783 from the observations of Thompson,⁴ and its adoption in 1798 by the map of Bouchenroeder must have kept it familiar,⁵ finds for long no further mention in the records. In 1801, however, the confidential envoy sent to represent the Dutch Council of the Colonies at the elbow of the Dutch plenipotentiary in the Congress of Amiens was instructed to see that the colonial boundary was there defined at the Barima, if it could not be fixed at the Orinoco;⁶ but, as he explained to the Council in a most suggestive letter, he found it unwise to mention the question there.⁷ The negotiations at Madrid suggested by him were never undertaken; and the *only further mention of the river I have found among Dutch *291 papers is in an unused and unpublished charter submitted by this returned envoy to his colleagues in 1803, wherein it is proposed that under certain conditions the colonists of Essequibo and Demerara shall be allowed to cut timber in the Pomeroon, the Waini, and the Barima.⁸

The results of my research, then, are as follows:

1. Prior to 1683 little is known of the relations of the Dutch with the Barima; but, so far as known, they were of trade alone and did not differ from those of other Europeans trading in that river.

2. Toward the end of 1683 the Dutch Commandeur in Essequibo provisionally took possession of that river for the Dutch West India Company by stationing there an employé to buy up Indian wares and by warning off other traders; and early in 1684 he had a shelter built there for occasional visits from the Pomeroon postholder, at the same time suggesting to the Company that it take the Barima into its possession and establish there a permanent outlier's post.

3. The West India Company wholly ignored these suggestions; and in the summer of 1684, and for long thereafter, the Barima was occupied by

¹ Extracts, pp. 595, 599.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 160-162, 190; Extracts, p. 566; and passages cited at beginning of this paragraph.

³ *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 146.

⁴ Atlas, map 48.

⁵ Atlas, maps 70, 46. Cf. vol. iii, pp. 163-173.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 639-644.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 645-647.

⁸ Extracts, pp. 657-659; but cf. also pp. 660, 661. The alleged staking out and apportionment, in 1797, of all the lands "from Essequibo to Point Barima," of which there is report in a Spanish document of that year (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 138, 139), belongs, of course, to the period of British occupation and is not within the scope of the present report. I find, however, in the Dutch papers during their reoccupation in 1802-3 no mention of such a thing, and at least one paper (Extracts, No. 353) not easy to reconcile with it. If true, there should be, of course, in the British colonial or military archives under this date some report of this survey and apportionment.

No. 3.

hostile Caribs and by their allies, the French, who in 1689 were building a fort in that river. For many years nothing more is heard of Dutch trade in the Barima.

*292 *4. In the eighteenth century Dutch trade there was resumed and relations of close friendship with the Caribs built up; but, though in 1744 the establishment of a post in that river was again suggested by the Essequibo Commandeur, and this time provisionally approved by the West India Company, no post was ever at any time established.

5. Settlement in the Barima was at no time attempted by the Dutch. In 1766 a party of Essequibo colonists sojourning there under pretext of salting, trading, or lumbering, was dislodged by the Essequibo government itself, which then prohibited all stay there. The plantation of another Essequibo colonist, who, in defiance of this prohibition, settled there, was in 1768 destroyed by the Spaniards without protest from the Dutch. Of two later settlers, vouched for by Indian tradition and reputed or suspected to be Dutch, the identity is uncertain and the fate unknown.

6. No other Dutch occupation of the Barima, of any kind, has been found recorded.

*293 *7. THE DUTCH IN THE AMACURA AND BEYOND.

Of the Amacura there is little mention in Dutch records. In 1598 Cabeliau and his companions of that earliest Dutch expedition to Guiana traded with the Indians in the Amacura as well as in the Barima.¹ In 1629 Admiral Pater, going up the Orinoco for his sack of Santo Thomé, mentions the Amacura in his sailing notes;² but Jan de Laet, who used his log books, understood by it only the easternmost mouth of the Orinoco. So it is represented on his map of Guiana,³ and so it appears on Dutch maps throughout the seventeenth century⁴—not excepting those published in the prospectuses for the colonization of Guiana.⁵ The earliest mention of the Amacura I have found among the papers of the Dutch West India Company is of 1681.

Very puzzling, in view of these facts, is the mention, in certain Spanish documents of the year 1637, of the Amacura in connection with the Essequibo and the Berbice as the seat of a Dutch Colony.⁶ That it is an error I can not doubt; for not only is it inconceivable that so important a post should be unknown to the official records in the Netherlands, but

¹ Extracts, p. 17.

² *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1630, p. 593; Latin ed. of 1633, p. 660.

³ So it had already been printed on De Laet's map in 1625; and, identifying Pater's "Ammegore" with Keymis's "Amacur," he found in 1630 and in the later editions no reason for change. See Atlas, map 24.

⁴ Cf., e. g., those of Blaeuw (Atlas, maps 25-28).

⁵ E. g., in the printed edition of the grant to the Count of Hanau (Frankfort, 1669) and in the *Pertinente Beschryving van Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1676).

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 214, 215.

No. 3.

*documents which I herewith lay before the Commission¹ show that *294 in this very year, 1637, both the Spanish governor of Guayana and the Dutch executive officer in charge of the neighboring island of Tobago looked on the fort in the Essequibo as the Dutch possession nearest the Orinoco.² One may perhaps account for the error by some aid given the Dutch by the Caribs of Amacura,³ or by some confusion with the Moruca, through which the route of the Dutch invaders may have lain, or simply by that astounding misinformation which belongs so generally to the Spanish reports about Dutch settlements.⁴ What has been said of the Barima at this period shows the unlikelihood of the presence of the Dutch in the Amacura at the middle of the seventeenth century; and that they were not there in 1673 seems implied by the language of an English captain who in that year victualled there,⁵ and by that of the English Council for *Plantations, who in the following year advised the authorities of *295 Barbados to return to "the River of Amacoura in Guiana" eleven Indians who "have been lately brought thither,⁶ as they judge by force" (carried off perhaps by Wroth), "and that they take occasion to gain the good will of the neighbor Indians to his Majesty's subjects, who have lately found, by their assistance to the French, of what consequence their friendship is."

But by 1681 the Dutch of Essequibo were at least familiar with the Amacura; for we find them sending a canoe thither to salt down manatees and wild hog's flesh.⁷ In 1685 the Dutch hating Coppenam Caribs driven out from Surinam were said to be taking refuge in Amacura as well as in

¹ Extracts, pp. 76, 80. It is true that in the Spanish governor's list of the Dutch colonies (p. 81) there is one represented only by a blank ("N")—whether because he had forgotten its name, or because the prying Dutchman could not make it out; but the place of this blank in the series sufficiently shows that, in the thought of the Spaniard, it was toward the east of Guiana, not toward the west. And if there had been in 1639 a Dutch settlement in the Amacura, it would have been there, and not in Essequibo—or, at least, in the Amacura as well—that Jan van der Goes would have been instructed to "inform himself of the enemy's circumstances" before proceeding with his secret expedition to the Orinoco. (Extracts, p. 96). Where it was, in this direction, that he was charged to erect a fort, can only be guessed; but wherever it was, "he erected no fort at the place prescribed by his instructions," even though "the enemy offered no hindrance there." (Extracts, p. 99.)

² This is suggested also, indeed, by a Spanish document printed in this same connection by Great Britain (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 216), wherein a projected attack on the Dutch in Essequibo and Berbice is spoken of without mention of the Amacura, which would certainly have been earliest dealt with.

³ Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 212.

⁴ In illustration, not to cite less palpable cases, I may instance the part played by the Dutch settlement of Nieuw Middelburg on the Pomeroon, which for much more than a century after its destruction appears regularly in Spanish documents and maps as the capital of this nearest of Dutch colonies.

⁵ Captain Peter Wroth, who testified on August 5, 1673, as follows: "Dep[onen]t then sailed past Surinam, taking a sloop, to Isakebe, al[ia]s Demarara, where he was ambuscaded and lost some men, and thence to the Caribbs in Amecouza River, where he victualled, and arrived at Barbados this day." "Amecouza" is probably only a misreading of Amecoura.

⁶ British *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series America and West Indies, 1669-74, Nos. 1134, 1409 (pp. 518, 631).

⁷ Extracts, p. 152.

No. 3.

Barima and Waini;¹ and it is long before the name again appears in the records. At last, in 1762, on the title-page of the first directory of the Essequibo colony,² one finds the "River Amacura" named as its western boundary; but a study of the context shows that the Amacura here meant must lie *east* of the Barima, for the Barima does not appear among the streams of the colony. It is probably the Amacura of the D'Anville map, so much appealed to by Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, the author of this directory—a stream placed on that map midway between those there called Barima and Wayma (Waini) and emptying into the Orinoco at the spot where modern maps show the mouth of the Barima. While it is, I am convinced, a misconception to hold that, when Storm van 's Gravesande spoke of the Barima, he meant the Amacura, it is none the less certain that, when he here speaks of the *Amacura, it was not the Amacura proper, but, at farthest, the stream we now know as the Barima. And so with the following directories, till their cessation in 1769.

As to this strange confusion, a word of further discussion may be useful. That D'Anville has simply transposed the names of the two rivers is quite possible. But with Storm van 's Gravesande it is otherwise. Before the D'Anville map was first published the name of the Barima was thoroughly familiar to him. The Amacura there is no reason to believe him to have known at all. The Barima, as appears from his correspondence, he knew as on the inland route to Orinoco, as the home of the Caribs, as the river where a post of the Company was said once to have been. Nothing that he says of it suggests that it may have been the Amacura which was in his thought. In his map,³ made for the Company in 1748, the Barima appears, not the Amacura; and the little Spanish map⁴ which, in 1750, he handed over to the Dutch authorities shows the Barima (though without its name), and not the Amacura. When the map of D'Anville came into his hands he seems to have assumed without question that the river thereon shown as the Barima was the river he had always known by that name. Despite his later appeals to D'Anville's map, all that he tells of the Barima, to the end of his official life, is told demonstrably of the Barima proper, not of D'Anville's Barima, the Amacura; for his information came from those who knew the river through no blundering map. When, however, just prior to the preparation of his directory, in 1762, his claim to the Barima as a boundary had been treated with hesitation and distrust by the Company,⁵ it would not be strange if he turned to the D'Anville map, and, finding there, midway between the river marked Barima and the Waini (which he counted "indis-

¹ Extracts, p. 178.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119. See p. *282, above.

³ Atlas, map 60.

⁴ Atlas, map 61.

⁵ See p. *281, above.

No. 3.

putably "the Company's territory"), a tiny stream named Amacura, *297 chose this as the limit to be named in the directory. But whatever may have been the reason of his course, the fact seems clear that the "Barima" of his letters was the Barima of local parlance, and not the Barima of D'Anville's map; while the "Amacura" of his directory was the Amacura of D'Anville's map, and not that of local parlance. In other words, there is no reason to believe that the Amacura is here in question at all. And, if not here, then nowhere; for I find in Dutch records no further mention of that river.¹

More of interest I find in Dutch relations with remoter branches of the Orinoco and with the Orinoco itself. The foreboding in a Spanish document of 1686, written by a Spaniard in Spain,² that the French may, in league with the Indians, "occupy the territories and ports of His Majesty [the King of Spain], as they have done in other parts, and as the Dutch have also done with some towns on the River Orinoco in the region of the Mainland," is probably, so far as refers to the Dutch, only a vague and careless allusion to the sacking of Santo Thomé by them in 1629 and 1637; but I have found else much reason to doubt that the Dutch in the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth regarded the Orinoco as so altogether "Spanish as is often assumed."³ The *298 earlier Spanish documents abound in complaints of the liberties taken by the Dutch in that river, even above Santo Thomé;⁴ and below that point the Dutch long traded in freedom—often with the connivance of the Spanish officials themselves.⁵ One great southern branch, the Aguire, they seem long to have treated as a sort of neutral territory. When in 1726 two agents were sent from Essequibo to the Spanish governor in Orinoco for the purchase of certain articles they were instructed in writing by the Essequibo authorities, in case the governor should refuse them permission to trade, to repair to the Aguire and barter for the articles there.⁶ In 1730, the missionary Bishop

¹ I should perhaps except a mention in a letter of protest received by the Essequibo governor in 1767 from a Spanish friar, who declares the Indians of Soro and Amacura to be committed to his care, and asks the return of those seized for slaves. (Extracts, p. 427.) The governor calls him "a missionary priest in Orinoco," and intimates that if any of his Indians are in Essequibo they have run away thither. The Spanish mission of "Amacuro" finds mention also, among the newer missions of the Aragonese Capuchins, in Fray Caulin's *Historia de la Nueva Andalucia* (1779). The interesting Spanish document (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 138, 139) which tells how, in January, 1797, a Spanish official found the Amacura guarded by Indians on behalf of the English in Essequibo belongs, of course, to the period of British occupation of that colony and does not fall within the scope of the present report. The British and the Spaniards were then at war.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 222.

³ A phrase lately ascribed to the Directors of the Dutch West India Company in 1689, "the Orinoco being Spanish," is not theirs, but only a remark of a modern historian of the Guiana colonies (Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 69), who had no thought of putting it in their mouths.

⁴ See e. g., Venezuelan "Documents," I, and cf. Extracts, pp. 226, 244.

⁵ See Extracts, pp. 142, 248-246, and *passim*; all Dutch trade in the Orinoco with the Spaniards was, of course, matter of connivance.

⁶ Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 3," p. 79. Extracts, p. 249.

No. 3.

of Oran, the Frenchman Nicolas Gervais, finding in Orinoco no sphere for his activity and refused permission to convert the Indians in Essequibo, betook himself, under Dutch escort, to the Aguire as to a neutral soil; and when he was murdered there by the Caribs, it was a Dutchman trading to that river who reported his fate and the Dutch authorities of Essequibo who recovered his effects and transmitted them to his countrymen in the islands.¹ In 1741 the Essequibo plantations sent to the Aguire for the purchase of horses.² In 1760 Father Benito de la Garriga, prefect of the Capuchin Missions, spoke of a Dutch slave trader who was domiciled for eight years among the Caribs of the Aguire.³ And about the same *299 time *(1757) Don José Iturriaga mentioned, in a dispatch to the Spanish Government, that for connivance at the Dutch trade with the missions by this route the friar of the Palmar mission had been removed.⁴ The Caribs of the upper Orinoco had a regular route thither, crossing the Caroni above the missions.⁵ It was even believed among the missions that the Dutch governor of Essequibo claimed jurisdiction as far as a line running due south from the mouth of the Aguire. This was told their prefect by a fugitive slave, who claimed to have brought from Essequibo an official document in which this was shown;⁶ and a Dutchman from Essequibo told the same prefect that the mission of Curumo had been destroyed because it lay east of this line.⁷ The slave traders are even said to have once presented a passport in which the Essequibo governor styled himself "Governor of Essequibo and the mouth of the Orinoco."⁸ But all this is unknown to the Dutch records, and was certainly never reported to the home authorities. Indeed, if the Essequibo correspondence may be trusted, the Dutch slave traders who infested these parts are more likely to have been from Surinam than from the western *300 colonies.⁹ When in 1758 *the acting governor of Essequibo reported to the West India Company that the Spaniards were building a mission in the Imataca, the river next west of the Aguire, he

¹ Extracts, pp. 250-253. Yet see also Fray Caulin's *Historia*, pp. 56, 328-339.

² Extracts, p. 293.

³ Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 148.

⁴ Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 167. Very interesting is Fray Caulin's account of the Aguire, written in 1759. After speaking of the ship's mouth of the Orinoco, he adds: "*antes de desaguar este Caño forma una Ensenada, en la qual recibe al Rio Barima, y mas arriba al Aguire, que trae su origen de la Serrania de Imataca á pocas leguas de los Pueblos de Midmo y Terepi de Nacion Caribes, que ha fundado el R. P. Fr. Alejo, Capuchino Catalan. En este Rio dieron cruel muerte los Caribes al Ilustrisimo Señor Obispo Don Nicolás Gervasio de Labrid . . . Hoy está habitado de Indios Caribes y Aruacas, que viven gentilmente, acompañados de muchos Christianos fugitivos de los Pueblos de Mision, en que recibieron el Santo Bautismo, y lo que no es de pasar en silencio, en el perjudicial exercicio de servir de prácticos, vogas, y mensageros á los Olandeses de Esquibo, que entran frecuentemente por este Caños al ilícito y lamentable Comercio de Esclavos, que compran en crecido numero á los Caribes, conduciendolos por este y otros Rios.*" . . .

⁵ Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 185.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 237; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 8, 9.

⁷ Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 151.

⁸ Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 143.

⁹ See pp. *209, *362, of this report.

No. 3.

added the comment that this was, in his opinion, "certainly far outside the concern of this colony."¹ Of Dutch trade in this lower Orinoco region I find no mention after the sixties of the eighteenth century.

In fine, then:

1. So far as known, the Dutch in Guiana had never any relations with the Amacura, save to fish and hunt in that river; and even that is known through but a single instance (in 1681).

2. With the lower Orinoco in general, and especially with the Aguire, they long maintained relations of trade, and in such sort as to make doubtful their recognition of Spanish sovereignty there.

8. THE DUTCH IN THE CUYUNI.**301**

From the beginning of their occupation of the Essequibo the Dutch were established at the junction with that river of its two great western branches, the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni.² There was their fort, there their seat of government, there their earliest plantations.³ From this confluence the plantations spread upstream to where tide-water is met by the rapids which fill the whole upper course of these rivers. The Cuyuni, whose lowest falls are but a half-dozen miles from its union with the Mazaruni, and whose higher banks were less suited to the planting of sugar, was the latest of the three to be occupied, and at the end of the seventeenth century plantations had but begun to creep up that river.⁴ With the introduction, however, in the early part of the eighteenth century, of the cultivation of coffee, cacao, and indigo, the lands in the lower Cuyuni also were taken into use.⁵ It had been an argument, both for indigo and for coffee, that they could be cultivated in the upper rivers—that is, above the rapids which set a limit to tide-water navigation.⁶ The success with these cultures was never such as to make *this necessary. *302 The highest plantations established in the Cuyuni were the Company's indigo plantation on the north, a little below the lowest fall, its coffee plantation on the south, a little lower down, and coffee and cacao plantations on the Batavia Islands between. This is shown both by maps, like that of Heneman in 1772,⁷ which long after these plantations had been abandoned marks carefully their forsaken sites, and that of Storm van 's Gravesande, in 1748,⁸ which shows that the culture

¹ Extracts, p. 334.

² See p. *185 of this report.

³ Extracts, pp. 102, 132. A. van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 42, 43.

⁴ A cassava ground was planted on an island at its mouth as early as 1681; and in 1694 a plantation was begun on the shore above the fort. (Extracts, pp. 152, 194.) This was perhaps the later Duinenburg, at the angle of Cuyuni and Mazaruni. Duinenburg was certainly in existence in 1710, but was then called a new plantation. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 73.)

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 77, 80, 82, 83, 84.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72. Extracts, p. 248.

⁷ Atlas, map 63.

⁸ Atlas, map 60.

No. 3.

of indigo had already been given up, and that in the Cuyuni there then remained nothing but one coffee plantation; and also by documents, like the letter of the colonial Court of Policy in 1731 explaining why "it is impossible to establish any plantations" above the falls,¹ like the journals of the mining engineer Hildebrandt,² which show with minuteness of detail that at the time of his operations in the colony (1741-1743) there was above this coffee plantation and the indigo plantation opposite no occupation on the Cuyuni,³ and like the letter of Storm in 1759,⁴ in which, enumerating to the Company the basis of the colony's claim to the Cuyuni, he specifies in proof of occupation, nothing besides the work of the miners and "the coffee and indigo plantations you for many years had there." The situation of the indigo plantation is, moreover, distinctly stated by the Director-General in 1761,⁵ when he speaks of the Spaniards in Cuyuni, who "have been down to the lowest fall, where your Lordship's indigo plantation was situated."⁶ It is possible that the gravest obstacle to *303 *the occupation of the Cuyuni was the reputed insalubrity of the river. In February, 1748, the colonial Court of Policy reported the old indigo plantation unsalable, even on the most favorable terms, because of "the remoteness and the unhealthfulness of the river Cuyuni."⁷

Its remoteness was, however, no small matter, for after the completion of the new fort in the lower river (1740) the whole colony, lured by the rich sugar lands of the coast, had drifted rapidly thither. Already, by 1748, the Company's old plantation of Duinenburg, at the angle of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni, abandoned about 1740 for a new Duinenburg on Fort Island,⁸ had passed into the hands of a private planter, Van der Heyden,⁹ whose family remained its proprietor throughout the Dutch ownership of the colony and gradually gained possession of the other lands in the lower Cuyuni, on both sides, and of the islands as well,¹⁰ their property (at least of the south bank) reaching to the falls.¹¹ That Van der Heyden

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 83.

² Extracts, Nos. 140, 142, 143, 147, 148, 149 (pp. 285-301).

³ This would have appeared even more fully had it been thought worth while to print his bulky journals entire.

⁴ Extracts, p. 386. Cf. also Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 111.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117.

⁶ "*Gelegen heeft*:" was situated, not is, as translated in the Blue Book.

⁷ Extracts, p. 316. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 73.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 87. Atlas, map 60. Netcher, pp. 112, 113. Care must be taken not to confuse Old Duinenburg with this new plantation. The Blue Book translation, in passages mentioning the older plantation, has several times by error a present tense instead of a past.

⁹ Atlas, map 60.

¹⁰ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 85.

¹¹ This appears from the report made to the governor of British Guiana in 1855 by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report upon the titles to lands, etc., in the rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni and Cuyuni, with their respective tributary streams—a copy of which I owe to the courtesy of Her Majesty's Colonial Office. In support of a claim then pending on behalf of the heirs of Stephanus Gerardus van der

No. 3.

*was an extreme settler in the Cuyuni, appears from many allusions *304 in the documents of the next half-century, and his intimate relations with the Indians made him of great service to the colony;¹ but that he ever occupied or used lands above the falls is nowhere intimated.²

Another colonist who must have dwelt at the extreme of settlement in the Cuyuni is that C. Crewitz, who, in 1761, was charged there with the prevention of smuggling and the arrest of runaway slaves; but of him we are not only told that he lived "below the fall,"³ but are so fortunate as to know the precise limits of his land.

Heyden, to "the lands called and known as Cartabo, situate at the junction of the Massaroony and Cayoenie rivers," and to other lands, there was laid before the Commissioners a grant of May 5, 1774, to S. G. van der Heyden of certain lands in the river Essequibo, beginning at the north side of the river Cayoenie upwards from the Creek Simleri to the Creek Paricoesa, and on the south side of that river beginning from the Creek Ocororeboe to the Fall Acajoe, besides the Island [*sic*] Big and Small Batavia, and two others, and the Island Acajoe and Arwassie, in the River Massaroeni, to the east of the lands of his parents from the Creek Woniplere upwards to the Creek Tiperoe and the Island Rusthoff."

The Commissioners, finding on Bouchenroeder's map no creek named "Paricoesa," thought Zuiker Creek must be meant, "for no other creek is laid down on the chart upward from Simlerie"; but "the chart" is here a poor reliance, and Zuiker Creek was then known by that name. Van der Hayden had, however, already land on the north of the Cuyuni to the westward of this acquisition; for a grant of 1761 (Extracts, p. 393) shows him then in possession there as far as the old indigo plantation. The Van der Heydens held land also in the Mazaruni (Atlas, map 60). The lands acquired by them in 1761 "in Mazaruni," from Van der Cruysse (Extracts, p. 392) were, however, not in that river above its junction with the Cuyuni, but on the north side of the united streams between their confluence and the Essequibo (see note 3, below) and, since they reached the creek "Simiery," must have adjoined the grant of 1774 described above.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 106, 127, 138, 144, 158, 159, 166, 180, 181, 184, 194. Extracts, pp. 304, 555, 556. On account of these services the Director-General once even urged the Company to exempt him from taxation.

² When in 1789 the Spanish officer, Lopez de la Puente, made his expedition down to the mouth of the Cuyuni he found dwelling here at the fork of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni "a Dutchman named Daniel with four companions, very many negroes and Indian slaves—all his." It was, doubtless, Daniel van der Hayden (cf. Blue Book, p. 194; Extracts, p. 600). In the Mazaruni there were also "some Dutchmen with a Carib village." Besides these a Carib, Manuyari, had his house on the north of the Cuyuni at the foot of the rapids. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 338.)

³ Blue Book, p. 118; Extracts, p. 393. "Cruysse," as the name is spelled in the Blue Book translation of the letter of February 9, 1762, is a misreading. The manuscript (Storm's autograph at London) has "Creutz," doubtless a distortion of Crewitz, as comparison with the earlier passage on the same page suggests. Cristiaan Crewitz must, of course, not be confused with the councilor Abraham Van der Cruysse, a man of more note in the colony, who owned much land further down the Cuyuni toward the Essequibo, from opposite Old Duinenburg all the way to the Essequibo. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 87; Atlas, map 60.) The lands "in Mazaruni" sold by this Abraham Van der Cruysse in 1759 and 1761 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 113; Extracts, No. 215), lay not in the Mazaruni proper, but north of the united Cuyuni and Mazaruni below their confluence; for not only is Van der Cruysse set down in the map of 1748 as the owner of the lands at the junction of these rivers with the Essequibo, but the creeks "Cattony," "Simiery," named in the transfers are well-known streams on this shore. (Atlas, maps 60, 66, 70.) In the report of the British Guiana Land Commissioners in 1855 (see note, p. 303), translating a Dutch record of 1773, certain lands are described as "situate in the Upper Massarouney, commencing from the front lands of the widow P. de Wey to the upper corner of Calico." But here "the Upper Massarouney" can only mean the Mazaruni in general—in this case, below the confluence of the Cuyuni; for, as the Commissioners said, "the Calico Creek is well known, being situate on the west bank of the river Massarouney

No. 3.

*305 *The only other occupants of the lower Cuyuni mentioned in the Dutch records are the Creoles—slaves born of Indian mothers and negro fathers. In 1741 thirty or forty of these, driven to desperation by the brutality of the miner Hildebrand, whom they were forced to aid in his operations in the Cuyuni, deserted to an island in the river, and there fortified themselves so securely that the colonial authorities found it wise to make terms with them. Thenceforward a body of these partially free half-breeds continued to dwell in Cuyuni at the base of the falls.¹

In short, at no time is there record of any cultivation in the Cuyuni above the lowest falls, excepting only the bread-*grounds of the Cuyuni post during the brief periods of its existence.²

But, before taking up the vexed question of the Cuyuni posts, it will be well to point out what is known of the colony's earlier relations with the upper Cuyuni. The earliest mention of the river I have found in the Dutch records is that in Commandeur Abraham Beekman's letter of June 28, 1680, when that river, temporarily closed by an Indian war, is called "our provision chamber."³ From letters of the following years it appears that not provisions alone were gathered there by the Company's "old negroes," but hammocks, balsam, and other Indian products.⁴ It appears, too, that the Dutch were not without competitors; for the Spaniards bought up copaiba,⁵ while the French made forays from the Barima into the Cuyuni and carried off the hammocks and all the other wares.⁶ The latest of these passages, that of 1686, speaks of old Daentje, the negro runner who brought these tidings, as coming from "the savanna, up in Cuyuni, of the Pariacotten;" or, as it may quite as well be translated, "from the savanna up in Cuyuni, from the Pariacotten." And,

nearly opposite the Penal Settlement." This case is the clearer because, as appears from the same report, the original grant of this land (to Jan Heraut, in 1759) described it merely as "the abandoned place at Calekkoe, in Maseroeny." The claimants, in 1855, defined it as "a tract of land between Essequibo and Masserooney, designated on the chart of Bouchenroeder as lot No. 11." By 1773 it was all very far up, in the thought of those at the center of the colony.

¹ This is Hartsinck's story (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, 272). But cf. Netscher, p. 112; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 109, 114, 118, 120. The maps of Storm (Atlas, map 60), of Heneman (map 64), and of Hartsinck (map 54), show their name attached to a creek joining the Cuyuni here from the south. Only those of Hartsinck and of Bouchenroeder (map 70) show a Creole Island. I am sorry that while with the documents I did not take more pains to get at the root of this matter. That they dwelt, however, somewhere here at the foot of the falls, all agree.

² When, in 1837, an Englishman (Hilhouse) first went up the Cuyuni, he wrote: "I can find no traces of any one having preceded me in the survey of the lower part of this river." And, having described in his journal the first day's ascent, to the head of the Camaria Falls—"we ascended this day," he thinks, "fully seventy-seven feet"—he declares that "it is evident that colonization can never be attempted on this river: the first day's journal determines that," "Beyond all other rivers," he avers, "the Cuyuni is the most difficult and dangerous of ascent"—(*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1837, pp. 446-454.) Yet Hilhouse was no "tenderfoot:" he had long been colonial surveyor and protector of the Indians.

³ Extracts, p. 150.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 151, 155, 158, 159, 162, 172.

⁵ Extracts, p. 161.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 172, 182; cf. also pp. 159, 160.

No. 3.

in an earlier passage, mention is made of the driving off of the "Pariacotten" by the French, much to the detriment of the copaiba trade, since it was these who gathered the balsam from the trees. Now, *"Pariacotten" is evidently but the Dutch form of the more *307 familiar Spanish word *Pariagotos*,¹ *Paria* Indians, the name of a tribe well known on the banks of the Orinoco. *Paria* was the earliest name by which the region of that river was known to Europeans. Raleigh, in 1595, at the mouth of the Caroni, heard of the *Eparagotos* as a great inland nation.* They were the first to yield to Spanish missionary effort in these parts; and in 1682, according to a contemporary record, there were "in the city of Guayana two villages of Indians of the nation of the *Pariagotos*, gathered from those who dwell in these environs."² Indeed, to these Spaniards the *Pariagotos* were so preeminently the Indians of the country that they received the alternative name of *Guayanos*,⁴ by which they were more commonly called. It was these, if we may judge from the fact that the mission villages were made up of these, whom the Capuchin missionaries found in the savannas of the Yuruari when in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century⁵ they pushed their work over the divide from the Orinoco. From the banks of the Caroni to Palmar all the missions were of *Pariagotos*. In default of aught to the contrary, it seems fair, then, to suppose that the savannas which stretch from the *hills north and *308 west of the Yuruari to the forest east of the Curumo and indefinitely toward the banks of the Cuyuni may as a whole or in part have been known in 1686 to the negro scouts of the Dutch colony as "the savanna of the *Pariacotten*," or, if the other translation be correct, as the "savanna up in Cuyuni" where the *Pariacots* were found.*

A "savanna up in Cuyuni," at least, the Dutch knew; for of this, though it is not again coupled with the name of the *Pariacots* or with trade

¹ *Gotos* means a tribe, a people. Cf. Schomburgk, in his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 77, note.

² *Discoverie*, ed. Schomburgk, p. 80.

³ Strickland, *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question* (Rome, 1896), p. 1.

⁴ To the Capuchin missionaries, at least, these names were synonymous. Cf., e. g., Strickland, pp. 59, 71 (where the "*ó Pariagotos*," added to *Guayanos* in the first item of the list, is undoubtedly meant to apply also to the remainder) or, p. 9 (where the Indians of Cupapuy, known from all the lists to have been *Guayanos*, are called *Pariagotos*). So, too, Fray Caulin, long a resident of Guayana and more than once provincial of the neighboring missionaries of the Observant order, writing in 1759 his *Historia de la Nueva Andalucia*, describes as of *Pariagotos* ("*de nación Pariagótos*") the missions "Caroni, Santa Maria, Cupapuy, Palmar, San Antonio, Alta-gracia, and Divina Pastora," which from all the Capuchin lists are known to have been made up of *Guayanos*.

⁵ See the table of these missions in vol. iii, pp. 215-217.

⁶ The translation "*Pariacot savanna*" is supported by the presence, on the little map handed to the West India Company in 1780 by the Essequibo governor and said by him to be a copy of one made by the Spanish Jesuits, of the name "*Savane Pariacott*." The region it seems to mark lies north of the upper Cuyuni and to the westward of the branch called by this map "*Meejou*." It must be because the editors of the Blue Book "*Venezuela No. 3*" understand here by this the Yuruari that in their map they show a "*Pariacot Savannah*" southwest of the Yuruari. But, for reasons which will be set forth later in this paper (see pp. *380, *387), it seems to me certain that the "*Meejou*" is the Curumo.

No. 3.

in Indian products, we hear often enough.¹ In 1687 the Essequibo governor wrote the Company that "all the old negroes are off for their respective trading places among the Indians, to wit, six for annatto dye, two for copaiba, and two for letter-wood and provisions."² It is not improbable that the destination of one or more of these was the savanna up in Cuyuni; but no destinations are specified. The next mentions of the Cuyuni are all in connection with a very different traffic. In 1693 the West India Company, replying to some letter which, I fear, is lost, congratulates the Essequibo governor on having "discovered up in the river of Cuyuni [a place for] trading in horses."³ The trade there, they add, must be kept a monopoly of the Company. This, too, suggests a savanna; for it was the want of pasturage which for-
 *309 bade the rearing of horses in the Essequibo. But *no savanna is mentioned. By 1697 the horse traffic in Cuyuni had grown less important, as the commandeur reports, because of the equal cheapness with which horses could be fetched "from Orinoco"⁴—a phrase which would seem to imply that the horses obtained up in Cuyuni were not smuggled in from the Spaniards,⁵ but which may mean only that the sea route had now been made safe by the general peace of Ryswick. In May of 1701 the commandeur reports "the horse trade up in Cuyuni less brisk than heretofore."⁶ But there was drawing on a great European war. The Court of Spain, hitherto the ally of the Dutch, was now leagued with France, their arch-enemy. In October, 1701, the Essequibo Court of Policy justified the purchase of horses from a Rhode Island trader by the plea that "all the lands where we carry on our horse trade are under the King of Spain, as we know by experience from the prohibitions we have already met in the trade to Orinoco."⁷

This anxiety was not groundless, even as regards the trade up in Cuyuni; for on September 17, 1702, the Court of Policy wrote to the Company that "the horses which are fetched from above are not to be got as hitherto, partly because of the expected war, whereby the Indians are stirred up against us, as we already have evidence, since all those which were obtained had swallowed some poison and have died."⁸ Of this
 *310 mortality among the horses Commandeur Beekman also wrote *ten

¹ Cf., e. g., Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72.

² Netscher, p. 376.

³ Extracts, p. 194.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 196, 197.

⁵ That even the Caribs, whose dwelling was the forest, might on occasion supply the Dutch with horses, appears from the complaint of the Capuchin prefect in 1758 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 286; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 7).

⁶ Extracts, p. 198.

⁷ Extracts, p. 201.

⁸ . . . "de paarden die van boven gehaalt werden niet als voor desen te bekomen zyn, eensdeels door den verwagteden oorlog waardoor de Indianen jegens ons opgemaakt werden, en reeds preuven van hebben genooten, die alle welke bekomen synde, eenig vergift hadden ingekregen ook gestorven ben."

No. 3.

days later,¹ adding that "the Spaniards will no longer permit any trafficking for horses on their territory." And the matter did not better itself. On June 14, 1703, the European war being then fully under way, Beekman wrote to the West India Company:

I am very sorry to be obliged to inform you that, owing to the present war, no horses are to be got above here as hitherto, inasmuch as those Indians think themselves to stand under the crowns of Spain and France; and this trade is thereby crippled.²

In this very letter was inclosed³ the muster-roll first announcing a Dutch post up the Cuyuni.⁴ "Outlier in the river Cuyuni," it says—"Allart Lammers, of Meenen, outlier." In the margin is the note: "From the fort, six weeks by water."⁵ In the following month, in accordance with the rule of sending by different bottoms duplicates of all papers, another copy of this muster-roll was forwarded to Holland,⁶ but with a slight variation in the note as to the location of the Cuyuni *311 post. It now reads: "Up in the savanna, six weeks by water."⁷ The pay-roll of the colony,⁸ made up at the close of the fiscal year, but not sent to Holland till some months later, brought more details. "Allart Lemmers, of Meenen," says this circumstantial witness, was made outlier in Cuyuni May 20, 1703, but on account of his "brutalities" ⁹ was removed on October 1, 1703, and reduced to the rank of a sailor on the commandeur's

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 69.

² Extracts, p. 203. The mention of France here along with Spain is to be explained, doubtless, by the fact that under its Bourbon claimant Spain was now virtually in the hands of France. The phrasing is, perhaps, only the commandeur's own, and chosen for Dutch ears.

³ Extracts, No. 89.

⁴ It is this muster-roll which is printed at the top of page 70 in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," but by an error it is there described as an inclosure in a letter of 1702. It is slightly misplaced in the volume in which it is now bound, but was demonstrably sent by the ship *De Jonge Jan* in June, 1703. The invoice of articles sent by this vessel accompanies it in the volume and shows this muster-roll as No. 9, corresponding with the number on the document itself. The same list shows the consignment of two hogsheads of sugar specially marked with a star, tallying exactly with the statement in Beekman's letter of June 14, 1703, sent by this ship.

⁵ "Van t fort 6 weeken vaers."

⁶ It is this muster-roll which is printed at the foot of page 70 in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3"; but the date "June 19, 1703," there attached to it is an error. It bears no date, but was transmitted by the ship *Pinnenburg*, July 27, 1703, on whose list of consignments it appears as No. 4, with which number it is itself also docketed. (This list is now document No. 97 in the volume.) The muster-roll of this date printed in my own transcripts (Extracts, No. 89) is from a duplicate of the same date, found at the Hague. Careful comparison of this with the London manuscript shows them almost precisely alike—the title printed in the Blue Book having been supplied by the editors, and the "90" and "9" for "40" and "4," with one or two other slight variations, being oversights of transcription or of the press.

⁷ "Boven inl savan 6 weeken vaers," reads the London manuscript.

⁸ Extracts, p. 207.

⁹ The word meant less in Dutch than now in English, "insubordination" or "insolence" would perhaps be better than the literal translation. Half a century later the next postholder in Cuyuni was dismissed on a similar charge of misconduct. "His brutality," wrote the governor (the same Dutch word is here used), "makes him capable of doing mischief amongst the Indians; and he, too, was shipped back to Europe." (Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 109.)

No. 3.

yacht, remaining there till August 10, 1704, when he was allowed to go back to Holland.

This is all we know of it. Neither the open correspondence of the West India Company with its colony nor its extant secret minutes show any mention of this post; and it is half a century before a Cuyuni post is again heard of. The pay-rolls,¹ continuous from this point on, and confirmed by frequent muster-rolls,² show, beyond a doubt, that for the time this was the end of it.

*312 *A post in Cuyuni, up in the savanna, six weeks by water from Fort Kykoveral, manned only by an outlier, from May 20 to October 1, 1703. Not, as has been hastily asserted, in the "Pariacot savanna." That—if there was such a savanna—is not improbable; but it is purely inference, lacking all documentary proof. "The savanna" implies either some well-known savanna, or the savanna region of the upper Cuyuni in general. The "Pariacot savanna" had been mentioned but once, if at all, in the past quarter-century of the colony's correspondence, and, if a special savanna, could hardly be well-known to the Company; but, as we have seen, if the phrase really existed, it may best have meant the savanna region of the upper Cuyuni in general. There is then little in the direct evidence to guide us as to the site of the post. Six weeks should, by the criterion of later journeys, have sufficed to take the postholder quite to the Orinoco³. He might, at least, in that time have reached any point in the savanna. The phrase, "by water," should, perhaps, not be too closely pressed, since his journey thither must, in any case, have been mainly by water; but it may be noted that all other colonial posts, earlier or later, kept to the edge of navigable water, and this venturer so far afield was surely not less likely thus to secure his retreat.

If one would conjecture the exact site of the post, one must turn for help to the circumstances. As we have seen, the only traffic in the upper Cuyuni which had lately found mention in the colonial correspondence was

¹ Beginning in 1700, the only years unrepresented by these pay-rolls down to the loss of the colony in 1796, are 1735, 1737, 1761, 1762, 1779, 1795. In 1774 (owing to a quarrel between Director-General and Commandant) the postholders and byliers are not given, and in two or three of the pay-rolls a half-year's accounts only are found—including, however, all open accounts. There are muster-rolls for all the years thus lacking, except 1761, 1762; and for 1762 there is a colonial directory, giving full statistics of the posts. For the year of reoccupation, 1802-3, there is a list in Governor Meertens's journal (under July 5, 1803). From the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, our information as to the number and personnel of the posts is certain, and virtually complete.

² The muster-rolls are more irregular as to date than the pay-rolls, but most of the years of the eighteenth century are represented by at least one. Those extant from the half-dozen years following 1703 are respectively of August 10, 1704, June 18, 1705 (date of letter of transmission), June 24, 1706, July 30, 1706, October 20, 1707 (date of letter of transmission), January 1, 1709. None of these mention a Cuyuni post, which first appears again in that of April 14, 1755.

³ Compare, for instance, that of Lopez de la Puente in 1789 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 337-339). To be sure, La Puente had a generous number of oarsmen, and the same may be said of the expedition of Bonaldes in 1758; but the postholder, too, could doubtless count on Indian help, abundant and skillful. It must, however, be remembered that he had his wares to transport, and may well have planned to barter by the way.

No. 3.

that in horses. These, as the power used in working the sugar mills, were an essential to *that industry which was the life of the colony—a *313 thing without which, as Commandeur Beekman wrote in June, 1703,¹ in speaking of the war's hindrance of their importation, the colony would be forced into ruin. And what special anxieties as to the supply were just now caused by the attitude of the Indians in the upper Cuyuni we have also seen. It is surely not strange that the two latest historians of these colonies should associate the new post with the traffic in horses.² If this inference be just, then certainly the most likely base for that postholder's operations would be the point where the horses could best be delivered and shipped. To this end, in view of the grave dangers of the rapids and the difficulties of sustenance on the long water journey, there would doubtless be sought, first, the most navigable route, and then the lowest point where this was reached by the savanna. In such case, the Curumo was more likely to be traversed than the Yuruari; not alone because it is a more navigable stream and a much shorter route to the savanna, but because the falls in the Cuyuni above its junction with the Curumo are especially difficult and dangerous.³

*The savanna crosses the Curumo⁴ at a point near its junction with *314

¹ Extracts, p. 204. Erroneously 1808 in the Comma.' Report.

² Netscher, p. 92; Rodway, i, pp. 49-50. Both these writers, however, go further than the evidence warrants, the former representing the horses as "bought of traders from Spanish Guiana," the latter declaring the post "established for the purpose of bringing horses from Spanish Guiana." These may be plausible inferences, but they are inferences only.

³ The Spanish officer Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who in 1788-89 made such a comparative examination of these rivers as no other is known to have done, reported that "the river Curumo is navigable the greater part of the year for sailing-boats and canoes, and in flood time even for large vessels. By this river there is a great saving of rapids in going to Essequibo, which abound in the Yuruari and Cuyuni to the mouth of the Curumo." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 329-332, 337-339.) The Curumo, he says (p. 338), speaking of it at the place near Tumeremo where it is crossed by the savanna, "is quite navigable, without rapids, unless the fierce summer dries it up, as they say, but only for a short time." So, too, the English party from Demerara which in 1857 went up into the Yuruari gold region learned that the journey might be considerably shortened "by avoiding the Yuruari and proceeding . . . by the Cooroomoo Creek to Toomeremo, where horses can be had to proceed to Tupuquen." On reaching the creek they found it impassable, owing to the exceptional dryness of the season; but they were told that "in the wet season Tupuquen can be reached in three days by this creek." They were a full week making their way up the Cuyuni from this point to the mouth of the Yuruari, finding the Yacami Rapid especially difficult, while "above that the river was one confused mass of islands and rocks and one continuous series of falls and rapids." And in the Yuruari they "came to a series of rapids, caused by the river pouring over most enormous beds and blocks of granite which much exceed in height, and are much more difficult of ascent, than any met with in the Cuyuni." (See the journal of Mr. Campbell, one of the party, in *Timehri*, June, 1883, pp. 120, 129, 132, 133.) How familiar the Dutch were with the Curumo route at the middle of the eighteenth century appears abundantly from the complaints of the Spanish missionaries. "Being the lowest direct communication with the Spanish provinces," writes Hilhouse, who, first of all Englishmen, visited its mouth in 1837, "it was the old route of smugglers."

⁴ Atlas, map 2. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 338. Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 60, Campbell, writing in 1857 at a point below Tupuquen on the Yuruari, declares that "the country between this place and the Cooroomoo Creek is open savannah, over which cattle could easily be driven; and there is also a savannah on the opposite side of the same creek which extends for some distance and approaches the Cuyuni. It would not, therefore, be a very serious undertaking to make a road across this country by which cattle might be driven to Demerara." (*Timehri*, June, 1883, p. 138.)

No. 3.

the Mutanambo, not far from the later site of Tumeremo. It was near this point that the road made by Courthial forty years later for the introduction of horses and cattle into Essequibo entered the forest.¹ It is here or hereabout, as it seems to me, that, if one must hazard a conjecture at all, the Cuyuni post of 1703 is most likely to have been placed, and probably on the west bank of the stream.²

But there is one consideration, at least, which makes all such guessing hazardous. It is not certain that a site for this *Cuyuni post was ever selected or that the postholder ever reached the savanna. He was appointed, to be sure, on May 20, 1703. But the post-holder of a new post might well be delayed by preparations, and May was not a favorite month for a voyage up river; but if, in view of the probable emergency, a prompt start is in this instance to be assumed, it must have been July before he reached his destination. If the "brutalities" for which he was dismissed were committed immediately on his arrival and reported to the governor at once, the order for his recall could barely, even with all allowance for swifter downstream travel, have brought him back by October 1, the known date of his discharge. It is possible, of course, that his discharge was made to date from the arrival of the complaint or from his receipt of the recall; but so to condemn without a hearing, and on Indian evidence, hardly suits with Dutch practice. In any case, there remains the possibility that he embroiled himself with the Indians *en route* and failed to reach his destination, or, reaching it, had not yet established himself at any site.

What throws an air of mystery about the whole matter is the total silence both of the commandeur and of the Company. Such silence as to a new post is almost or quite without a parallel,³ and, taken in connection with the disappearance of that dispatch of a decade earlier which reported the discovery of a new source of horses, it suggests the possibility of
 *316 a *correspondence too confidential to find a place in these extant bodies of letters. Yet the frequent loss of ships and of papers in these times of war must be remembered.⁴

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86, 91, 327.

² But for the greatness of the distance from the fort, I should in my historical map (Atlas, map 9) have located it conjecturally at the junction of the Curumo and the Mutanambo. That distance, however, coupled with what La Puente says of the navigability of the stream even above the union with the Mutanambo, has led me hesitantly to set it a little higher, at the confluence of another tributary. It is, however, wholly matter of conjecture whether the savanna skirts thus far the banks of the river; no traveler has yet described that quarter.

³ The Demerary post was perhaps inherited in 1771 from Berbice; but in the case of the Mahaicony a little later, of the Pomeroon post in 1679 and in 1689, of Arinda in 1736, of the restored Cuyuni post in 1766, and even in the case of mere changes of site, there was explicit correspondence between the governor and the Company. When in 1684 and again in 1744 a post on the Barima was suggested, or in 1746 one on the Cuyuni, it was in terms which suggested a need of the approval of the Company. It is only of the Cuyuni post of 1754 that we first learn after its establishment (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103), and even here in terms which imply an earlier knowledge by the Company.

⁴ In 1708 (May 2) this had proved so serious that the Company required the sending of letters in triplicate, instead of duplicate, while the war lasted.

No. 3.

The discontinuance of the post in Cuyuni finds no direct explanation in the documents. But we know whence the colony was supplied with horses. In November, 1703, we find Beekman buying twenty-eight from an English ship, and in August, 1704, thanking the Company for their relaxation in such times of emergency of their prohibition of trade with the English. In April of that year the Company wrote that it had gained from the patroons of Berbice permission for Essequibo to buy horses from those shipped thither. But in 1706 they were still being procured from up the Cuyuni, though there was complaint of their mortality on the road.¹ In October, 1707, the commandeur complained that they could no longer be got thus from above so conveniently and in such quantity as need required.² It is the last mention I have found of the importation of horses by this route.

For long one hears no more of the upper Cuyuni, save now and then of the pursuit and capture there of an escaping slave.³ The Company's monopoly of the trade in Indian slaves there was strictly insisted on,⁴ though the yield was small; and in 1731 the directors, who had not followed the advice given them in 1722 by the engineer, Maurain-Saincterre, to establish coffee plantations above the falls,⁵ asked the colonial authorities if these rivers could not be put to some further use.⁶ They replied only that the rapids made plantations there impossible.⁷

*But when a few years later there arrived in the colony as secretary *317 the energetic young engineer officer, Storm van 's Gravesande, another use for these rivers was suggested. He noticed there signs of mineral wealth, transmitted specimens, and urged the sending over of a mining engineer.⁸ Early in 1741 this miner, one Thomas Hildebrandt, arrived; and until the middle of 1743 investigations were carried on vigorously under his direction, both in the Mazaruni and in the Cuyuni.⁹ His letters, and especially his journals, transmitted to the Company, give with prolix minuteness the method and the place of his researches. In the Mazaruni he went no further up than a little above the plantation Poelwijk, scarcely to the lowest rapids. In the Cuyuni, which promised better, he pushed his explorations much farther. The highest point reached by him was a creek called "Moroko-Eykoeroe" (Moroko Creek), where he opened a copper mine. The place was some two days distant from Kykoveral,¹⁰ and, so nearly as

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72.

² Extracts, p. 208.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 71, 72. Extracts, pp. 233, 272, 273.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 82.

⁵ Extracts, p. 248.

⁶ Extracts, p. 254.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 83.

⁸ Extracts, pp. 281-285.

⁹ Extracts, pp. 285-301.

¹⁰ On his first journey up the river, prospecting as he went, it took him several days to reach there; but he afterwards repeatedly sent a boat thither and back from Cartabo in a little less than four days, and his own later trips thither tally with this. (Extracts, pp. 287-292, 294-298, 300.)

No. 3.

can be determined from his description, was on the right or south bank of the river,¹ probably somewhere near the head of what appears in modern maps as the island of Suwaraima.

To facilitate his work and "to escape the great danger of the falls,"

Hildebrandt constructed a road through the forest from the indigo
*318 plantation, at the head of tide-water, to the *still water above the first great series of rapids,² and planned to build another stretch yet higher upstream.³

The mines, however, did not speedily pay. Hildebrandt's brutal manners alienated superiors and subordinates, and drove the slaves to desertion. In 1743, after an alleged attempt to run away himself, bag and baggage, up the Cuyuni to Orinoco, he was packed off home to Europe. This was the first and the last of Dutch attempts at mining in the Cuyuni.⁴

In 1746 there was attempted in that quarter another enterprise of not less promise. A Frenchman named Ignace Courthial, originally perhaps from Martinique, but long an explorer and trader, not to say a smuggler, in this frontier district, was by the colonial authorities permitted, though not yet a citizen of the colony or a subject of Holland,⁵ to cut a road

¹ True, he speaks of the Blaauwenberg, or Blue Mountains; and on the Spanish map handed in by Storm van 's Gravesande in 1750 the Blaauwenberg is a range north of the Cuyuni. But more than one sentence of Hildebrandt suggests that to him the Blue Mountains were on the other bank as well. Owing to the bend in the course of the stream, hills which at this point are south of the Cuyuni would, as seen from the lower river, seem to be north. The range (only a few hundred feet in actual height) possibly crosses the river. Few of the names he mentions can be identified on the maps.

² Extracts, pp. 299, 301. In reporting it to the Company he calls it "a small path, such as could be traveled by men." It appears from his journal that its breadth was 1½ fathoms. When, in 1789, the Spaniard Lopez de la Puente made his raid down the river, he found here a road—perhaps that opened by Hildebrandt—from "the mouth of the creek Tupuro," "the head of the rapid Camaria," to the foot of the lowest fall. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 388.)

³ Extracts, p. 300.

⁴ The statement of Mr. Schomburgk, copied by many, as to an attempt at mining here in 1721 is an error, caused, perhaps, by connecting these operations of 1741–1743 in the Cuyuni with the attempt of the West India Company in 1721 (mentioned by Hartsinck, I, p. 281) to encourage the discovery of mines in Essequibo. In 1742, while Hildebrandt was at work, the Company wrote to the governor of a rumor that an old slave bought from the Spaniards and emancipated had revealed to one Steynfels the existence of "a rich mineral mountain situate toward the side of Orinoco," and instructed him with all secrecy to investigate this; but nothing seems to have come of it. (Extracts, p. 294; cf. also p. 369.)

⁵ That Courthial was in March, 1746, not yet a citizen of Essequibo is implied in Storm's phrase "one Ignatius Courthial" (instead of the usual "an inhabitant of this colony") in reporting to the Company the granting of his petition. But we have besides Courthial's explicit statement to the Company in August, 1748, that he had been "only about two years" their subject, and that he did not become so until after several interviews with the governor—an acquaintance which Storm's letter of March 19, 1746, by no means implies. The "admittance to this colony" ("*entrée en cette colonie*"), which he says he had been granted, implies only admittance for trade; *access* would perhaps be a better translation. Mr. Rodway's statement, amplified from General Netscher's, that Courthial had been one of Hildebrandt's miners, is, I think, an error. I have nowhere met his name among Hildebrandt's reports, and it is quite inconsistent with his own review of his career. (Rodway, *History of British Guiana*, I, p. 130; Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 118; Extracts, pp. 318–321.) That he may have gone with the miners sent in 1746 to investigate in the upper Essequibo (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 87, 88) is not improbable; but, in that case, it was doubtless as a guide.

No. 3.

through *the forest to the savannas of the upper Cuyuni, in order *319 thus to bring in mules, horses and cattle from Orinoco.¹ As the Company's post in Demerara was no longer needed there, that river having just been opened to colonists, the governor proposed to remove it to this Cuyuni road and charge it not only with trade there, but with the collection of import dues on the animals brought in; but where on this road he meant to place the post he does not say.² The Company approved his plan;³ but it is clear from the pay and muster rolls that for some reason it was not carried out.⁴ It is possible that, as in the case of the post at the same time projected for the Barima, he could not find a trusty postholder. In December of 1748 Courthial himself had gone up the Orinoco after some hundreds of cattle and mules;⁵ but his thought was now of a great stock ranch in the savannas of Berbice and Demerara, where he would himself raise all the beasts needed by the Dutch colonies.⁶ This project, saddled with an ambitious scheme to make himself *the *320 founder of a landed family, was, though long considered, never accepted by the Company; but of his road to Orinoco I find no later mention in the extant records of the colony.⁷ In 1755 we find him importing cattle by water.⁸

A Cuyuni post, indeed, was not long after established, but not on Courthial's road. On November 1, 1754, according to the pay-roll, Johannes Neuman, of Thaube, was taken into service as outlier in the river Cuyuni.⁹ It was the time of the great panic over the rumor of a projected Spanish invasion. Fears were somewhat allayed, but on October 7 the Essequibo Council had learned that the commander of the troops in the Orinoco had caused a fugitive Dutchman there to make him a drawing of the course of the Cuyuni.¹⁰ On November 26 the Director-General speaks of having

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86, 327. Extracts, pp. 318-321. Atlas, map 61.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 86.

³ Extracts, pp. 304, 305.

⁴ It is true that in 1770 several Capuchin Fathers and a couple of Spanish functionaries testified at Santo Thomé that the Cuyuni post destroyed in 1758 had existed since 1747 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 281-290; Venezuelan "Documents," II., pp. 187-213); but it is more likely that these could be mistaken, borrowing the error one from another, than that such a post should exist unknown to pay-rolls and muster-rolls, and unreported by the governor either by letter or in the explicit account of the colony submitted by him in person in 1750, or that, in such case, the Cuyuni post could in 1755 appear on the muster-rolls as the "new post." It will be noticed that these same Spanish witnesses agree in stating that tidings of the post did not come to Spanish ears until 1757.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 90.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 318-324. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 102.

⁷ For a Spanish reminiscence of it in 1787, see Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 327. It is rudely laid down in the Spanish map handed in by Storm in 1750. (Atlas, map 61.)

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103.

⁹ "*Johannes Neuman uyllegger in de Rivier van Cajoeny. Wint per maand f. 14. Daer voor door den Heer Directeur Generael den eersten November in dienst genomen.*" And, on the credit page, a statement of his wages earned "*sedert p^{mo} Novemb. tot heden.*" He appears accordingly in the muster-roll of April 14, 1755. In June, 1755, it was still "the new post in Cuyuni." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 104.)

¹⁰ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 102.

No. 3.

sent spies to the Cuyuni, and of a promise of the Indians there that they will well guard the passage.¹ What was the connection, if any, between all this and the new post, or what, if anything, the earlier grievance of the approach of the Spanish missions may have had to do with it is matter for inference only.² In 1750, the governor being then in Holland, the acting governor, in speaking of these Spanish missions, had deprecated *321 the opening of a trade in cattle with them "unless a good Post *were established" on the route.³ But this proposal "I have thought it best simply to mention," he said, "trusting that as the commandeur in person is near you he will have spoken thereof also." Commandeur Storm, now bearing the higher title of Director-General, had returned in 1752,⁴ and perhaps not without instructions on this point. But there is in his correspondence no mention of this Cuyuni post until, in a letter of May, 1755, Storm speaks of "the Post located by order of the Council up in the Cuyuni," as if the Company already knew all about it. Extracts from the minutes of the colonial Council (Court of Policy) were from time to time transmitted to the Company; but if one reciting this action was forwarded it has now escaped from the records. An explanation of the new post is clearly not in the Director-General's intent; but the environment of this earliest mention of the new post is interesting. The Spanish invasion, he thinks, is at a standstill, but, "they will try to creep in softly, and as far as possible, to draw near us and shut us in."⁵ "And it is certain," he adds, "that they have now complete possession of the creek Orawary,⁶ emptying into the Cuyuni, which indisputably is your territory. The post located by order of the Council above in Cuyuni is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings."

Whether or no there is here ought to suggest the purpose of the post, there is apparently a clew to its site. The Orawary at once suggests the Yuruari, and of the dates and places of the Yuruari missions much is known. Yet before weighing the testimony, it will be well to wait till the evidence is all in. Year by year the post reappears in the pay and *322 muster rolls *until 1758,⁷ but without description of its site or distance. Once it is mentioned in a letter of the governor, but only to

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 102. No. 115.

² Complaint of them had been unceasing. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86-88, 92-95, 99, 100. Extracts, Nos. 155, 157-161, 164, 167, 169, 173, 181.

³ Extracts, p. 385.

⁴ He landed in Essequibo on March 20, having been gone "exactly two years."

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 108.

⁶ Not "*Iruwary*," as in the Blue Book. Both in Storm's autograph, at London, and in the duplicate at The Hague, the "O" at least is beyond question,

⁷ The pay rolls show Neuman alone at the post until 1757, when he was replaced as outlier by "Johan Stephen Iskes, of Germany, taken therefor into service November 15," 1757. Iskes had been an assistant miner under Hildebrandt, and had taken a large part in the work up the Cuyuni, as may be seen from Hildebrandt's journal. In 1758 "Guilliaam Patist de Bruyn," of Biervliet, first appears at the post as bylier. The muster-rolls in point are those of June 30, 1757, and of August, 1758—an extract from the latter is printed in Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 109.

No. 3.

announce the discharge of an unworthy postholder. Suddenly, on September 9, 1758, he makes it the subject of a special letter.¹ Nearly all the Caribs of the Cuyuni, he writes, "came down the stream last week, and informed your Creoles,² living just below the great fall of that river, that the Spaniards of Orinoco, according to their computation about one hundred strong, had come down the stream, and made a successful raid upon your post." They had carried off, the Caribs said, the postholder and bylier, with a Creole and his wife and children, and had laid waste "everything about the post."³

Yet, while protesting that the post was not on Spanish ground, the Director-General does not describe its site, but instead claims the whole river, citing in his support the map of D'Anville, whereon "you will see our boundaries themselves depicted, of which, it appears, he was instructed on good authority."⁴

*But the West India Company was not so sure. At least, though *323 in the official remonstrance drawn by them and at their instance addressed in July, 1759, by the States-General to Spain,⁵ they stoutly protested that from time immemorial they had been in undisturbed possession of the Essequibo and its branches, and especially of its northernmost arm, the Cuyuni, they at the same time asked the governor to inform them exactly "where the aforesaid post was situated on the river Cuyuni."⁶ The governor's reply was prompt and explicit. On September 1, 1759, he answered: "The post which was surprised in a fashion so contrary to the law of nations was situated about fifteen hours above the place where the Cuyuni unites with the Mazaruni." "Yet," he added, "this can not much matter; even if it had lain fifty hours higher, it was a thing which did not concern the Spaniards."⁷

Even before receiving this reply, the Company had further requested "a little map of the river Cuyuni, with indication of the places where the Company's post, and also the grounds of Old Duinenburg and of the Company's coffee and indigo plantations, were situated, and finally the place of

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 109-110.

² So I understand the word which in the Blue Book is translated "agents." In the manuscript, which in this case is not Storm's autograph, but a copy, is written plainly "*Oncden*," which is no Dutch word and can be explained by nothing, except, perhaps, the French "*oncle*." "Uncles" might conceivably mean old negroes; but it was not the old negroes who lived here. I think it a mere miswriting of *Oriolen*, "Creoles." This error would be especially easy to one copying Storm's handwriting. To begin this word *Oriolen* with a capital was customary. And it is well known that the Creoles then lived in Cuyuni, just below the falls. They are mentioned, too, by Storm himself in this very connection in later letters. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 114, 118, 120.)

³ "*Alles rondom de post.*"

⁴ . . . "*en daerop selver onze limieten afgeleekent sien, waarvan het schynt hy van goeder hand onderreget was.*" What makes this puzzling is that D'Anville's map does not give the whole river to the Dutch. (See Atlas, maps 39, 40.)

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 111. Extracts, pp. 381-386.

⁶ Extracts, p. 381.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 386, 387.

No. 3.

the so-called Blaauwenberg, where the miners worked on our behalf.”¹ This map, an extract from D’Anville’s with these places indicated on it by the governor himself, was sent and received.² In addition to the sites of the post and of the plantations in the Cuyuni, he had marked also “the dwelling place of the half-free Creoles, to which,” he said, “the Spaniards came very close.”³ The map, alas, can no longer be found; but this *324 statement about the near approach of the Spaniards to the *Creoles (whose place, at the foot of the lowest falls, is else known⁴) is a helpful clew to the site assigned on it to the post.

These three passages—that about the creek Orawary and the distance of the post from the Spanish dwellings, that stating its distance from the mouth of the Cuyuni, and that implying its nearness to the home of the Creoles—are, I think, the whole of the evidence in Dutch documents as to the location of this Cuyuni post of 1754–1758. But to these should perhaps be added the testimony of a Dutch witness who may possibly have had access to a document now lost. This witness is Jan Jacob Hartsinck, a functionary of the Amsterdam Admiralty, who in his well-known *Beschryving van Guiana*, published in 1770, deals at some length with the attempts to explore the region of the fabled Lake of Parima. “For the same reasons,” he says, after speaking of the alleged repulse by the natives of certain Spanish expeditions of 1755, “our governor of Essequibo in the year 1756 sent thither an owl, or chief, of the Panacays, in order to get leave to send some white men, but in vain. He likewise at this time placed the post on the Cuyuni some 50 miles higher up, which in the following year was raided by the Spaniards, who carried off as prisoners the whites who there kept the post.”⁵ Now, Hartsinck in his preface expressly thanks a certain learned friend, whose modesty forbade the mention of his name, for accurate information regarding the explorations made in the colony of Essequibo and the neighboring rivers by order of Governor Storm van ’s Gravesande.⁶ This learned friend may not im-
 *325 probably have been that Professor Allamand, of Leyden, who is known, as Storm’s own friend and correspondent, to *have been informed by him on such points.⁷ A certain verisimilitude is further given to Hartsinck’s narrative by the fact that in the very letter in which Storm speaks of the creek Orawary and the distance of the Spaniards, he mentions the presence at his house of “the chiefs of the Panacay nation, dwelling up in Cuyuni.”⁸ But it will be noticed that Hartsinck’s story is in contradiction not less with Storm’s statement of 1755 as to the

¹ Extracts, pp. 388, 389.

² Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” pp. 114, 116, 117, 118. Extracts, p. 393.

³ Blue Book “Venezuela No. 3,” p. 114.

⁴ See p. *305, above, and note, p. *322.

⁵ *Beschryving van Guiana*, I, p. 265.

⁶ *Beschryving van Guiana*, pp. xi, xii.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 387, 414.

⁸ Extracts, p. 364.

No. 3.

post's distance from the Spanish dwellings than with his statement of 1759 as to its distance from the mouth of the Cuyuni. Hartsinck's *mijl* was, as we know well, the normal one of fifteen to a degree—equal, that is, to 4 English nautical miles.¹ And Storm's hour (with him always a measure of distance, not of time) is equally certain; for, in the map prepared with his own hands for the Company in 1748,² the scale laid down is of *uuren gaens*, "hours of travel." They are apparently the same as those of D'Anville's scale³—equal to a little more than 2½ English nautical miles, a little less than 3 English statute miles.⁴ If, then, the Cuyuni post was in May, 1755, only ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings, it would hardly have been moved 50 mijls higher in 1756.

But there is still other evidence to reckon with. Two other Dutchmen, best likely of all to know the site—the postholder himself and his assistant—were required by their Spanish captors to testify on this point; and their sworn statements, preserved in the Spanish archives, have lately been printed *both by Great Britain and by Venezuela.⁵ Though *326 open, of course, to some suspicion of duress on the one side or bad faith on the other and to the doubts attaching to testimony in a language foreign to the deponent, there is little or nothing in their contents to warrant incredulity.⁶ The place where the post was, they said, was named Cuiba, or Cuiva,⁷ and situated on the banks of the Cuyuni. The lands

¹ See, e. g., the scales on all his maps—his own work. (Atlas, map 54.)

² Atlas, map 60.

³ Atlas, map 39.

⁴ This is borne out by a comparison of Storm's map with that of Hartsinck. Taking, for example, the distance so often traversed between Kykoveral and Fort Zelandia, we find it a little less than 2 of Hartsinck's miles, a little less than fifteen of Storm's hours.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 246-248; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 26, 31.

⁶ The fact that both the postholder and his assistant, on their release from Spanish custody, were in such ill plight physically that the under-postholder soon died and that the postholder was in 1762 barely able to walk (Blue Book, pp. 117, 122) savors unpleasantly of the use of the torture—an aid by no means foreign to Spanish procedure. But the testimony itself is not of a sort to give color to this suspicion; it seems free both from tendency and from artificial concurrence. The one statement which seems in sharpest conflict with what is else known is that declaring the post to have been "maintained in that place for many years" (*muchos años*). The interpreter may not impossibly have misunderstood *cenige*, "some," for *menige*, "many"—though, for that matter, *menige* need mean no more than "several." And as neither the postholder nor his assistant had been at the place more than eight months (the "eighteen," in the British translation of the latter's testimony is but a misprint—conflicting, at least, not only with the Venezuelan translation, but with the certified Spanish transcripts filed with the Commission) their testimony to this could in any case have no such value as that part of their depositions where they speak as eye-witnesses. It is to be noticed, furthermore, that the Orinoco Commandant himself, in a subsequent statement, reported these witnesses as testifying that the post was established "during the last few years" and "had been kept there for a few years." (Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 119.)

⁷ According to the certified extracts from the Spanish archives filed with the Commission, the name is "Cuiba" in the deposition of the postholder, where it is once mentioned; "Cuiva" in that of his assistant, where it occurs twice. (To any who know Spanish it needs no pointing out that *b* and *v* were thus interchanged at will. "*Felix populus, ubi vivere est bibere et bibere est vivere*," runs the apostrophe of an envious Frenchman—I owe the *mot* to Mr. Coudert.) The spelling is, of course, only an attempt to reproduce the sound of an Indian name: one may expect it in Spanish ears to take indifferently the form Cuiba, Cuiva, or Cuigua; or at Dutch hands to be spelled with an initial *K* or *Q* as freely as with a *C*.

No. 3.

about it were flooded lands, unsuited to cultivation; but there were good lands higher up. Asked its distance from the "colony of Essequibo," one replied that, though very short, "three whole days were needed for the journey;" the other that it was "three days, more or less." This
 *327 estimate of the distance seems in full *concurrence with the governor's reply to the Company as to the site of the post; for we know from his own lips that he reckoned "two or three days' journey" up such a river at "12 or, at the utmost, 15 hours."¹ But there follows in each of these depositions an explanation of this estimate which is very puzzling, in view of the geographical conditions. Both postholder and assistant explain that three days are needed for the journey because the navigation is dependent on the tides (*mareas*) and takes its route through bayous (*caños*).² That this is the meaning of the Spanish seems to me clear. Such navigation by the aid of the tide, and through bayous navigable at the flood, was, as we abundantly know, a common thing in the coast districts and familiar to both Spaniards and Dutch. That the words could have suggested anything else to Spanish ears it is hard to believe. But the Cuyuni is not in the coast region; and, though the tide comes up into it, it comes only as far as its lowest falls, a couple of "hours" from its junction with the Mazaruni. Moreover, as its banks are high to its very mouth, a bayou is a thing else unheard of. Whatever may have been in the thought of the Spanish questioner, I cannot believe that the two Dutchmen could have understood by "the colony of Essequibo" anything less than the whole body of plantations; still less that they could have taken as the starting point of their reckoning any place more remote than Fort Kykoveral, which up to this year 1758 had still its garrison, and which within the memory of one, if not of both men, had been the very center
 of the colony. I can only conclude, therefore, that the Spanish words
 *328 must represent *rather what the answer of the Dutchmen meant to their Spanish hearers than what they really intended to say. That the navigation of the Cuyuni, not less than that of the tidal streams, depends on the height of the water is a fact well known; and that certain channels are available only at flood for the passage of the rapids is adequately vouched for. That some such statement of the Dutch prisoners may have been misunderstood by the Spanish functionaries is at least more plausible than three days of tide water and bayous in the Cuyuni above "the colony of Essequibo;" and this thought may have guided the British translators in a rendering of these passages which is almost too free to be called a translation.³ But this rendering explains, after all, only why the

¹ Extracts, p. 369.

² Iskes "*Responde: Que es muy corta sin embargo de que se gastan tres dias naturales, por razon de que solo se navega con las mareas, y su navegacion es por caños.*" Bruyn "*Responde: Que tres dias poco mas, bien entendido que solo se navega con las mareas por ser caños anegadizos.*" (Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 246, 247; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 28, 30.)

³ They render thus the reason given by Iskes for the slowness of the journey: "The rivers could only be navigated when they were high, and then only in the channels." And that of Bruyn: "The

No. 3.

Cuyuni should be navigated at certain seasons, not why a given journey should take always three days; in fact, it proves rather that the required time should be greater at one season than at another. While convinced that there must here be a misunderstanding, I confess myself unable as yet to suggest a satisfactory explanation.

But, even yet, not all the evidence is in. The Spaniards who raided the post had also discovered where it was, and they have left on record its distance from their own starting-point. By the sworn testimony of these witnesses¹ it was about noon of the ninth day after their departure from the mission village of Yuruari when they first came upon a Dutchman, the under-postholder,² at a point in the river where, as *he himself *329 explained,³ he was helping some Indians make a clearing;⁴ and it was two days farther on down the river that they found the post itself.⁵ The return journey upstream to the village whence they set out took them twenty-two days—thirteen by water, the rest by land.⁶ No names of places are mentioned as landmarks on this journey; but, happily, we possess a detailed journal of a similar expedition made by the same route forty years later. This journal of Antonio Lopez de la Puente,⁷ in 1789, gives us the day by day progress of the expedition from the mission village of Tupuquen to the mouth of the Tupuro, at the head of the Camaria rapid, less than a dozen miles from tide water on the Cuyuni. This journey of La Puente seems to have been a somewhat more leisurely one than that of 1758, and occurred later in the season, when the falling of the water probably made the downward passage a little slower, the upward a little swifter; but with slight allowance for these differences, the one seems a fair basis of inference for the other. The starting point was, indeed, not the same; and the site of the mission village of Yuruari is not known with certainty. Yet it may with fair probability be located on the river of its name at the confluence of the Aima, and it could not in any case have been far from this.⁸ It was then, *at most, less than a day above Tupuquen. *330

navigation could only be carried on when the rivers were high, and the channels full of water." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 246, 247.)

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 242, 244; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 17, 19.

² "Como á la hora del medio dia." On the night preceding they had arrived at a Carib village "A los ocho dias de navegacion llegaron á una Rancheria de Indios Caribes, . . . y al dia siguiente" they captured the said Dutchman.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 247; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 80.

⁴ "Responde que por Direccion de su cabo avia venido á dicho parage en solicitud de unos Indios para que les ayudase á trazar en la Rosa que abrian y que a poco tiempo de estar allí llegaron los Españoles."

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 242; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 17.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 243-246. " . . . y que del expresado parage donde tenian su Rancheria que es en el Rio Coiuny gastaron á la Mision de donde salieron veinte y dos dias, tres de navegacion Rio arriba, y los Restantes por tierra." By an odd conjunction of accidents, the "thirteen" (*trece*) is omitted in the British translation and rendered "three" in the Venezuelan.

⁷ Not to be confused with the Luis Lopez de la Puente of the first expedition.

⁸ For a discussion of this site, on which no light is thrown by Dutch documents, I may refer to my paper *On the Historical Maps* (vol iii. of this report, pp. *205, *206). Tupuquen itself had been the site of an earlier mission until 1750, when the Caribs destroyed it; it was not restored until 1770.

No. 3.

As the expedition of 1789 loitered for half a day at Canayma,¹ this difference in starting point may almost be ignored.

Now, as we have seen, the expedition of 1758 reached the Dutch post at some time in the course of the eleventh day of its journey. That of 1789, at night of its tenth day had reached a point a little below "the mule pass of Notupicay," clearly the "Otupikai" of Schomburgk, the "Watoopegay" of Hilhouse, at the end of what Mr. Schomburgk calls "the second series of falls or rapids." Just three days later, at the end of the thirteenth day, it arrived at the Camaria rapid, the end of the journey. In returning from this point to Tupuquen (by way of the Curumo, the probable route also of that of 1758, since it traveled partly by land), the expedition used twenty-five days—fourteen and a half by water, the remainder by land; but two of the latter were spent in halts.

One might fairly infer, then, that the site of the Dutch post was somewhere within a day's journey below Notupicay (Otupikai); and it will not have escaped notice that this location answers remarkably to the governor's "fifteen hours" from the confluence with the Mazaruni and to the "three days" from "the colony of Essequibo" of the postholder and his assistant.² And, in singular confirmation of the conclusion to which this agreement points, there is found just here (and so far as a careful search through travels and maps can determine, here alone) a place which still bears the Indian name of the post's site, Cuiva.

On the maps of Mr. Schomburgk,^{*331} and in both *maps and text of the colonial geologists Brown and Sawkins, there appears, as a branch of the Cuyuni on its northern side, half way from the Payuca Rapids to the mouth of the Cutuau,³ a little river named Quive-Kuru, "Quive Creek."⁴ A closer concurrence in the spelling of the Indian sound one could hardly expect.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3, p. 337; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 248.

² Hilhouse, the first Englishman to ascend the Cuyuni, in 1837, declares the Payuca Rapids "47 miles west from our departure"—i. e., from a point an hour below the lowest fall of the Cuyuni. Hilhouse had been four days reaching there, but his boat was overloaded, his crew made up, as he complains, of "half-starved Caribs" (it was during a famine), and he traveled only from four to six hours a day. Hilhouse's distances, in general, have been thought overrated.

³ From the Payuca Rapids to the Quive Creek there is only a short stretch of smooth water.

⁴ This Indian suffix, *kuru* or *curu*, is to be found in the names of many streams, both in the Cuyuni and Mazaruni regions and in the Carib region of the coast. That it means *creek* is but an inference from the fact that, in these Carib regions, it so constantly occurs in the names of creeks and that some of the most experienced travelers detach it by a hyphen from the rest of the name. It appears, as would be expected, under varying spellings: *kuru*, *curu*, *kura*, *cura*, *kourou*, *courou*, *kooroo*, *ooroo*, *kyuru*, *kuroo* and sometimes under the longer form of *icuru* (*aikura*, Dutch *eykoeroe*—the Dutch *oe* has the sound of the English *oo* or German *u*). Thus one finds on the maps the creeks or rivers Accourou, Acayuekyuru, Akeyuru, Amacura, Cura Curu, Corowaikura, Imanikurru, Ipotaikuru, Kashiwaikura, Maniakura, Muracaraiura, Muriassicuru, Wassicuru, Yanecuru, as well as Quivekuru—all these in varying spellings. One may add, perhaps, the slightly different *caru* and *curi*, as in Maurocaru and Waicuri. Hildebrandt, the miner, calls the two creeks up in Cuyuni, in which he carried on operations, "Tiboko-eykoeroe" and "Moroko-eykoeroe" (Extracts, pp. 289, 290, 292). The Dutch planter sent in 1756 to take the testimony of a Carib chief in the Barima region, dates the document at "Aymara-Aykoeroe" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 107); and the Carib witness speaks of Tawa-aykoere, in Mazaruni, where his bread-plantation was.

No. 3.

In support of this conclusion as to the distance of the Dutch post from the Spanish missions might be cited the testimony, *in 1770,¹ *332 of those concerned in the expedition, that it was "seventy leagues" from the then extreme missions of Guasipati and Cavallapi; but, as this is in all probability only an inference from the duration of the journey, it can serve only as a confirmation of our reckoning.

But there is another statement of the Spanish witnesses to the site of the Dutch post which must be discussed more fully, not only because I believe it to have been misunderstood, but because it has an important bearing on the political significance of the expedition of 1758. The appeal of the prefect of the Capuchin mission, Fray Benito de la Garriga, in June, 1758, which led to the dispatching of the expedition, said nothing whatever of a Dutch post. What it complained of was the presence "at the mouth of the river Curumo" of certain Dutchmen buying slaves, though it did at the same time report a rumor of the Caribs that "three Dutchmen and ten negroes, with a large number of Caribs, are building houses and clearing the forest for the forming of a settlement in the Cuyuni." And the decree of the provisional Commandant of Guayana which created the expedition says likewise nothing of a post, but only that "on the island of Curamucuru, in the river Cuyuni," "there is a Dutchman named Jacobs, with a negro of the same nationality, living there established in houses and carrying on the inhuman traffic of enslaving Indians;" wherefore it instructs the expedition in question to proceed "to the said island of Curamucuru secretly for the purpose of apprehending the said Dutchmen."

Now, the expedition, so far as appears from the testimony of its members, never found any island of Curamucuru. It certainly never found a Dutchman named Jacobs. The name *Curamucuru *333 (Curumo-curu?) seems to mean simply Curumo Creek; and I am fain to suspect that the Orinoco Commandant's deficient knowledge of the Carib tongue may have led him into an error. In any case it is probable, as was long ago suggested by British scholars, that this name has some relation to that of the river, and that the site it denotes is not far distant.

Aymara-Aykeroe is very probably the Aymara-Cabura (Haymarakaboera, Moracabura, Haimuracabara) of other documents—a branch of the Moruca, lying thus at the border between Carib and Arawak *cabara*, *cabura* (Dutch spelling, *caboera*), frequent in names of creeks, being perhaps the Arawak equivalent of the Carib *icuru*. Im Thurn knows in the upper Essequibo a creek which in 1880 he spelt "Haimarakura" (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1880, p. 478), but which in 1883 he changed to "Haimarakuroo" (at page 22 of *Among the Indians of Guiana*, where the same passage is but reprinted). The form *Kuru* (*Uru*, *Ura*) is found also at the beginning of names, notably those of rivers or falls, as Curabiri, Curabele, Curacura, Curaparu, Curasanie, Curatokoa, Curlebrong, Curiye, Curiyopo, Curumo. In the scanty Carib vocabularies accessible to me I have found no word resembling this unless it be that for canoe, found in the English derivative "corial" and in sundry compounds chronicled by Adelung (*Mithridates*, iii, 2). The real meaning of the form is, after all, of less account to the present research than its separable character and its association with names of streams, which hardly admit of doubt.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 281-291. Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 187-217.

No. 3.

It is true that, in a memorial addressed in 1769¹ to the King, Fray Benito, again prefect, stated that in the year 1758 he "reported to the Commandant of Guayana that in the Cuyuni River, under the guise of a post, there was a settlement of two Dutch families with house and plantations," and that "he sent a detachment to seize them,"² with more, showing that the capture of the post was in his thought.³ But in the same paper "the prefect stated that other Hollanders had been domiciled at a point very high up the Cuyuni, near the mouth of the Curumo, not far from Cavallapi, and had since withdrawn."⁴ If the prefect men-

tioned to the Commandant a Dutch post, it was in some communication yet unprinted; and, even if his memory be quite trustworthy and his statement correctly reported, it is nevertheless evident from the Commandant's order that, not the post, but the slave catchers at the mouth of the Curumo, were therein aimed at. The prefect never mentions "Curamucuru;" but he certainly could not confuse "the mouth of the Curumo, not far from Cavallapi," with the site of that Dutch post, which he himself declared "seventy leagues" from Cavallapi.⁵

The most plausible explanation, then, of the whole matter is that the Spanish expedition of 1758 was really intended for the arrest of a Dutch slave trader at the mouth of the Curumo, but that the Orinoco commandant by error defined the place as an island in the Cuyuni; and that his expedition, finding neither island nor Dutchman, pushed on down the river till other Dutchmen and a Dutch post rewarded their quest. Nor can it affect the plausibility of this explanation that none of those concerned in the error cared later to point it out.⁶ The enterprise having met with success, it was clearly good policy to make the most of it.

Before passing from this episode it will be well to look once more at the two passages which seem in conflict with the remainder of the evidence. In interpreting that about the creek Orawary and the post's distance from

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 117-119; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 141-150. In the Venezuelan publication this memorial of Father Benito is described (p. 141) as dated in 1760; and with this the certified Spanish transcripts submitted to the Commission agree. But this date is quite impossible, since the memorial mentions events of years as late as 1766. The British version of what seems the same memorial dates it in 1769, and this is doubtless right, though another document, described in the Venezuelan publication as of 1767 (id., p. 150), certainly seems to have been its letter of inclosure.

² "Que el año de 58, avisó el exponente al Comandante de Guayana que en el Rio Cuyuni con capa de posta estaban de asiento dos familias Olandesas con Casa y labranzas y que mandó á cojerlos y les hallaron una patente del Governador con las ordenes que devian observar . . ."

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118. Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 147, 148.

⁴ "Siguiendo su representacion el Prefecto expuso que otros Olandesas se avian domiciliado muy aca arriba de Cuyuni cerca de la boca de Curumo que no distaba mucho del Cavallapi y que despues se retiraron." (Cf. Venezuelan "Documents," p. 149.) This final clause is lacking to the document as printed by the Blue Book (p. 119), perhaps accidentally omitted. It is unimportant, as the tense of the verb implies the same thing.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 282. Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 189.

⁶ In the investigation of Dutch complaints, a decade later, by the Spanish Council of the Indies. (See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 280-294.)

No. 3.

the Spanish dwellings, two assumptions have been made which more careful study shows unwarranted by the passage. In the first place, it is not certain that by Orawary the Yuruari is meant. Nothing in what we know of the advance of the missions in this year along this river warrants Storm's statement about its being taken into complete possession by the Spaniards; the only mission known to have been founded in 1755 on that *river is that of Yuruari (San Josef de Leonisa), and this, as *335 is believed, above the site of Tupuquen, which had been occupied until 1750.¹ Nor is the Yuruari the only stream which resembles Orawary in name. At a point which is only some ten or twelve hours above the place (Cuiva Creek) where I believe the post to have stood, there joins the Cuyuni from the south the creek Toroparu, important as the route of an Indian path to the Puruni and so to the Mazaruni.² Now, it is not known that the Spaniards were ever in possession of this stream; but there is evidence that in the following year (1756) they were established in the Mazaruni,³ and at a site which on quite other grounds is believed to have been at the junction of the Puruni with the Mazaruni.⁴ Spanish occupation of such a creek would better have justified Storm's alarm than a new mission on the Yuruari, in whose upper valley the Capuchins had been established for a couple of decades.

But, admitting that the Yuruari was probably meant, it is further to be noticed that Storm does not say that the Spanish dwellings so near to the Dutch post were in the creek Orawary. True, the order of the sentences suggest this; but Storm was a diffuse and sometimes a hasty writer, and it would not be hard to cite from his letters graver lapses from continuity of thought than another interpretation would here require.

And, when all is said, there remains the possibility that he was mistaken—a solution less violent than that which would assume his ignorance of the distance of the post from the Essequibo.

As for Hartsinck's statement about the removal of the post 50 mijls higher up the river, it has perhaps been noticed that in *the *336 letter of Storm which describes the site of the post there is a clause which in a carelessly written copy may easily have given rise to error. The site of the post, he wrote, "can not much matter; even if it had lain fifty hours higher up, it was a thing which did not concern the Spaniards."⁵ A very slight change or misreading could make this mean "although I had placed it fifty hours higher up;" and a mistake of Dutch hours for Dutch miles is not a grave one.

But there is some reason to believe that a removal of the post up the

¹ See pp. *205, *206 of vol. iii.

² Mr. Schomburgk, in Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," p. 19.

³ Extracts, pp. 369, 370.

⁴ See pp. *400, *401, below.

⁵ *Al had desselve vyftig uren hoger gelegen, was een saek die de Spanjaerden niet en raekte.* (Extracts, p. 387.)

No. 3.

river may indeed have been in prospect. It will be remembered that the Spanish expedition found the under-postholder two days above the post, and that he testified that he was busied there in helping some Indians make a clearing. He testified also, as did the postholder, that the lands about the post were not suited for cultivation, being marshy, though there were good lands higher up.¹ Now, it is at least not improbable that the clearing on which the under-postholder was engaged was intended as a new site for the post, and was that which the Capuchin prefect had reported as in progress.² And this conjecture is made much the more plausible by the fact that, when a few years later the Dutch post was reestablished, it was established, with bread grounds attached, at a point just two days above Cuiva Creek—at the island of Tokoro.³ It is my belief that it was about being transferred to that island at its destruction in 1758.

The destroyed post was not at once restored. Both the colonial authorities and the West India Company hoped that the Spanish Government would make reparation for the act of violence.⁴ But they waited in vain. The postholder, with his assistant, sent by the Orinoco commandant to the governor at Cumaná, was at length released from Spanish custody. He was not sent back to the Cuyuni, however, but was given a subordinate position at another post.⁵

The Cuyuni was now, however, too familiar a route to be left open with impunity. A rascally colonist went up the river and misused the Indians under pretense of authority.⁶ Spaniards or Spanish Indians repeatedly came all the way down to the Dutch plantations.⁷ The Caribs, in dismay, were all withdrawing to the Essequibo.⁸ Smugglers availed themselves of this door.⁹ Runaway slaves found the river an open road;¹⁰ they even began establishing themselves there.¹¹ Under these circumstances, it was not

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 247. Venezuelan "Documents," II., p. 30.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 235. Venezuelan "Documents," II., p. 5.

³ For the proof of this see pp. *341-345 below.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 119. Extracts, pp. 393, 394, 396.

⁵ Down to 1760 he remained on the pay-roll as "outlier at the Company's late post in Cuyuni." On September, 30, 1760, however, he was paid up, and then "discharged from service, and continues to live in this colony" (*uyt den dienst wort ontslagen, en in dese Colonie blyft resideren*). On February 1, 1762, he was again taken into service as bylier at Moruca. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 117, 122.)

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 118.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 117, 120, 130, 134.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 120, 121, 126, 148, 149.

⁹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 118.

¹⁰ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 118, 123, 126, 131.

¹¹ In a passage omitted by the British translators from the governor's letter of May 28, 1761 (Blue Book, p. 116—the passage immediately follows the second paragraph of the extract), he complains that "in the meantime the runaway slaves already begin to sojourn there, at present two of the Company's, with several others, being there, whom, up to now, in spite of all efforts used, I have not been able to get hold of." (*Ondertusschen beginnen reels de weglopende slaeven sig daer op te houden, werkelijk twee van d' Ed: Comp. en eenige andere daer synde welke ik tot nu toe niettegenstaende alle aengewende deoeten niet magtig hebbe konne worden.*)

No. 3.

strange that in 1763¹ the governor should suggest to the Company the quiet reoccupation of the post in Cuyuni.² He recommended that a subaltern *officer, with ten or twelve men, be placed there as a guard.³ *338 The Company at once approved this project; but its execution was delayed by the outbreak of the great slave revolt in Berbice and its spread to Demerara. In July, 1763, twenty soldiers were sent to aid in suppressing this revolt,⁴ whereafter ten or twelve of them were to be used to garrison the post in Cuyuni. But it was long before any could be spared.⁵ In June of 1764 the governor wrote of his hope to "make the necessary arrangements with the Caribs in Cuyuni to station an under-officer there with eight men."⁶ But nothing could be done till the rainy season was over; and then Indians could not be had to aid in the reestablishment;⁷ they feared the Spaniards. Yet they were at last won over by a promise of protection;⁸ and, to make sure of their loyalty by providing for their support, it was resolved to plant bread-grounds at the post, which should be worked by disabled slaves no longer of use on the plantations.⁹ The growing boldness of the Spaniards called for haste.¹⁰ A postholder was found in the person of the corporal Pierre Martin, a Frenchman by birth, who on October 1, 1765, was engaged for this service and sent up the Cuyuni to make preparations.¹¹ It was, however, more than a year before the buildings and *bread-grounds were ready; and though the postholder and his two *339 assistants were on the ground before the end of 1766,¹² it was not until 1767 that they entered regularly on their duties.¹³ In vain did the governor search for even a half-dozen soldiers for the garrison of the post;¹⁴ he could find only Catholics and Frenchmen, and these he would not trust there. As early as March, 1767, there was a rumor that the post had been

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 128.

² "I could greatly wish," he writes in this passage (not all of which is given by the Blue Book translation), "that your further memorial to the States-General might finally have the desired effect, and that an end might be reached of that matter, for which I very much long. But could you not find it good that meanwhile, without use of the least violence, possession should be again taken of the post in Cuyuni?" (*Ik wensche seer UEGA nader memorie aen H. H. M. eyndelyk van een gewenscht effect sal wezen, en een eynde van die saek sal gemaekt worden, waer seer naer verlange. Maer soude UEGA niet goed konne vinden dat ondertusschen, sonder het minste geweld te plegen, weder bezit van de Post in Cuyoeny wierd genomen.*)

³ Literally, "to guard it," (*tot bewaring deselve.*)

⁴ Extracts, p. 399.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 126, 130.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 128.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 134.

⁸ Extracts, p. 404.

⁹ Extracts, pp. 404, 406. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 137.

¹⁰ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 134, 136, 138.

¹¹ Extracts, p. 450.

¹² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 140, 141. Extracts, p. 422.

¹³ Meanwhile a Creole had been stationed at the foot of the falls, with instructions to patrol the river, reporting monthly to the governor. (Blue Book, p. 139.) He was captured by the Spaniards; but escaped and resumed his duties on the river. (Blue Book, pp. 142-144.)

¹⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 138, 139, 142, 144. Extracts, p. 428.

No. 3.

sacked by the Spaniards.¹ This proved a false alarm; but Spanish influence over the Indians was such that they would do nothing for the postholder, and even passed the post in their canoes in defiance of his summons to lie to for inspection.² In September there was again rumor that the post had been raided.³ This was again an error; but the governor a few weeks later declared to the militia officers of the colony that there were no Indians left there, and that the new postholder could scarcely maintain himself.⁴ In December the postholder, who had suffered much there from illness, asked on this pretext to be relieved;⁵ and in February, 1768, on the ground that the Indians would have nothing to do with a Frenchman, he was allowed to withdraw, and was stationed elsewhere.⁶ His place was never filled, nor were soldiers found for the post; the two byliers alone remained there, the elder in charge.⁷

*340 By *February, 1769, one of them had reported to the governor the abduction by the Spaniards of Indians from above the post, and the threat of a raid, not only upon the post, but even into the Mazaruni;⁸ and a month later the governor complained that the remaining Indians, frightened by this abduction, were drawing off.⁹ Anxiety was now constant;¹⁰ and early in May there came once more tidings of a Spanish attack on the post.¹¹ This news was speedily corrected by a letter from the senior bylier, reporting not an actual but only a threatened attack.¹² There was added the important information that he intended to remove the post to an island named Toenamoeto, lying between two falls, where it would be better and healthier, and that he had already begun a clearing there; and he inclosed a bill for the expenses of this clearing. Though both the Company and the governor were annoyed¹³ at this high-handed action of the bylier, the step was not reversed. Fear, remarked the governor, often leads to mistakes; but "he is now there, and is much better protected against surprises"¹⁴—though he adds, "this is wholly contrary to my intention, since for good reasons I would gladly have had that

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 144.

² . . . "*en selver wanneer hy de voorby gaende vaertuygen belast aen te leggen*"—the Blue Book translation, as will be seen, is not exact. (Blue Book, p. 144.)

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 147.

⁴ Extracts, p. 439.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 149.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 151-153.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 158.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 158.

⁹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 160. Cf. also p. 161.

¹⁰ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 164.

¹¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 166.

¹² Extracts, pp. 454, 455.

¹³ Extracts, p. 493. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 176.

¹⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 176.

No. 3.

post gradually farther up the river."¹ In June, 1770, the senior bylier, Jan van Witting, announced that the Indians were still drawing off from the Cuyuni; and in the same note asked for his own discharge at New Year's, when his time would be up.² He remained there, however, through the *following year and into the next, apparently undisturbed by *341 the Spaniards.³ Then his service was cut short by death; in the pay-roll for 1772 his decease is chronicled by the secretary, who adds that he could not learn the exact day of its occurrence. The second bylier, Gerrit von Leeuwen, seems to have served out his year and then returned to the ranks of the garrison.⁴ Thus quietly, but forever, the post in the Cuyuni disappeared from the records of the colony.

Often as this third and last of the Cuyuni posts finds mention in Dutch documents during its troubled half-dozen years of existence (1766-1772), its site is never named save in the postholder's mention of its transfer to Toenamoeto, the island between two falls; and its distance from any other point is not once recorded.⁵ It is true that its re-establishment was at the time commonly spoken of as a mere "restoring" or "replacing,"⁶ but the establishment of bread grounds makes it unlikely that it was at the old site, which both the postholder and his assistant had in 1758 declared unsuited to cultivation.⁷ Again Spanish records afford a help. In his letter to the King in 1769⁸ the Capuchin prefect, Fray Benito de la Garriga, informs him that, "according to what the Indians tell us, . . . from the mouth *of the Cuyuni, upstream from Essequibo, at eight *342 days of navigation, they (the Dutch) have a guard of six soldiers, and it is said that in this distance of the eight days there are no plantations because the ground is sandy."⁹

With all allowance for the slowness of Indian travel when Indians

¹ "*Hy is daar nu is veel beter bedekt voor surprisen maar tegen myn intentie volstrekt, wyl ik die Post om goede redenen gaeren hoe langer hoe hooger op de rivier wilde hebben.*"

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 176.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 180.

⁴ All this is gathered from the pay-rolls.

⁵ No tenable argument can be drawn, I think, from a comparison of the dates of the postholder's letters with those of the governor mentioning their receipt. These letters of the governor, filling often thirty, forty, even fifty pages with the finest script, were the desultory work of many days, and the single date they bear (usually at the end) shows only when they were finally sealed and committed to the letter bag. The dates of their earlier pages and of their postscripts can only be guessed at, and the identity of their "yesterdays" and "last weeks" must be inferred from the context alone.

⁶ The word used is "*herdellen*" or "*herplaatsen*;" only once (Extracts, p. 422), *verplaatsen*, "to remove to another place."

⁷ Yet it is not quite certain that they meant more than unsuited to sugar cane or other commercial crops, not including the native cassava.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118. Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 147.

⁹ "*Segun noticias que nos dan los Indios . . . de dicha boca de Cuyuni, rio arriba de Esquibo, á ocho dias de navegacion, tienen una guardia de seis soldados, y se dice que en esa distancia de los ocho dias, no hay plantages, por ser tierras avenosas.*" The Venezuelan translation of this passage seems not only an impossible rendering of the Spanish, but is irreconcilable with the sentence just preceding.

No. 3.

travel alone, this must mean that the post was considerably above the former site, and, in view of Dutch silence on the point, it would be hard to believe, were there not from another source evidence more definite and cogent. When in 1837 Hilhouse, the first Englishman to ascend the Cuyuni, made his expedition up that river, the first trace he found of earlier occupation by white men was when early on the tenth day of his slow journey he reached "Tocro Island, where a white man, most likely a smuggler, is reported to have resided some years before."¹ The place is not hard to identify, because, according to his journal, it is midway between a well-known creek, "Torupaaru," and an equally well-known fall, the "Wohmuypongh." One of these he reached a day earlier, the other a day later. Four years later Mr. Schomburgk, approaching from the opposite direction and with a keen ear for all evidence of Dutch occupation, reached the same spot. Already before leaving the Barima he had "understood from some Indians, who were well acquainted with the Cuyuni, that there had been once a Dutch post at an island called Tokoro," which, he adds, "was much farther to the west than that part of the Cuyuni where, from the information I had received previously to my submitting the memorial on the boundaries of

*343 British Guiana, I considered the boundary line ought to *cross to the river Cuyuni."² Just where he had been taught to look for it is suggested a little later in his journal, when (speaking of Dutch trade *via* the Cuyuni at the middle of the eighteenth century) he says, "It was at this period (1750-1760) that the Dutch possessions extended to the foot of that series of falls of which Kanaima is the most considerable."³ Now, this is precisely the location of Hilhouse's "Tocro;" for, according to Mr. Schomburgk, the Wohmuypongh, or, as he spells it, the Womuipong,⁴ is near the lower end of the Kanaima "series of falls,"⁵ and if the island is in reality east instead of west of the point where the boundary line described by him in 1839⁶ would cross the Cuyuni, this suggests only his ignorance of the precise geography of that river prior to his exploration of it. "About eight miles below Arakuna," where the falls end, Mr. Schomburgk himself (whose narrative betrays no knowledge of Hilhouse's) found "the island Tokoro (Tokoro-patti), where, towards the close of the last century, the farthest outpost of the Dutch was situated." "Although generations have elapsed," he adds, "the circumstance that a Dutch postholder once resided here has remained traditionary, and our guide, an old Waika, assured me that his father had frequently mentioned it to him,

¹ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. vii (1837), p. 449.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 216; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 12.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 224; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 18.

⁴ Thus his map. His journal, as printed, has "Wounnipong" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1"), or "Wommipong" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5").

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 224; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 19.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 184.

No. 3.

and that the postholder's name was 'Palmsteen.' The post was afterwards destroyed by the Spaniards and the postholder withdrawn nearer towards the cultivated part of the colony."¹

Thus Mr. Schomburgk. He "reached in the afternoon the Toruparu," and a day or two later, less than two days before *his arrival *344 at the mouth of the river, at the head of "the third [and last] series of falls," he came to "the Cataract Tonomo, where the postholder resided after his station had been withdrawn from Tokoro Island."² Now, when it is remembered how well-nigh impossible it is that Mr. Schomburgk could have known anything of the mention, in a letter of the acting postholder nearly a century earlier, of the island of Toenamoeto, and how intrinsically probable it is, on the ground both of name and of situation, that that "island between two falls" was at this cataract Tonoma,³ respect must grow for his Indian tradition. At first blush, "Palmsteen," the Indian's name for the postholder, seems far enough from Pierre Martin, which we know to have been the true one; but when one stops to think that by the Dutch this would have been pronounced "Peermarteen" (with the accent on the last syllable), and that these Indian tribes, like so many other peoples, fail to distinguish the liquids *l* and *r*, so that "Peermarteen" would be also "Peelmalteen," the unlikeness is not so great.⁴ And when it is also borne in mind that Mr. Schomburgk was of course trying to make the word spoken by the Indian sound like a Dutch name, the resemblance makes more credible the Indian story. That the Spaniards destroyed the post of 1766-1769 is indeed unknown to us from the Dutch records; but, since the tradition of the withdrawal of the postholder implies that this destruction took place after his removal, it is anything but improbable.

That this island of Tokoro would also well answer to that *spot, *345 two days above the earlier post, where in 1758 the underpostholder was arrested while engaged, as he claimed, in helping to make a clearing, and that it is by no means impossible that even then a transfer to this site was in prospect, I have pointed out above.⁵ If this inference be justified, it is no longer strange that, when reestablished, the post, with its bread grounds, was placed here without mention to the home authorities of any change of site.

In view of all this cumulative evidence and suggestion, no reasonable doubt can obtain, I think, as to the sites of this latest of Dutch posts in the Cuyuni. That it *was* the latest may, however, need some further demon-

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 224, 225; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 19.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 225; "Venezuela No. 3," p. 19.

³ What the termination "-eto" (-ooto, -nto; the Dutch *oe* is pronounced like our *oo*) may mean I can not say. Father Pelleprat reports a Carib word *auto*, "house." May there not earlier have been a rest-house there?

⁴ In the Carib speech "the letters *l* and *r*," according to Adelung (*Mithridates*, Th. 3, Abth. 2), "are pronounced alike and are interchangeable." The speech of the Waikas, to whom Schomburgk's informant belonged, is a variety of the Carib.

⁵ See p. *336.

No. 3.

station. It never appears again in pay-roll or muster-roll, and no paid servant of the colony could have been stationed there. That it was not the intention of the West India Company to abandon it is shown by the provision for it, in the regulations for the reorganization of the colony in 1773,¹ of the stated postholder and byliers; and in the project of Heneman for the defenses of the colony in 1776² a garrison also is once more planned for it. But already in 1769 Storm van 's Gravesande had declared that, owing to the multitude of inland paths, the post was no longer of use;³ and Trotz, who succeeded him as Director-General in 1772, was a disbeliever in the efficacy of posts for the stoppage of runaways.⁴ Having authority to man the posts at his discretion, but obliged to report his action to the Company,⁵ he never manned that in the Cuyuni *at all, for he never reported it.⁶ When in 1785, after the restoration of the colony by the French, Trotz's successor and the colonial Court of Policy were embarrassed by the return of the old Moruca postholder, Dyk, after they had chosen another for that post, they did indeed suggest that he might perhaps be stationed at the "old post in Cuyuni, still without a postholder."⁷ But the suggestion was ignored by the Company, and we presently find Dyk filling the more edifying and diversified office of sexton, chorister, school-teacher, and comforter of the sick to the colony. With the transfer of the colony's center to the new capital in Demerara the Cuyuni seemed remote indeed, and in the last quarter of the century the river's name rarely appears in the colonial records. When in 1789 the Spanish officer Lopez de la Puente made his armed reconnoissance down the Cuyuni to its mouth, he found nobody on guard except a Carib, who dwelt at the foot of the lowest fall; him he carried off.⁸ A year later, in 1790,⁹ the same officer heard through the Indians that the Dutch had "thrown out an advance guard at the place Onore-rama, 5 or 6 leagues up from the mouth of the Cuyuni," but he counted this information "not very reliable;" and the absence of all confirmation of it in the Essequibo records justifies us in sharing his skepticism.

In short, then:

1. While the Dutch occupation of the mouth of the Cuyuni goes back to the earliest presence of the Dutch in the Essequibo, plantations were not pushed up that river until the eighteenth century, and were never at any time carried above the lowest falls.

¹ Extracts, p. 500.

² Extracts, pp. 520-527.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 159, 160; cf. Extracts, p. 439.

⁴ Extracts, p. 558.

⁵ A resolution of the Ten, June 22, 1778, gave him express authority "*tot de aanstelling der vacerende Byleggers en Posthouders plaatsen, met byvoeging, omme daarvan, aan deze Vergadering, met den eersten kennis te moeten geven.*" It was but the confirmation of a power earlier exercised.

⁶ I need hardly say that his letters, which are all preserved, have been searched through with care.

⁷ Extracts, pp. 584-586; cf. p. 588.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 338, 339; Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 250.

⁹ Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 61.

No. 3.

*2. Mining in the Cuyuni was attempted in the years 1741-1743, *347 its farthest operations being about two days' journey from the mouth of the river.

3. Thrice for brief periods the Dutch maintained a post in the upper valley of that river—(1) in 1703, from May to September, at a point unknown, but in the savanna, and most probably on the Curumo; (2) in 1754-1758, at Cuiva (probably Qive-Kuru), three days' journey up the river; (3) in 1766-1772, first at the island of Tokoro (1766-1769), then at that of Tonamoeto, in the Tonoma Rapids (1769-1772).

*9. THE DUTCH IN THE MAZARUNI.

*348

It was in the Mazaruni that Dutch settlement in the Essequibo began; for Kykoveral, though near its confluence with the Cuyuni, was always reckoned in the Mazaruni. In that river, under shelter of the fort, probably lay the earliest plantations.

Of these, at Van Berkel's visit in 1671, there were but three, of which the greatest was an hour¹ above Kykoveral,² doubtless, therefore, in the Mazaruni, near the head of tide water. By 1687 the number of free planters had risen to eighteen,³ of whom some two-thirds probably dwelt in the Mazaruni;⁴ and when in 1701 the colony was divided for military purposes into two districts the plantations in the Mazaruni formed one, those in the Essequibo the other.⁵

Though the plantations seem to have dwindled then to a dozen, the good ground was so taken up that in 1704 it was found necessary to gain more by moving above the falls in Mazaruni the Company's plantation of Poelwijk,⁶ which lay *just at their foot. Whether or no this was *349 fully carried out, the earliest extant map of the colony,⁷ in 1706, represents the Mazaruni as occupied nearly or quite to the falls,⁸ as is

¹ To apply this Dutch measure of distance see the scale on map 60 of the Atlas.

² A. Van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 42-44.

³ Letter of Commandeur Beekman, November 4, 1687 (printed by Netscher, pp. 374-377).

⁴ At least, a list of the planters "up in Essequibo" (*boven in Yesequebe*) appended to the governor's letter of January 15, 1685, names but five; and it is unlikely that at that date there were plantations below the confluence of the rivers. In thus speaking of the Mazaruni I include, as was then and later commonly done, the united Mazaruni and Cuyuni, to their junction with the Essequibo.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 68.

⁶ Extracts, p. 208.

⁷ Atlas, map 59.

⁸ These falls are a series of rapids beginning just at the head of tide water. Those of the Mazaruni are much lower and less dangerous than those of the Cuyuni; but in both rivers they form a dividing point recognized in Dutch documents by the use of the terms "*boven*" and "*beneden*," literally "above" and "beneath." The "*boven*" river was the whole river above these rapids; the "*beneden*" river, the short tide water reach below. These phrases, appearing in such form as "*in de boven rivier*," sometimes as "*boven in Mazaruni*," and sometimes simply as "*boven Mazaruni*," are not easy to translate. "Up in Mazaruni" implies too little; "in the upper Mazaruni" suggests too much; "above in Mazaruni" is hardly English. There is reason, too, to believe that, as the drift of the colony to the coast made these rivers even more remote, "*boven in Mazaruni*" sometimes meant "in the Mazaruni" in general. For illustration see p. *305, note.

No. 3.

the Essequibo above the confluence; and this map is confessedly incomplete.¹

Yet, if Poelwijk was actually moved above the rapids, the experiment can hardly have proved a success; for in 1722 the engineer Maurain-Saint-terre reported of the Mazaruni, as well as of the other rivers, that thus far no European had cared to establish a sugar plantation above the falls;² and in 1781 the colonial Court of Policy included the Mazaruni as well as the Cuyuni in this statement to the Company as to the impossibility of plantations above the falls.³ Later grants, however, show that so sweeping a statement must be taken with a grain of salt. Thus, in 1745, the colonist Christian Finet and Daniel Couvreur asked for the same lands "above in Mazaruni," and were put off till they should come to an understanding.⁴ Whether either obtained the grant does not appear; but *350 on *the map of 1748 a "G." Finet—perhaps by error for "C."

Finet—is named as the owner of a plantation in that river, while Couvreur's name is not shown.⁵ But the latter also must soon have obtained land there, for in 1754 another colonist, Appelhans, was granted, "above in the river of Mazaruni," not only "the so-called Gerbrandes Island," but on the river bank "to 500 rods above the land of Daniel Couvreur;"⁶ and in 1756 the Director-General writes of the coming down of Couvreur "from up in Mazaruni where he lives," to report the alarming tidings brought by "certain Indians who had retreated to him from above."⁷ Important though it is to determine the exact site of Couvreur's plantation, I am unable to do so with certainty. The rule, which later obtained, that new lands granted must adjoin those already granted was perhaps not yet in force. The map of Bouchenroeder, in 1796-1798,⁸ which almost certainly rested on the land records of the colony,⁹ though it contains a long stretch of the Mazaruni, shows no plantations above the falls; while it does show on the west side of that river a plantation above the highest plantations marked on the map of 1748. Yet this can hardly be that granted to Appelhans in 1754, for in that case the

¹ See (in vol. iii) my report on "Maps from Official Sources," p. *127. Poelwijk, as shown on this map of 1706 (Atlas, map 59), is wholly on the island of Caria, which is below the rapids; and just above it, mainly on smaller islands in the river, is shown another plantation, "het Loo."

² Extracts, p. 248.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 88.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 85.

⁵ Thus, at least, in the copy of this map reproduced by the Commission (Atlas, map 60); but so slight a variation may perhaps be attributed to a copyist's error. Finet was, in 1748, a planter in Demerara also (see map), and in 1755 was resident there (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 147). He seems to have been a surveyor also, and on occasion an explorer; we hear of journeys made by him to the upper Cuyuni and Mazaruni, and also to the Waini and the Barima. (Blue Book, pp. 86, 180, 146, 147.) Possibly the rover (p. 90; Extracts, p. 322), whose name is spelled Pinet, was the same man. It was Finet who joined the German Von Rosen, in 1755, in inviting the Prussian King to take possession of the Barima and the Waini. (Blue Book, p. 147.)

⁶ Extracts, p. 350.

⁷ Extracts, p. 369.

⁸ Atlas, map 70.

⁹ See, in vol. iii, pp. *163-*173 of my report on *Maps from Official Sources*.

No. 3.

owner of the estate below it should have been Couvreur; while in fact in the map *of 1748 this is marked as the bread plantation of Pieter *351 Marchal; and Pieter Marchal, as is known from his part in stirring up the Carib-Accoway war, was in 1755 still living in Mazaruni, and, as it would seem, above the other plantations.¹ Inasmuch as early in 1756 the Accoways forced Marchal to leave his plantation, it is of course not impossible that it was there Couvreur was living in July of that year; but this would not explain the land owned by him in Mazaruni in 1754. As, however, Couvreur was a planter, it is at least exceedingly probable, in view of the habits of the colony, that his lands adjoined those earlier in cultivation. There is certainly nothing elsewhere in the Dutch records which suggests that he or any other lived up the Mazaruni at a distance from the other planters. In 1757 there was granted to Gerrit Dirkse van Leeuwen² "the island of Noriwaka in the upper Mazaruni,"³ provided that island should prove to contain not more than five hundred acres.⁴ Later mentions of grant or occupation in that river above tide water I have not found in the Dutch records.⁵

*In 1739 the colonial authorities sent the Company specimens of *352 ores from the Mazaruni as well as from the Cuyuni,⁶ and when in 1741 the mining engineer Hildebrandt was sent over, he began his operations in the Mazaruni.⁷ But he went no higher than a little above the plantation Poelwijk, and even here, though he opened a shaft, his work was not long continued.

For fishing and hunting and for trade with the Indians the upper Mazaruni was in use by the Dutch colony from an early date.⁸ By 1686,

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 106, 107.

² A decade later Gerrit Dirkse van Leeuwen was second byllier at the restored post on the Cuyuni. (See, e. g., Blue Book, p. 158; the full name often appears.) The island of Noriwaka, like Gerbrandes Island, is not to be identified by the maps.

³ I. e., "above in Mazaruni."

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 109.

⁵ Of a grant of 1773 (known to me only through the report of the British Guiana land commissioners in 1855) of lands described as "situate in the upper Massarouney," but known to lie even below Kykoveral, I have elsewhere spoken (p. *306, note). As the minutes of the colonial Court of Policy, which contain the record of the land grants, were prior to 1773 forwarded only in extracts to the home authorities, and as the extracts thus sent do not include the grants of land, which are known only through transcripts recently made for the British Government in the colonial archives at Georgetown, I can not state with confidence that the grants mentioned in my text are all that pertain to the "upper Mazaruni." Yet it is perhaps fair to assume that, as these were what were especially sought by the agents of Great Britain, none have been omitted. The only lands in Mazaruni which were reported by the colonial land commissioners in 1855 as still claimed, besides the lot mentioned just above, are (1) Cartabo, at the junction of Mazaruni and Cuyuni, (2) a piece of land on the east bank of the Mazaruni which is described as "intersected by Unipeera Creek," and (3) "a certain tract of Government land situated on the eastern bank of Massarouney River, the southern bank of Cayooney, bearing due west 100 roods façade and 800 deep, and containing 100 acres"—apparently in Cuyuni, therefore, rather than in Mazaruni.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 282, 283.

⁷ Extracts, p. 285.

⁸ Extracts, pp. 149, 283.

No. 3.

at least, they had there an "annatto store,"¹ and the Company's monopoly of trade there in that dye and in Indian slaves was long maintained.² But there is no record of the existence there at any time of a post,³ or of any other resident occupation by the Dutch at any point beyond that reached by the plantations.

Exploration in the upper Mazaruni was seldom or never attempted by the Dutch. "The colonist E. Pipersberg," wrote the Essequibo governor in 1764, "is the only man to my knowledge who has been any distance up the river."⁴ His errand thither was the capture of runaway slaves; and he reached tribes there which had never before seen a white man.⁵ *The only landmark left on record by his trip was a high "pyramid" seen at his right on his way back. Another colonist, C. Finet,⁶ had been far enough up the river to testify that it could be navigated without danger.⁷ Of other exploration we do not hear.

In brief:

1. The Mazaruni was the earliest seat and center of the Dutch in Essequibo.

2. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the plantations had reached the head of tide water, and during that century were in two or three instances pushed higher, though probably only far enough to secure fresh ground.

3. Trade with the Indians in the upper river began early, but no regular post was ever maintained there.

4. No thorough exploration of the river was ever attempted, and its upper reaches were virtually unknown.

*354

***10. DUTCH CLAIMS IN GUIANA.⁸**

Neither in connection with the early trading expeditions to Guiana nor with the first projects for its colonization is there now to be found in Dutch records a claim to definite territory there.⁹ The most that is anywhere urged is that this region is not yet occupied by the Spaniards or the Portuguese, and is therefore open to trade or to settlement. According to Jan

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 62.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 82, 83. Extracts, No. 118.

³ It is, of course, possible that the "annatto store" was such a post; but, if so, it had ceased to exist by 1691, for there is no mention of it in the muster-roll of that year, nor does it ever appear thereafter.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 130.

⁵ Extracts, p. 413.

⁶ Cf. pp. *349, *350, above.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 130.

⁸ I speak here of claims made by the Dutch Government, or in its name by those who had some right to speak for it—as the Dutch West India Company or the colonial authorities. Claims made to the Company or to the State by these colonial authorities or by individuals have been mentioned in my discussion of the occupation of the several rivers.

⁹ This silence, if real, is the more notable because as early as 1613 the English King, as the Dutch must have been aware, granted a patent of all Guiana from the Amazon to the Essequibo.

No. 3.

de Laet (writing in 1625), a charter was granted by the States-General to a Dutch colony in the Corentyn, probably that known to us from Spanish records as existing there in 1613. This charter can not now be found. There is nothing in De Laet's mention of it to suggest that the territory specified in it included aught else than that river itself.¹

When, in 1621, there was conferred upon the Dutch West India Company (1621-1674) by charter a monopoly of trade on all the coasts of America, with authority to "promote the settlement of fruitful and uninhabited districts," no specific mention was made either of Guiana or of any other stretch of territory, the only limits named being the extreme points of *America—Newfoundland, the Strait of Magellan, and the *355 straits we now know as Bering's. On the territorial rights of the Dutch West India Company under its charters I have already made a special report to the Commission (pp. 99-117 of this volume), and to that I must here refer, adding only that nothing I have learned in my researches in European archives suggests modification of the conclusions therein reached.

In 1628 Jan de Laet, then the foremost Dutch authority of his time upon America and a leading director of the West India Company, wrote for the little geographical series of the Elzevirs a book on "Spain, or on the realms and resources of the King of Spain," in which he clearly set forth his views as to the claims of European states in Guiana—views very probably shared by his colleagues of the Company. "From the River Orinoco," he writes, "the continent extends through vast expanses of territory to that other river, far the greatest of all, which is called that of the Amazons, and thence onward to the river or island Marañon. In all this space, which comprises vast provinces, and in which a multitude of rivers issue into the ocean, the Spaniards possess almost nothing except on the left bank of the River Amazon, at its mouth, a certain fortress, which they call Para, from which they seek to gain for themselves an entrance into the interior provinces. The English, however, and especially our people [the Dutch], visit frequently all this coast and these rivers and carry on trade with the natives." And this is all he says of Guiana.²

*In similar phrase the West India Company itself, in a remonstrance addressed to the States-General in 1633, declared that "from New Spain eastward the whole coast of Incanata, Honduras, and Terra

¹ De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1625, p. 474. The passage runs: "*Op dese rieviers Coretini hebben ons Nederlanders ghehandelt ende oock volck ghehouden veel jaren gheleden, de Hog. Mog. Heeren Staten Generael hadden daer Octroy van verleent.*" Cf. note, p. *160, above.

² "A flumine Oronoque continens magnis terrarum spatilis ad alterum flumen longe vastissimum extenditur quod vulgo Amazonum vocant, atque ab illo porro ad flumen sive insulam Marañnon; toto autem hoc spatio, quo ingentes provincie comprehenduntur, et quamplurimi amnes in Oceanum exeunt, nihil fere possident Hispani, præterquam ad sinistram ingredientibus fluminis Amazonum ripam, arcem quandam quam vocant Param, è qua sibi aditum in interiores provincias parare satagunt. Angli autem et nostrates maxime, omnem hanc oram et hos amnes crebro adeunt et cum indigenis commercia exercent."—*Hispania, sive de Regis Hispaniarum regnis et opibus commentarius* (Leyden, 1629), p. 225.

No. 3.

Firma (as the Spaniards call it) to beyond Trinidad is all occupied by Spaniards, and not only the coasts but also the Islands; except next to these, the regions of Guiana, which we call the Wild Coast; this coast and divers rivers are yet unsettled and inhabited by free savages, and in these regions are many products which might be advantageously brought hither. But what of it? These nations are so barbarous and have so few wants (inasmuch as they have no desire for clothing and need nothing else for their subsistence) that all the trade which exists there can easily be carried on with two or three ships a year, and be maintained with trifling capital. This region is bounded by the great river of the Amazons, which also is not free from occupation by Spaniards, as our people have experienced to their damage."¹

To the West India Company, under its charter of 1621, belonged, of *357 course, the right to plant Dutch colonies on the *coasts of America.²

¹ "Nu van Nieuw Hispania voorwaerts naer 't oosten de gantsche Custe van Incanata, de Honduras ende Terra Firma (als de Spangiaerden dat noemen), tot voorby de Trinidad, is niet alleen de Custen, maer oock de eylanden al met Spangiaerden beset; alleen so volgen hieraen de landen van Guiana, welck wy noemen de wilde Cust; dese Cust ende verscheide rivieren sijn nog onbeslagen ende bewoond by vrije wilden, ende in dese landen vallen met verscheiden goederen, die met profijt in dese landen connen gebracht worden; maer wat ist, dese natien sijn soo barbaris ende soe onbehoeflich (door dien sy noch lust tot cleedinge hebben, noch yts anders tot onderhoud des levens van doen hebben), dat alle den handel die hier valt, ligt met twee of drie schepen jaerlycx can gedreven, ende met gering capitael can onderhouden worden. 'T selve is van de groote rivier des Amasones de welcke oock niet vrijen is van de besettinge van Spangiaerden, gelyck de onse met haere schade hebben bevonden."

This passage is among those transcribed at The Hague by Brodhead in 1841 for the State of New York, and is printed (in translation) in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York* (vol. i, p. 66).

² Of interest in this connection is an "Order for the West India Company touching the boundary in New Netherland," issued by the States-General on January 28, 1664:

"The States-General of the United Netherlands, to all who shall hear or see these, Health:—Be it known, Whereas, for divers and weighty reasons, we thought proper, in the year 1621, to erect and establish in our country a company called the West India Company, through the same alone, and to the exclusion of all others, to resort and trade to the coasts and countries of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and the countries of America, or the West Indies, from the south end of Terra Nova through the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire, or other passages and straits situate thereabouts, unto the Strait of Anjan, as well on the North as South Sea, and all Islands lying on the one and the other side and betwixt both, and extending to the Australian or southern countries, and lying between both meridians, including in the east the Cape of Good Hope and in the west the east end of New Guinea. Granting, by the second article of the charter of the 3d of June, 1621, given to them under Our great seal, further and more particularly, that they, in Our name and by Our authority, may, within the aforesaid limits, make and conclude contracts, treaties, and alliances with the Princes and natives of the countries contained therein, erect fortresses and strongholds there, appoint, remove, and dismiss Governors, soldiers, and officers of justice necessary for all requisite services for the conservation of the places, the maintenance of good order, police, and justice, together with the promotion of trade, and others in their places to appoint, according as the same shall be found proper; and especially as it may best promote the peopling of fruitful and uninhabited countries; and the aforesaid company having, from the beginning, by virtue of the aforesaid charter, in conformity with Our sincere intention, established their population and colonists on the coast of America, in the country called New Netherland, notwithstanding which some persons evil disposed towards our State and the said company, endeavor to misrepresent Our good and honest meaning, as the same is contained in the said charter, as if We had privileged the said company only to trade within the said limits, and not to colonize nor to plant settlements, nor take possession of lands, calling the company's right thereto in question.

No. 3.

And the Zeeland Chamber of that Company claimed, as against the other Chambers, the exclusive right to colonize the coast of Guiana. The Amsterdam Chamber, however, protested in 1658 that "the whole Wild Coast, it being from the first degree to the tenth more than two hundred [Dutch] miles," could not possibly be colonized by the Zeeland Chamber alone.¹ The matter having been brought before the Nineteen, it was, on September 3, 1659, agreed that "As regards New Netherland where the Amsterdam Chamber, and the Wild Coast where the Zeeland Chamber, have their colonies, respectively, it shall be open to the other Chambers . . . to establish there also their colonies, at suitable and unoccupied places, and to allow others, private individuals, to come with their colonies, always with prior notification to, and knowledge and approval of, the Board of Nineteen, and on such an equitable footing, and under such order and regulations, as not to conflict with the colonies already established by Amsterdam and Zeeland."²

In the sundry bodies of inducements to colonists in Guiana drawn up and promulgated by the West India Company from 1627 to 1657, it is repeatedly assumed that the whole "Wild Coast" is open to Dutch colonization.³ This is once defined as extending from the Amazon to the Orinoco,⁴ once as reaching from the Amazon to an unnamed degree of north latitude,⁵ once is even made to stretch "from the Amazon to the Wild or Caribbean Islands, both inclusive."⁶ Oftener the term is left undefined, as self-explanatory.

*When, in 1657, the provincial Estates of Zeeland were besought by the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company to take under their patronage the new Guiana colony about to be established, this was described as "on the Wild Coast of Essequibo and adjacent places, stretching from the first to the tenth degree of north latitude, between the rivers

"Wherefore, We, being desirous to assure all, each, and every one whom it may concern, of our intention in the aforesaid charter, hereby declare Our meaning well and truly to have been and still to be, that the aforesaid company was and is still empowered to establish colonies and settlements on lands unoccupied by others, within the limits aforesaid." . . .

The document is printed by Luzac, in his *Hollands Rijkdom*, ii, Bijlaage L, and is translated in full in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York* (ii, pp. 228-229). The documents of the controversy between the English and Dutch in New Netherlands, most of which are to be found in the collection last named, are full of suggestion as to the nature of the territorial claims of the Dutch.

¹ Extracts, pp. 180, 181.

² "En wat aengaet Nieuw Nederland, daer de Kamer van Amsteldam, en de Wilde Kust daer de Kamer van Zeeland, ieder hare Colonien hebben, zoo zal het de andere Kaminen vry staen (blyvende de Resolutien te voren genomen in haer geheel), op bekwame en onbeheerde Plaetsen, ook hare Colonien, aldaer te stabileren, en andere particulieren onder hare Colonien te laten komen, alles met voorgaende Notificatie, Kennis en Approbatie van de Vergaderinge der Negentienen, en op eenen egalen voet, Ordre en Reglement, niet strydig tegens de alreede gestabileerde Colonien van 'Amsteldam en Zeeland.'"—(*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1098.

³ Extracts, pp. 47, 56, 57, 60, 118, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125.

⁴ Extracts, p. 60.

⁵ Extracts, p. 118.

⁶ Extracts, p. 56, note.

No. 3.

Orinoco and Amazon;"¹ and when, later in the same year, the direction of the colonization of Guiana was transferred by the Company to the three Walcheren cities, they were empowered by the Company to "establish and plant colonies on the continental Wild Coast between the first and the tenth degree."²

How the Dutch looked on Guiana at this period is suggested by a little tract written in 1659 in the interest of the colonization of this region—a "Description of Guiana," under the form of a dialogue between a countryman, a townsman, and a sailor. The townsman, having asked the sailor "Where is this land Guiana situated?" and having learned that "This land is situated between the great rivers Amazon and Orinoco," next inquires "Has this land its own government, or have the Spaniards and Portuguese anything to say there?" and is told, "This land has its own kings and governments; neither Spaniard nor Portuguese has anything to say there—they do not even come thither, inasmuch as the Guianese are mortal foes of the Spanish and Portuguese nations." It is clear that by "the Guianese" and their governments are understood the Indians, and that Guiana, though not Spanish or Portuguese, is not thought of as belonging to the Dutch."³

*360 *But, while there is thus abundant evidence of a claim of the Dutch to plant colonies freely on the coast of Guiana from the Amazon to the Orinoco, I have found in Dutch records no claim, as against other European States, of an *exclusive* right thus to colonize Guiana; and no protest at any time against the similar attempts which, throughout the greater part of this century, the English and the French were likewise making to plant colonies on this coast.⁴

The Treaty of Münster, by which in 1648 Spain for the first time

¹ Extracts, p. 124.

² Extracts, p. 125.

³ Stee-man: "Waer is dit Landt Guiana gelegen?"

Schipper: "Dit Landt is gelegen in 't zuyder America . . . bepaelt tusschen de vermaerde Rivieren, Amazonas, en Oroneque, ofte Worroneque."

Stee-man: "Heeft dit Landt syn eygen regeeringe, of hebben de Spangiaerts en Portugeesen daer oock wat te seggen?"

Schipper: "Dit Landt heeft syn eygen Koningen en Regeeringe, den Spangiaert noch Portugees, en heeft daer niet te seggen, sy komen daer oock niet, vermits de Guianesen doot vyanden syn van de Spaensche en Portugeesche natia."

(Beschryvinge van Guiana . . . Discourrender wyse voorgesteld, tusschen een Boer ofte Landtman, een Burger ofte Stee-man, een Schipper ofte Zee-man, een Haegsche Bode: Hoorn, 1676, pp. 13, 14.) Although not printed until 1676, the book was written, as its preface tells us, in 1659.

⁴ Addressing the English ambassador, in 1664, *à propos* of the controversy over New Netherland, the Dutch States-General maintained "that property which lies wild, desert, sterile, and vacant belongs to him who happens to occupy it; that this title of occupation constitutes that of the inhabitants of this state to the lands of New Netherland, and that the English themselves have no other title to the lands which they possess in those countries;" and that "possession is a real taking up . . . and therefore an act which must be verified by witnesses, and can not in the remotest degree be proved by the granting of any patent or royal charter." For the whole passage, see *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York* (vol. ii, p. 380).

No. 3.

formally recognized the independence of the Dutch and the existence of their colonial possessions, makes no mention of Guiana or of any other region by name; nor do the records of the negotiations, preserved to us in great fullness, show any mention of that district. Equally silent are the treaties of the Netherlands with England and with France. Nor are the Guiana colonies matters of discussion in the diplomatic correspondence between Holland and Spain.

And when, in 1674, the old West India Company was dissolved, the charter given by the States-General to its successor granted it, not as before the entire coast of America, nor even the Wild Coast of Guiana, but on the American *mainland only "the places of Esse- *361 quibo and Pomeroon." Berbice, of course, and Surinam remained Dutch possessions, though not now granted to the West India Company.¹ But what became of Dutch claims, if such there were, to those portions of the Wild Coast unoccupied at the date of this new charter is a question for the lawyers. No light is thrown upon it by the contemporary records of the States-General's action.

The boundaries of "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon" the charter did not define; and it was long before the West India Company itself attempted such a definition. The suggestion of the Essequibo governor in 1683-84 that they take into their possession the River Barima did not elicit so much as a response.² Even as to the Pomeroon the Company seems to have had some doubts as to its title; for the proposal to throw open that river, in 1686, met with protest from the Zeeland deputies, and it was not until after a careful investigation by the Zeeland Chamber of the history of the earlier colony in that river that the Pomeroon was again opened to settlement.³ When, in 1689, the colony in that river was forever brought to an end by a raid of the French and Caribs, the Company instructed the Essequibo governor to leave there three men with a flag "for the maintenance of the Company's possession" there,⁴ but said nothing as to frontier.

*The earliest mention I have anywhere found in Dutch records *362 of a boundary between the Dutch and the Spanish possessions in Guiana is that in 1712 by the Lord of Sommelsdijk, head of the great Dutch family which was one-third owner of the colony of Surinam. There was

¹ The company claimed Berbice, nevertheless, and there resulted a controversy between it and the heirs of the patroon Van Pere. The outcome was the recognition, in 1778, by all parties and by the States-General, of the colony as a fief of the Company, to be held by the Van Peres, subject to feudal dues, as long as the Company's charter lasted. Surinam remained in the hands of the province of Zeeland till 1682, when it was bought by the Company, which in 1688 sold a third interest to the city of Amsterdam and another to the house of Sommelsdijk, retaining but a third for itself. These relations of the Company with Guiana territories not specified in its charter are not without interest to the present problem.

² Extracts, pp. 158-171; and cf. pp. *262-*268, above.

³ Extracts, pp. 175-180; cf. also p. 189.

⁴ Extracts, p. 191.

No. 3.

then under negotiation the Peace of Utrecht, by which the relations of Spain and the Netherlands were afresh to be defined. In a session of the Society of Surinam, at Amsterdam, Mr. Van Sommelsdijk urged the regulation in this treaty of the "boundary in America between the subjects of the States-General and those of the King of Spain, as regards the province of Surinam with the rivers and districts adjacent thereto." The matter was actually put into the hands of the Dutch plenipotentiary; but it was never brought up for discussion in the formal negotiations.¹ Where Mr. Van Sommelsdijk and his colleagues would have wished the frontier set does not appear; and, though the West India Company was a member, to the extent of a third, of the Society of Surinam, and must, therefore, have known of this effort for a delimitation of the boundary, no action on this head is to be found in its own minutes.

Puzzling questions are raised as to the notions of the West India Company regarding the district lying beyond its northwestern post of Wacupo by its attitude toward the traders of the neighboring Dutch colonies of Berbice and Surinam, whose trade "in the district lying under the charter" they restricted or forbade,² while their trade west of this post was tolerated, and it was even proposed to legalize it by a toll.³ The Surinam

traders carried on, indeed, on the testimony of the Essequibo governors, a larger trade with the Indians west of the Moruca *than did *363 the Company's colony itself.⁴ What bearing, if any, this fact may have upon the territorial claims there of the Company or of the Dutch is a problem. Not to be overlooked in this connection is the evidence from a later period that the passes granted by the Surinam governors for this trade were recognized by the Essequibo postholders.⁵ To be noted, too, is the Company's assertion, in answer to the request of the Essequibo colonists to be allowed freedom of trade in the neighboring Spanish territory, that "although Orinoco, Trinidad, etc., is under the power of the Spaniards, still it also lies within the charter of the Company, where nobody has the right to trade except the Company and those to whom the Company gives permission to do so—so that it all is the territory of the Company, even though we have no forts there."⁶ It is, of course, the trade provisions of the charter which are here in thought. Thus, too, in a letter of 1752, the other Dutch colonies on this coast are declared to be "also situated under the district of the States-General's charter."⁷

A claim as to territorial frontier the Company was slow in making. Neither the recommendations of the engineer, Maurain-Saincterre, in 1722,

¹ Extracts, pp. 233-236.

² Extracts, pp. 196, 207, 208. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 70.

³ Extracts, pp. 229-232, 238, 239, and *passim*. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 72-76.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 91. Extracts, pp. 278, 332. Cf. also what Father Gumilla says of Governor Gelskerke's reply to his protest against the slave trade. (*Orinoco*, II, p. 92.)

⁵ Extracts, p. 408.

⁶ Extracts, p. 241.

⁷ Extracts, p. 339.

No. 3.

for the establishment of plantations in the Waini and the Barima,¹ nor the report of Governor Gelskerke, in 1734, as to the project of the Swedes for occupying the Barima and the plans of the Spaniards for dispossessing them,² won from the Company a word as to its rights in this region.³

The removal of the Wacupo post westward to the *Moruca, in 1726, *364 took place without comment from the Company, and when, in 1737, Governor Gelskerke wrote them that this post, though declining in commercial value, must be kept up because "established for the maintenance of your frontiers,"⁴ they said nothing of the frontier in their reply. Another interesting territorial question was raised in 1744 by the Essequibo governor's taking possession of a Dutch slave ship stranded on the coast between the Moruca and the Waini. Certain Dutch jurists are said to have held the territory Spanish. But the Company seems to have pronounced no opinion on this point; and no protest came from Spain.⁵

Even the advance of the Spanish missions in the basin of the Cuyuni did not at once stir them to a claim. In July, 1746, when Governor Storm van's Gravesande first reported the presence of these, he added that he dared not check this Spanish advance because of his ignorance of "the true frontier line."⁶ In December he again lamented to them that "the boundaries west of this river [Essequibo] are unknown to me."⁷ In March, 1747, he once more explained his inaction by the fact that he was not "rightly conscious how far the limits of your territory extend, both on the eastern and northern sides as well as back to the south and westwards," and he added that no documents regarding these boundaries were to be found in the archives of the colony.⁸ The Zeeland Chamber could only reply that it must await the action of the Ten.⁹ And when the Ten finally met, in September, 1747, it could but adopt a resolution requesting that "all the respective *Chambers, each *365 by itself, investigate and inquire whether it can be discovered how far the limits of this Company in Essequibo do extend,"¹⁰ and to this effect it wrote the governor.¹¹ Meanwhile he had found in the colony itself a source at least of suggestion. "According to the talk of the old men and of the Indians," he wrote the Company in December, 1748, "this jurisdiction should begin to the east at the creek Abary and extend

¹ Extracts, p. 248.

² Extracts, pp. 257-265.

³ Equally unanswered was a later appeal from an Essequibo governor (April 14, 1758—Extracts, pp. 340, 341) for instructions as to his conduct in case the Swedes should renew their designs on the Barima.

⁴ Extracts, p. 278.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 85, 86; Extracts, p. 228.

⁶ Extracts, p. 306.

⁷ Extracts, p. 309.

⁸ Extracts, p. 311.

⁹ Extracts, p. 311.

¹⁰ Extracts, p. 313.

¹¹ Extracts, p. 314.

No. 3.

westward as far as the river Barima." Yet "this talk," he added, "gives not the slightest certainty;" and he still wished "that if it were possible," he "might know the true boundary."¹ But no answer to this question was found by the Chambers; and, when in 1750, Governor Storm van's Gravesande came home to Holland and laid in person before the Company the needs of the colony, he had again to point out that "it is urgently necessary that the limits of the Company's territory be known."² This time he was told that "the determining of the limits" was an object of attention to His Highness, the Stadhouder, and that the latter's advice thereon must be awaited.³ Whether in private conference it was confidentially agreed between the Stadhouder and Governor Storm van's Gravesande that, provisionally, the basis of Dutch claim should be the newly published map of the French geographer D'Anville, which Governor Storm van's Gravesande was shown by that prince,⁴ can not be known. Even if so, the death of the prince in 1751 left matters as before. When, in 1754, the Spaniards were again pushing forward with their missions, Governor Storm van's Gravesande again addressed to the Company a prayer for "the so long-sought definition of frontier."⁵ "Is not this," he asked, "regulated by the Treaty of Münster?" The answer of the Zeeland Chamber, sent on January 6, 1755, is of the highest interest.⁶ "We would we were able," they wrote, "to give you such an exact and precise definition of the proper limits of Essequibo as you have several times asked of us; but we greatly doubt whether any precise and accurate definition can anywhere be found, save and except the general limits of the Company's territories stated in the preambles of the respective charters granted to the West India Company at various times by the States General." Now, as has been shown, the only American limits named in the first of these charters are Newfoundland and Bering's Strait, while the second and final one names no limits at all, but only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon." But the Zeeland Chamber is not yet through. The letter goes on: "And except the description thereof which is found in the respective memorials drawn up and printed when the well-known differences arose concerning the exclusive navigation of the inhabitants of Zeeland to those parts, wherein it is defined as follows: 'That region lying between those two well-known great rivers, namely, on the one side, that far-stretching and wide-spreading river, the Amazon, and, on the other side, the great and mightily flowing river, the Orinoco, occupying an intermediate space of 10 degrees of north latitude from the Equator, together with the islands adjacent thereto.'" Now, the memorial from

¹ Extracts, p. 322.

² Extracts, p. 330.

³ Extracts, p. 383.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 118.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 347, 348.

⁶ Extracts, pp. 357, 358.

No. 3.

which this grandiloquent clause is borrowed is the well-known one addressed in 1751 to the States-General by the Zeeland Chamber itself; but a glance at the context shows that what was there described was by no means the colony of Essequibo. The memorialists were speaking of the earliest Dutch colonizers of Guiana. These praiseworthy colonizers, they declare, **"among other places of that broad continent [of America],* *367 *cast their eyes on"* the region thus described, i. e., on Guiana. The descriptive phrases above quoted are followed by these words: "Which aforesaid region, stamped by the Spaniards, as its first European possessors and inhabitants, . . . with the name of Guiana, was afterward by our people—at least the greater part of it—called by the name of the Wild Coast; probably because the chief portion of the aforesaid coast, reckoning from the river Amazon to the said great stream, the Orinoco, was at that time inhabited by no others than the natives . . ." But, if the passage thus quoted could hardly with justice be interpreted as a definition of the limits of Essequibo, it must be added that later passages of the memorial in question left no doubt that its authors in fact held the Dutch colonies to extend to the Orinoco. Thus, a little later, discussing the trade-regulation of 1633 by which the Caribbean coasts "from the Orinoco westward" were thrown open to Dutch cruisers, they argue thus: "Your High Mightinesses, in specifying the limits within which navigation shall be confined begin precisely with the district above the tenth degree of north latitude—the river Orinoco westward—just where the possession of the Zeeland Chamber ended. What reasons could there have been why the navigators should not have been admitted also within the aforesaid ten lowest degrees excepting only that this distance and that region and the rivers there situate were lawful possessions of the Zeeland Chamber?"¹ Whatever one may think either of this reasoning or of the appositeness of the quoted description, there can be no doubt that the Zeeland Chamber in its reply to the Essequibo governor in 1755 did actually suggest the Orinoco as a boundary. Almost as much had already been done by the shareholders *of the Zeeland Chamber in 1751,² when in a memorial *368 to the States-General they had spoken of "Essequibo with all her appurtenant rivers from the river Berbice down as far as the river of Orinoco."³

Unfortunately for the importance of these claims by the Zeeland Chamber, that Chamber had now, and even before its memorial of 1751, lost the right to speak, even as to Guiana, for the West India Company as a whole.

¹ *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, pp. 1084, 1094. In another passage (p. 1089) of the same memorial, the colony of Essequibo is described as "lying on the Orinoco, and therefore 8 or 9 degrees further north" than the Amazon.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 96.

³ In like fashion these Zeeland shareholders, a decade later, in another memorial, declared that the colony of Essequibo, "is crossed not only by the chief river, the Essequibo, but also by several small rivers, such as Barima, Waini, Moruca, Pomeroon, and Demerara." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 8," p. 133.)

No. 3.

The long-festering struggle over the Zeeland monopoly of the control of Essequibo had in 1750 burst into open quarrel; and the remainder of the Company had, pending the decision of the States-General, washed its hands of the colony altogether, refusing to allow it to be a subject of discussion in the meetings of the Ten. Moreover, the counter-memorials addressed to the States-General by the Amsterdam Chamber contested the statements made by the Zeelanders, not excepting those as to the limits of the colony. They even denied that the colony of "Essequibo and appurtenant rivers" included of right anything more than the Essequibo and its tributaries, and did not fail to point out that the various utterances of the Zeeland Chamber itself were inconsistent with each other in their statement of the boundaries.¹ However historically untenable the contention of the Amsterdam Chamber, it must, especially in view of the final award of the colony to the latter's control, go far to neutralize the assertions of the Zeelanders.

*369 But we are not yet at the end of the Zeeland Chamber's *answer to Storm van 's Gravesande. "For," they add, after thus referring to the charters and quoting the memorial of 1751, "neither in the Treaty of Münster (mentioned because you suggested this to us), nor in any other, is there, to our knowledge, anything to be found about this."

With such an answer, giving the colony no boundaries but those of all Guiana, the governor had to be content. Already, in 1754, before receiving this answer, the colonial authorities had planted a post up the Cuyuni; and when, in 1758, this was destroyed by a Spanish raid, it was not the Orinoco boundary, as suggested by the Zeeland Chamber's answer, but the boundary laid down in the map of D'Anville, which the Essequibo governor, in his letter of protest to the Spanish Governor of Orinoco, claimed for the Dutch and avowed his purpose to maintain.² It was to this map of D'Anville, too, that he appealed in his report to the Company regarding the Spanish attack, saying that on it they would "see even our boundaries portrayed, whereof it appears he was informed on good authority."³

¹ Extracts, pp. 428-433. This memorial was the joint reply of the Amsterdam Chamber and of the representative of the Stadhouder, calling itself *Deductie van den Representant van zijn Hoogheid en Bewindhebbers der Westindische Compagnie ter præsidiële Kamer Amsterdam*.

² Extracts, pp. 377, 378.

³ "*En dasrop selver onze limieten zien, waarvan het schijnt hy van goeder hand onderregt was.*" In view of the fact that this map was shown to Storm by the Prince of Orange, and of the fact that in 1750 the boundaries were said to be "an object of His Highness's attention," it may be asked if the source of D'Anville's line may not possibly have been that Prince himself, to whom it certainly would not have been strange for the French royal geographer to address himself for such information. But this seems to me very improbable. In that case Storm, who had talked with the Prince, would almost certainly have known it, and could not have failed to name to the Company, confidentially at least, so high a sponsor for the claims he was urging. In that case, too, it is incredible that the Company itself should not know what map of D'Anville he meant or could have needed to receive a copy from the Essequibo governor. Nor would Storm in that case have made, without reserve, his appeal of 1754 for a definition of the boundary. D'Anville's line, too, seems but a modification of that of the earlier French geographer, Delisle, as is cogently pointed out by Secretary Mallet-Prevost in his report on *The Cartographical Testimony of Geographers* (in vol. iii).

No. 3.

The Zeeland Chamber itself, startled into the drafting of an *energetic remonstrance for presentation by the States-General to the *370 Court of Spain, made in that document no such demarcation of its claim.¹ It affirmed only its immemorial possession of the Essequibo and all its branches, and hence its surprise at being disturbed in the quiet enjoyment of its post on the Cuyuni. What it asked was not restitution of territory, but only "that reparation may be made for the said hostilities, and that the Remonstrants may be reinstated in the quiet possession of the said post on the river of Cuyuni, and also that through their High Mightinesses and the Court of Madrid a proper delimitation between the Colony of Essequibo and the river Orinoco may be laid down by authority, so as to prevent any future dispute." Adopted without change by the States-General, July 31, 1759, this remonstrance was at once transmitted to the Court of Spain. It was, so far as can be learned, the earliest mention, in the intercourse between these governments, of the Guiana boundary. No formal answer from Spain was ever received.

Before submitting this remonstrance the Zeeland Chamber had written to the Essequibo governor, asking "to be exactly informed where the aforesaid post on the river of Cuyuni was situated," and also to be given "a more specific description of the map of America by Mr. D'Anville."² The reply of Governor Storm, written on September 1, 1759,³ came much too late for use in the remonstrance; but his claim to the whole of the river Cuyuni so impressed them that in their reply of December 3 they asked him to lay before them "everything which in any way might be of service in proof of our right of ownership to, or possession of, the aforesaid river because, after receiving it, we might perhaps, present to the States-General a fuller remonstrance on this head, with a statement *of facts joined thereto."⁴ They asked further, also, the grounds *371 upon which he made "the boundary of the colony toward the side of Orinoco to extend not only to Waini, but even as far as Barima."

It was ten years before the fuller remonstrance thus foreshadowed was actually presented. Spanish aggressions had in the meantime not ceased. They had called the attention of the Company not less forcibly to the frontier on the seacoast than to that in the basin of the Cuyuni. The "great remonstrance," drawn up by the Zeeland Chamber and urged by the Stadhouder, which on August 2, 1769, was adopted by the States-General and duly transmitted to Spain, differs strikingly in its attitude toward the boundary from its predecessor of 1759. What it asks is no longer "that a proper delimitation be laid down by authority." It assumes, instead, that such a delimitation already exists, and implies in unmistakable terms the limits of Dutch territory. It is now not alone of the Esse-

¹ Extracts, pp. 389-396.

² Extracts, p. 381.

³ Extracts, pp. 386, 387.

⁴ Extracts, p. 388.

No. 3.

quibo and its branches, but also "of sundry rivers and creeks on that coast which flow into the sea," of which the Company claims to have been "in almost immemorial possession." It asserts this especially of the Cuyuni, where, it avers, "from all old times" there had been a post of the Company; but it does not dispute the rightful presence of the Spaniards in that river. Two new missions reported in February, 1769, though "not far above the Company's aforesaid post in Cuyuni," are "apparently, however, on Spanish territory;" and it is complained only (in a phrase italicized both in the manuscript and in the official printed impressions of the remonstrance) that they are "*so near to the Dutch territory.*" The river Moruca, "where from time immemorial the Company had likewise had a *372 trading place and post," "is a small *river, or creek, south of the river Waini and lying between it and the river Pomeroon," and "beyond contradiction belonged also to the Dutch territory. But on the coast, the territory of the Dutch extends from the river Marowyn, at the east, "to beyond the river Waini, not far from the mouth of the river Orinoco;" and this not, so far as is alleged, on the basis of treaty or of occupation, but, "according to the existing maps thereof, particularly that of M. d'Anville, reckoned for its accuracy as one of the best."¹

Such are the territorial claims, express or implied, of the document which alone in all the diplomatic correspondence of the Netherlands with Spain suggests the whereabouts of the Guiana boundary. These claims were never answered by Spain,² and never reiterated by Holland. Spanish aggressions continued to cause anxiety in the colony, and occasionally a complaint to the home government; but they were overshadowed by the more pressing grievance of the harboring by the Spaniards of the runaway slaves of the Dutch. Whatever of negotiation or of protest regarding the Guiana colonies is to be found during the next quarter century or *373 so in Dutch records *turns on this and not on questions of boundary; and when, in 1791, a cartel was at last concluded for the reciprocal return of such fugitives, no mention of territorial claim is to be found either in that convention itself or in the diplomatic correspondence attending its negotiation.

¹ Extracts, pp. 457-462, 468-475.

² Less fortunate than the British searchers, I have not been able to find even that oral answer which (in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 14) the Dutch ambassador at Madrid is said to have received from the Spanish prime minister: "that he would send orders to the (Spanish) governor to discontinue all hostilities and to leave those of the Dutch Colony in quiet possession as they had possessed the same until now." I find, indeed, that the Dutch ambassador *asked* this in precisely these words (see his letter of September 7, 1769, printed in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 174); but the answer he reports is a much less reassuring one. His Excellency "said he knew nothing of the matter," and replied, in substance, that it should be looked into. What can be found as to relations in Guiana in the letters of the Dutch ambassador at Madrid to the States-General during the next quarter century has been printed in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" (pp. 182, 188, 189). I have read also with care the more private correspondence of the ambassador with the Secretary of the States-General and with the *Raad-Pensionaris* throughout the period 1766-1796 without finding any passage like that quoted, or any mention of boundary or of territorial rights in Guiana,

No. 3.

The question of the Guiana boundary does not seem to have been again brought forward in Holland until, at the close of the year 1801, a great European Congress was again arranging the affairs of nations. The colonies in Guiana, which since 1796 had been in the hands of the British, were about to be restored to the Dutch; and the Dutch "Council of the American Colonies," with the approval of the Government, secretly sent an envoy to the Congress of Amiens, there to act as adviser to the Dutch plenipotentiary and care for colonial interests in the pending negotiations.¹ In the confidential instructions given him (December 22, 1801) he was charged "in case the negotiations at the Congress should also extend themselves to the regulation of the interests of this Republic with other Powers, and this should lead to a precise definition of the boundaries of one or other of their respective possessions," to "try to have the limits between the Batavian [Dutch] and Spanish possessions in South America irrevocably defined, either by the eastern bank of the Orinoco or by the river Barima."²

But, on reaching Amiens, this envoy, Ruysch, was at once made to see that, in view of the certain opposition of the English, it would be unwise to so much as mention the Guiana boundary in the Congress. Ruysch accordingly wrote this to his principals, the Council of the Colonies, recommending that the negotiation as to the boundary be rather intrusted to the Dutch ambassador at Madrid: "that he should be empowered *with full authority, to fix the boundary fifteen or twenty Dutch *374 miles below [i. e., west of] Barima."³ "In case this should not find favor, then at Barima; and, if this should not go, then, in order to obviate all cavil in future, to pay therefor a certain sum."⁴

The Council seems to have acquiesced without protest in this conclusion, and the matter is heard of no more.⁵ If, however, it was their intent to intrust it to the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, that intent was not carried out.⁶ Neither Spain nor the world were the wiser for this confidential scheming of the Dutch Council of the Colonies. The speedy reopening of the European war and the loss of the colonies again, in 1803, to the British, soon put further action out of the question. Yet, just before this catastrophe, the submission by the Council of the Colonies to the Dutch Governor-General of Demerara and Essequibo of a body of petitions for land

¹ Extracts, pp. 639-643.

² Extracts, p. 644.

³ "Barima being held among us as the frontier line," explains Ruysch. By "among us" he probably means "in the colony."

⁴ Extracts, pp. 646-647.

⁵ Extracts, p. 651.

⁶ I have examined the letters throughout 1802 and 1803 of the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, and of the *Chargé d'Affaires* (Nieuwerkercke) who during much of that period was in charge there. A few are in cipher, but a contemporary decipherment accompanies them. Guiana is scarcely mentioned, and the boundary never. The only trouble between the Dutch and Spanish colonies touched on is the old one about the return of runaway slaves.

No. 3.

grants between Moruca and Waini, with a request for his advice, not as to the Dutch ownership of this territory, but only as to the expedience of now opening it to cultivation,¹ plainly shows (if the document to this effect still extant among the colonial papers represents action actually taken) the attitude and policy of the Batavian Government toward this region.

In fine, then:

*375 1. The whole coast of Guiana was, from the beginning of *the seventeenth century, looked on by the Dutch as open to colonization; but no exclusive claim to that coast, as a whole, seems ever to have been made by them.

2. From 1621 to 1674 the right to colonize that coast on behalf of the Dutch was vested in the Dutch West India Company, which was empowered by its charter to settle unoccupied districts. That Company, while freely exercising this right of colonization, and granting lands for its exercise by others, has left on record no definition of the limits of its occupation in Guiana, and no claim as to a boundary on the side of the Spanish colonies.

3. From 1674 a new West India Company, which had received by its charter no other lands on the American Continent than "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon," owned and governed the Dutch colonies in western Guiana. The boundaries of these "places," undefined by the charter, were left undefined by the Company, and (save for certain claims put forth by the Zeeland Chamber when in schism with the rest of the Company) remained undefined until the year 1769.

4. In 1758, the Governor of these Dutch colonies addressed to the Governor of Spanish Guiana a remonstrance against Spanish aggressions, in which he claimed for the Dutch the boundary laid down on the map of D'Anville. This claim was made, however, without authority from the West India Company or from the State, and was not urged in the remonstrance (1759) addressed on this occasion at the instance of the Company by the States-General to the Court of Spain.

5. But, in 1769, another remonstrance to the Spanish Court, drawn by the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, urged by the Stadhouder, and adopted by the States General, stated or implied definite claims as to territorial boundary in Guiana. On the coast the Dutch *376 territory is represented as *stretching to beyond the Waini; in the interior, to a point between the Dutch post on the Cuyuni and the nearest Spanish missions. This is the one document known to the diplomatic correspondence of the two countries which suggests the place of the boundary.

6. In 1792 the Guiana colonies reverted to the State, but no fresh claim was made as to this boundary; and, though in 1801-1802 the Dutch Council

¹ Extracts, pp. 659-662.

No. 3.

of the Colonies conceived a project for the delimitation at the Congress of Amiens of the Guiana boundary, fixing it, if possible, at the Orinoco or the Barima, the project was abandoned and remained a secret.

***11. SPANISH OCCUPATION AND CLAIM IN GUIANA. *377**

The only Spanish settlement on the Orinoco or east of it which is known to Dutch records before the eighteenth century is that of Santo Thomé. At least I have found no mention of a Spanish settlement which may not readily be identified with Santo Thomé;¹ and the careful accounts of these coasts given in 1598 by Cabeliau² and in 1637 by Ousiel³ show that at those dates, at least, the Dutch had no knowledge of other Spanish occupation in this region.⁴ It was, indeed, not until almost the middle of the eighteenth century that there is mention in the Essequibo papers of that spread from the Orinoco inward of the Indian missions of the Catalanian Capuchins, which, from Spanish and ecclesiastical records, we know to have begun as early as 1724.

On July 20, 1746, Governor Storm van 's Gravesande wrote to the Dutch West India Company, on the word of an Essequibo trader, confirming a report received some months earlier from the Caribs, that the Spaniards had established a mission up the Cuyuni, and had built a small fort there, and that they were busy making brick with the intention of founding in the *next year yet another mission and fort some hours further *378 down the river toward Essequibo.⁵ Six months later he again wrote of the mission and fort "erected by the Spaniards up in Cuyuni," and of that to be founded next year;⁶ and in March, 1747, he could not only renew his mention of "the mission and fort up in Cuyuni, and of the intention to build this year yet another fort there, but some [Dutch] miles lower," but could add: "which they are now proceeding to do, according to the report of those who come down that river with mules." On December 2, 1748, however, he corrected this, stating that a trader, who had been requested carefully to spy out the goings of the Spaniards in that region, "has made report to me that the Spaniards had not yet undertaken the building of any forts or missions lower down, as had been their intention."⁷

On learning of these Spanish movements in the Cuyuni the West India Company had asked the Essequibo governor for an accurate chart of the colony.⁸ He had undertaken the task himself; and, when his first map

¹ Extracts, pp. 26, 30, 54, 77, 81.

² Extracts, pp. 13-22.

³ Extracts, pp. 77, 83-95.

⁴ There was, indeed, a Dutch tradition as to an early Spanish occupation further east (see pp. 182, 367, above). The evidence for the presence of the Spaniards in the Essequibo is discussed by Professor Jameson (pp. 46-52, above [i. e. U. S. Com. Rep., v. 1]), and in my paper *On the Historical Maps* (vol. iii, pp. *188-*191).

⁵ Extracts, p. 306.

⁶ Extracts, p. 308.

⁷ Extracts, p. 322.

⁸ Extracts, pp. 313, 314.

No. 3.

was lost on its way to Holland, he made another. This map (dated August 9, 1748, though not completed or sent until late in 1749), is still extant.¹ In the letter of transmission (September 8, 1749) he thus writes of the Spanish missions: "Having written to the Governor of Cumaná, that, if the design of founding a mission on the river Cuyuni were persisted in, I should be obliged forcibly to oppose it, he replied to me that such was without his knowledge (not the founding of the new mission, but the site) and that it should not be progressed with; and, in reality, nothing has been done in the matter. On the map you will find the site marked, as also that of the one already established."² Now, it is evident, I think, that the two *379 missions thus spoken of—the one *established, the other projected—are the same two of which he has heretofore written, the only two of whose actual or intended existence in the upper Cuyuni he has had knowledge. Yet it is evident, even before looking at his map, that his conception of their place has been modified. It is now only the projected mission which is "on the river Cuyuni." The map bears this out. At a point on the upper Cuyuni where it receives a tributary from the north—the only such tributary shown by the map—is marked a cross, with the words (in Dutch): "Place where the Spaniards proposed to establish a mission." On the same tributary, some miles higher up and on its opposite bank, is shown a house, with the name "Spanish mission."

A few months later Governor Storm visited Holland, and there in person complained to the Company of the neighboring Spaniards, "who, under pretext of establishing their missions, are fortifying themselves everywhere."³ To illustrate this he submitted a map, which he declared to be "drawn up by the Spaniards themselves." This little map, which is also still extant,⁴ and which is doubtless the one elsewhere described by Storm as copied from that drawn by the Jesuits sent a year or two before with an exploring expedition to the sources of the Cuyuni, shows likewise, at points answering to those on Storm's map, what seem meant for two Spanish missions.⁵ That at the junction of the Cuyuni with its northern tributary is marked (in Dutch) "New Mission." That above, which here seems on the eastern bank of the stream, is marked "Missions⁶ of the *380 Capuchins." But the map adds an *interesting aid to the identifica-

¹ Atlas of the Commission, map 60.

² Extracts, p. 327.

³ Extracts, p. 330.

⁴ Atlas of the Commission, map 61.

⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this map, see in vol. iii the report on Maps from Official Sources, pp. *131-134.

⁶ This plural, *Missien*, is puzzling. It may be suggested that this inscription is meant to denote these missions as a whole. But this is unlikely, for there is also on the map the title "Missions of the Catalanian Capuchins," corresponding to "Missions of the Jesuits," and "Missions of the Aragonese Capuchins." It is more probably only an error for *mission* or *missie*. There are other such slips on the map.

No. 3.

tion of these sites: the tributary here bears a name—"Meejou."¹ Storm, too, knows this name,² for, in a letter of September 2, 1754, reviewing this episode, he wrote: "You will certainly recollect that I had the honor some years ago to inform you that they [the Spaniards] had located a mission on the creek Mejou, which flows into the Cuyuni, whereupon you did me the honor to command that I must try to hinder it, but without appearing therein. I do not discuss the reasons which induced you to command this secrecy, when that mission was so absolutely and indisputably in our territory; but before I was honored with that order I had written to the Governor of Cumaná and made my *complaint, request- *381 ing that he would cause that mission to remove from there, and adding that I should otherwise be compelled, though unwillingly, to use means which would certainly be disagreeable to him. This had the desired effect, for I received a very polite reply, and not only was that mission actually withdrawn, but one of its ecclesiastics was even sent hither with the assurance that this had been done unwittingly."³

The secretary, Spoors, who had been left as acting governor in the colony during Storm's visit to Holland, had also mentioned these Spanish missions (September 8, 1750),⁴ taking a different view as to the territory involved. Concerning those missions "which are said to have been constructed up in the River Cuyuni," he wrote, "I am instructed that they are decidedly nearer to the side of the Spanish than to our territory." As for "a new mission close by here," which Storm, at his departure, had given

¹ In the reproduction of this map (from a free-hand copy) in the atlas (Appendix No. III, map 5) to the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," this name is spelled *Mejon*; and the British translators have also read as an *n* the final letter of this word in Storm's missive of September 2, 1754. It is on this reading that is based the identification of the stream with the Miamo. But the reading is an error. In the map the letter (as will be seen from the photographic reproduction in the atlas of the Commission) is unmistakably a *u*. I have examined the word repeatedly, and with a magnifying glass, in the original of this map at The Hague. The *n*'s of the map are made very differently; its *u*'s are all like this. In Storm's letter of September, 1754, the character looks more like a *u* than an *n*; but, as Storm had the bad habit of making his *u*'s and his *n*'s alike, little weight can be attached to this. But in his account of the Company's trading posts, transmitted in 1764 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 129), Storm writes of another "creek Meejou, also called Maho," in the region of the Rupununi; even the British translators here read *u*. And what puts Storm's spelling of the name beyond question is a letter of June 8, 1769 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 167). Speaking again of this southern Meejou, he here writes: "The river called Maho on D'Anville's map is called Mejou here by the Indians. There is one of the same name up in Cuyuni." It may be added that Indian names of streams are often derived from those of familiar objects, and that *Mejou* is the Carib word for cassava bread. (Thus Adelung, *Mithridates*, Th. 3 Abth. 2, citing both Boyer and Biet.) Hartainck, too, who knew of Storm's explorations through another channel than his letters to the Company, spells the name *Mejou*—"the creek Mejou, where the Spaniards founded a mission." "And further up," he adds, the Cuyuni "is joined by the Juruary [Yuruari]." (*Beschryving van Gu'iana*, i, p. 284.)

² If Storm's map, as is else not improbable, derived from the Jesuit map its locations for the missions, it is strange that it omits this name. It may in the Jesuit map be only an addition of the Dutch copyist. And it is not impossible that the indication of the two missions on the creek Mejou has been added to the map by Dutch hands.

³ Extracts, p. 348.

⁴ Extracts, pp. 334, 335.

No. 3.

him "to understand that there was information that the Spaniards were beginning to construct," he had carefully informed himself about it through a colonist who in person had gone thither, and had been assured "that the last mission which is being constructed is in a certain little river called Imataca; situated far off in Orinoco." This, in the secretary's opinion, was "certainly far outside the concern of this colony." Six months later (March 6, 1751)¹ Acting Governor Spoors informed the Company, on the word of the same Essequibo trader, that "in the month of January the Carib nation made a raid upon three Spanish missions and murdered four or five priests;" and Storm van 's Gravesende was scarcely back in the colony *382 before he could report (August *4, 1752)² that the Caribs "lately overran two missions and have murdered everyone there." A year or two later (August 19, 1754) a Dutchman resident in Orinoco, writing to warn the Essequibo colony of a projected Spanish invasion, declared that the project "comes from nowhere but from the priests here in Orinoco, for in the year 1751 they informed the King, when the Caribs here in Orinoco raided and burned the missions," that Dutchmen lurking among the Indians incited them to the mischief.³

Such is, in full, the evidence of the Dutch records as to the Spanish missions existing prior to 1754. Before attempting its interpretation it will be well to call to mind what we know from Spanish records of these missions in the Cuyuni basin. From these we learn, mainly on the testimony of the missionaries themselves, that as early as 1733⁴ they pushed across the divide into the region drained by the Cuyuni and planted a mission at Cupapuy, near the head waters of a tributary of the Yuruari; that in 1737 they established on the Yuruari itself the mission and cattle ranch of Divina Pastora; that in 1743 they created 10 leagues to the east of Divina Pastora, on the Cunuri near its junction with the Miamo, the village of Cunuri, *383 composed at first of Panacays, then of Caribs;⁵ that in this *same year 1743 it was their plan to place "on the banks of the Yuruari River, the Carib frontier," a day and a half beyond Divina Pastora, a settlement, "where a fort is to be constructed, with four swivel guns, six armed men" ⁶—doubtless that first Carib mission of Tupuquen which was

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 95.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 96.

³ Extracts, pp. 344, 345.

⁴ For these dates of the missions I may refer to the table appended to my paper on the Historical Maps (vol. III of this report, pp. *211-213), and also to pp. *195-203 of that paper. I am sorry that when compiling the table I lost from sight the interesting report of these missions (printed in the Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 263-269) made by their prefect to the governor on September 12, 1770. Save for two or three trifling variations in dates (1753 instead of 1755 for the founding of Alma, 1769 instead of 1768 for Maruanta, 1769 instead of 1770 for Panapana), it only confirms what is shown by the table; but I might have learned from it, in addition, the invocation (saint's name) of Cavallapi (*Nuestra Señora de La Soledad*), of Maruanta (*Santa Rosa*), and of Panapana (*La Purísima Concepcion*), with one or two minor details possibly worthy of note.

⁵ Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 67, 68.

⁶ Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 70.

No. 3.

destroyed by a revolt of its Indians in 1750, but was reestablished at this spot twenty years later. These, as seems clear from the request for garrisons presented in 1745 by the prefect of these missions,¹ were the only missions then in existence in this advanced region. For the next few years there is a dearth of documents. From sources of much later date it appears that 1746 was the year of the founding of the mission of Palmar, and at somewhere about this time there was transferred from the Orinoco to a site a little farther westward on these same slopes the old mission of Santa Maria; but both of these were too far in the rear of those just mentioned to have caused alarm to the Dutch in 1746. In 1748 a Carib mission bearing the name of Miamo was founded on the river of that name above the Cunuri. This, too, though nearer, was still remote from the Dutch. Two other missions, however, whose existence though brief is none the less certain, must have lain between all those already named and the outskirts of the Dutch colony. These were Curumo and Mutanambo. Their sites are partially suggested by their names, for it was the custom of the missions to take the name of the streams by which they stood, and these are the names of well-known rivers—the Curumo a tributary of the Cuyuni, the Mutanambo² of the Curumo. The date of their *founda- *384 tion is nowhere given, but, for reasons above stated, it must be later than 1743. "There was a revolt in the year 1750," wrote, in 1769, the man who of all men must best have known—the veteran prefect of the missions, Father Benito de la Garriga, who had himself in 1750 been a resident at that of Tupuquen—"when all the Caribs of our five missions of Miamo, Cunuri, Tupuquen, Curumo, and Mutanambo rose and killed four soldiers of the escort and eight Spaniards, committing many other kinds of outrages." And Father Benito relates how the Caribs, returning after a year, revealed "that they had done what they did at the instance of the Hollanders, who taught them the way of doing it, selecting ten Caribs beforehand to each father and ten more to each soldier."³ Nay, Father Benito had even learned the cause of the plot, and that the special grievance was the site of the mission of Curumo. "On one occasion," he said, he had "complained to a Dutch Hollander (arrived from Essequibo to reside in Guayana) about the cause of the revolt of the Caribs of our missions in 1750, and he answered that it

¹ Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 70.

² The name Mutanambo (spelled also Butunambo, Botonamo—variations which will surprise no student of phonic laws) is given to the second great northern branch of the Curumo in the journal of Lopez de la Puente in 1789 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 338; Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 251) and in the map of Codazzi (than which two there can be for this region no higher authorities), as well as in many later maps, such as the great colonial map of British Guiana (Atlas, map 49). And see, too, the words of Fray Caulin, quoted in the note on p. *387. According to Mr. Dixon (*Geographical Journal*, vol. 5, p. 340), who in 1895, on his journey up the Cuyuni, passed the mouth of the Curumo, the latter river is now "called by the Venezuelans Botonamo;" and it is perhaps on his authority that this is made an alternative name for the Curumo on the sketch map of the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3." But Mr. Dixon does not state the source of his knowledge, and it is hard not to suspect a misunderstanding.

³ Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 143, 144; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118.

No. 3.

was because the fathers made the sites of their missions within their [i. e., the Dutch] territory; that that of Curumo overstepped the line they drew from the mouth of the Aguire River to the south."¹

Father Benito's is by no means the earliest mention we have of this Curumo mission. More than a dozen years earlier, in 1755, Colonel *385 Don Eugenio Alvarado, who had been sent by the *Spanish Rear-Admiral, Iturriaga, the commander of that Spanish force in Orinoco whose presence caused such panic in the neighboring Dutch colony, to make secret reconnoissance among these Capuchin missions, speaks, in his report, of "the destroyed missions of Cuniri, Tupuquen, Curumo, and that of Miamo, which were swept away by the relentless fury of the Caribs."² Regarding one of these he had, indeed, been expressly charged to report. "In regard to the mission of Cuniri, burned down by the Caribs a few years before, which takes its name from a river of that name which flows into the Essequibo, according to general opinion, Alvarado is instructed to inform himself of this, as well as the distance to the said river Essequibo, and if this way be open at present and practicable, for many have traversed that route and found it very short." Is not the suspicion irresistible that Cuniri is but a slip, and that Curumo was the mission meant?³ But Alvarado took his instructions literally. "The village of Cuniri," he reported, "was burned and destroyed by the Caribs in the year 1751, with various others, . . . and the river which passes close to it gave its name to the mission." And he proceeds to explain that the Cuniri flows, not directly into the Essequibo, but into the Yuruari.⁴ Could the general in chief have failed to know that from the friars?

Of the existence or the destruction of the missions of Curumo and Mutanambo, one finds other mention in the records of this period;⁵ *386 but it remained for a later prefect of *the missions to throw fresh light on their site. When in 1788 it was objected to the new foundation of Tumeremo, near the river Curumo, that this new mission was too near the Cuyuni, Father Buenaventura de San Celonio replied that "the site of Curumo was less distant."⁶ Had Mutanambo also lain below, that, too, would have been named. But on this point there is graphic evidence. The great Spanish map of South America put forth at Madrid in 1775 by the royal geographer, Cruz Cano y Olmedilla,⁷ shows, on the branch of the Curumo still known as Mutanambo, a mission marked with that name.

¹ Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 151.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 85.

³ For the importance of the river *Curumo* as a short route to the Essequibo, see p. *313, note

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 85, 86.

⁵ Strickland, *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question*, p. 22; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 270. ("Cummu" in the translated passage last named is a palpable misreading of *Curumu*. "Cumamo," suggested by the editor, is impossible all authorities agree that the mission of Cumamo was first founded in 1767.)

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 333; Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 218.

⁷ Atlas of the Commission, map 50.

No. 3.

It shows no mission named Curumo, nor any mission lower than Mutanambo in that region; but on the map of Spanish Guiana (Nueva Andaluçia), officially prepared three years later in the Spanish archives of the Indies,¹ and published under royal sanction in the history of that province by Fray Caulin, this want is more than made good. *Two* missions are shown below Mutanambo; one of them on the east of the Curumo, near the junction of the Tocupo, the other near the site of the later Tumeremo. Neither bears a name. These maps have their errors, and these may be of them; but what they show as to missions beyond the Curumo is not contradicted by the evidence of the documents.

Least of all by the Dutch documents. Let us return to these. Which of all these missions known to Spanish records could have been that one mission—on the creek Mejou; not far from the Cuyuni—of whose existence alone the Dutch of Essequibo seem conscious at the middle of the eighteenth century? Was it Tupuquen, on the Yuruari? But the Yuruari was already known by that name, not only by the Indians and by the Spaniards, but (if the stream meant in Storm's letter of May *31, 1755,² was, as is assumed by the British scholars, and as at least *387 is probable, really the Yuruari³) also to the Dutch. And Tubuquen, if established, as planned, in 1743, should have startled the Dutch, if at all, before 1746. Why not Curumo, on the river of its name? That stream, unless it be the Mejou, bears no name in Dutch records; yet it was well known to the Dutch traders. It was that stream, not the Yuruari, so reported the Spanish missionaries, which the Dutch made the avenue of that slave traffic with the Caribs which especially took them into these parts. From its upper waters, ascending by its main stream or by its branch, the Tocupo, or doubtless by the Mutanambo as well, they made their way across the Orinoco watershed, the hills of Imataca, to the Aguire, the Barima, or the Barama, and so homeward by the Moruca; or, as perhaps more often, reversing the journey, they crossed from Barama, Barima, or Aguire to the head waters of the Curumo, and pushed down to its junction with the Cuyuni, whither to meet them, by way of the Avechica and the Yuruan, came the slave-bringing Caribs of the upper Orinoco. Such, at least, was the belief of the Spanish missionaries;⁴ and the belief

¹ Atlas of the Commission, map 71.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103. Extracts, p. 364.

³ For discussion, see pp. *321, *334, *335, above.

⁴ We know it especially from Father Benito de la Garriga, more than once their prefect. See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 235-237 (also in "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 93-96; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 3-9); Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 141-152. "The Curumo," says Fray Caulin, writing in 1759, "receives the waters of the Mutanambo and the Tocupo, which have their source in the hills of Imataca; and it would be most expedient that at the mouth either of the Curumo or of the Yuruari there should be built, from the materials offered by this region, some sort of fort, with a garrison of six or eight men. For, in the first place, since the passage of the Dutch [up the Orinoco] has been hindered by the citadel of Guayana and barred anew by the closure of the Limones channel, the rivers Cuyuni and Yuruari offer to them free passage for the abduction of slaves, as also to the Caribs for the conveyance of these to

No. 3.

*388 of *the Spanish missionaries counted for not less than the facts, for it was they who located the missions.¹

Their location of the missions can be understood only by remembering that its chief directing motive was their constant, inveterate crusade against the trade in Indian slaves. It was not to them merely a sentiment: it was, on their own testimony, matter of life and death. If they would win the Indians or hold them in their missions, they must protect them against the Caribs; and there was no protecting them against the

*389 *Caribs, unless by barring the rivers, which were the only highways, they could keep out the Dutch traders with their gew-gaws and their rum. Therefore it was that, pushing far afield, they had fortified and garrisoned themselves at Tupuquen, at Cunuri, at Miamo, and so cut off the Caribs of the upper Orinoco from their shortest route by the Yuruari and the Miamo to the Dutch traders in the Aguire. Thus it was, a little later, that they cut off, by planting a mission at Avechica or Supama, the route from the Caroni to the Cuyuni. Thus it was that, having secured the Yuruari by the founding of Tupuquen, it was next the most natural step to push across and plant themselves on the Curumo. From the one stream to the other stretched that savanna country where they were safest from the surprises of the Caribs and where throve the cattle which were their greatest source of revenue—the cattle for which in this very year, 1746, when the Dutch

them. In the second place [this is needed] for the security of the new Guayana missions at Abachica [Avechica] and Yuruario, which they can now attack, as they are well skilled in doing, for the success of the missions makes impossible their slave trade, which is their most lucrative business. And, in the third place, in order that, being restrained within the limits of the colonies they have already founded, they may gain no more territory, and may not with their ingress undertake other serious encroachments in points of much importance."—(*Historia de la Nueva Andaluca*, p. 56.) See also his passage as to the traffic through the Aguire, quoted in the note on p. *299.

¹ It was not necessary for the missionaries to obtain first the consent of the Spanish authorities to the establishment of a new mission, or even to notify them of it. In 1788, the Capuchin prefect, writing to the Spanish governor, Marmion, who grumbled (*Blue Book* "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 335, 336) at the incompleteness and inaccuracy of the reports received by him of the missions, explicitly declared (*Blue Book*, pp. 332, 333) that the selection of a site for a new mission was a matter for the friars alone. "By virtue," he said, "of an ordinance approved by the King, we have received commands that, among other things, the prefect and assistants are to assemble for the purpose of deliberating upon the sites for new reductions. This has always been done whenever it has been considered necessary to found any village of Indians. Precisely as ordered, and in the manner prescribed, those sites have been sought which would most conduce to the well-being of the Indians and the service of our Sovereign. And this appears to us to be quite in conformity with the laws relating to the foundation of villages of Indians." He adds, it is true, that the friars did not therefore deem it superfluous to request the governor's approval of a new mission, since the latter was always at liberty to inform them that such a site was not adapted for settling, and since, to obtain the grant pledged by the crown for the equipment of the new mission church and the added clergy requisite for the new villages, the approval or mediation of the governor was needed. But the initiative lay with the friars, and it is clear that a report might lag much behind their act. It is to be noticed, too, that such information as they did give the governors might be given "very confidentially." (*Blue Book*, p. 336.) It is interesting, in the present connection, to note that, in the same letter in which the Capuchin prefect thus sets forth to the governor the right of the friars to the initiative, he says of the mission of Curumo, in particular, that in spite of its nearness to the Cuyuni "there was no difficulty made by one of your predecessors in allowing it to be founded, although, on account of the Caribs having risen, who were dwelling in that place, it has not been again founded."

No. 3.

first complain of the missions, there seemed a new and most tempting market opened to them by Courthial's road from Essequibo, issuing from the forest just east of the Curumo.¹ And that the new mission, if on the Curumo, should be placed on the east of the stream at its junction with the Tocado, where it might bar both those avenues (at the site where it is shown by the map of Surville, and apparently also by the little Jesuit map),² was at least extremely likely.

If, too, the Curumo were really that creek Mejou on which the mission was planted in 1746, it is no longer so strange that Governor Storm should write of it as if it were the earliest of its sort. To the traders who brought him the tidings, the closing of this cardinal route might well seem the first *real invasion of Dutch rights. On the Yuruari the Spaniards *390 had been for a decade, and their presence there may have become a commonplace before Storm's advent in the colony.

Nor is the name a serious obstacle. Curumo, or Curumu (as it was often spelt), hardly suggests Mejou or Maho. Yet, when one remembers that *curu* was through all this region a common Carib suffix for creek,³ appended still to the names of many streams, it does not seem improbable that to the ear of Storm van 's Gravesande or of his trader informants "Curumo" or "Curumu" should have sounded like Curu-Maho or Curu-Mejou, "creek Mejou."

Be all that as it may, at the middle of the eighteenth century there existed Spanish missions named Curumo and Mutanambo. If they existed, they almost certainly existed on the rivers bearing then and still those names. And if they existed on those rivers, it is they, and not the missions of the Yuruari, which were likely to catch the attention and stir the alarm of the Dutch.

Yet it is not of *two* missions actually established in the creek Mejou that the Dutch reports speak, but only of one actual, another projected but withdrawn. The site of the projected mission, as appears clearly at last both from the letters and the maps, was at the junction of that creek with the Cuyuni. This falls in, too, with all else we know. That, having shut off the Curumo, the Capuchins should next seek to shut off the Cuyuni was natural; and it was not less natural that they should attempt it by way of the more navigable Curumo instead of the Yuruari.⁴ But we are not left wholly to inference. In 1758, the Capuchin prefect, Father Benito de la Garriga, was urging this as the proper site for a garrisoned *vil- *391 lage.⁵ It is in no wise improbable that Father Benito, who had been

¹ Cf. pp. *318, *314, *318-320, above.

² Atlas, maps 71, 61. The map of Storm van 's Gravesande (Atlas, map 60), if I interpret it rightly, differs only in placing the mission on the *west* of the Curumo at this point.

³ Cf. note, p. *381, above.

⁴ Cf. pp. *318, *314, above.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 235-237 (also in "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 98-96, and Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 3-9). So, too, in 1759, was Fray Caullin. See his words quoted in the note on p. *387.

No. 3.

here since 1746,¹ may have urged it before, or as prefect may have attempted to carry it out alone, until checked by the Spanish governor at the protest of the Dutch. A little later in this same year 1758 another Capuchin reported to the prefect that he too had written the governor urging "the projected village of Accoways with fort and garrison," and had asked "ten soldiers for the Accoway village of the Cuyuni."² Of this project of a village at the junction of Curumo and Cuyuni one hears much before in 1792 it was finally realized by the establishment there of a Spanish post.³

And Mutanambo? Is it improbable that the incipient mission thus drawn back at Dutch request in 1749 from the mouth of the Curumo⁴ was placed at Mutanambo, above on that river? The mission lists know, at least, of no other established in that year.

In thinking the advance of the Spanish missions permanently checked, the Dutch governor had deceived himself. "I have at this moment received information," he wrote the West India Company on September 2, 1754, "that the Spaniards . . . have established two missions above in Cuyuni, and garrisoned them with men. . . . These two missions are not in the creek Mejou, but some miles lower, on the river Cuyuni itself."⁵

*392 One, at least, of these two missions was not long to cause *anxiety.

Scarcely a month later, on October 12, 1754, Governor Storm could report that he had learned from a chief of the Caribs, how, furious at the Spaniards because they had located a mission in Cuyuni between them and the tribe of the Panacays, and thereby tried "to hinder their communication with that nation, and entirely to prevent their whole slave trade on that side," they had made an alliance with the Panacays, and both together had surprised the mission, massacred the priest and ten or twelve Spaniards, and had demolished the buildings.⁶ "This sad accident for the Spaniards," adds the governor, "has covered us on that side." It can hardly be rash to conjecture that the mission which was thus summarily ended, perhaps not without Dutch prompting, and which could not, according to Storm's earlier description, have been higher up than the mouth of the Curumo, was at that much-mooted site. That precisely that site would be occupied at the earliest fresh advance of the missions was probable, and that it would be especially vexatious to the Caribs was not

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 282.

² Strickland, "Documents and Maps," pp. 6, 7.

³ Report of the Commission, vol. ii, pp. 665-671; cf. vol. iii, p. *208. It would even appear from later documents (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 345, 347) that a royal order for its establishment was issued as early as December, 1763.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 92, 99; Extracts, pp. 327, 348.

⁵ Extracts, p. 348.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 100.

No. 3.

doubtful. In default of further data for inference, it may hesitantly be ascribed to that site.¹

What may have been the relation of these occurrences to the establishment in the Cuyuni of a Dutch post, of whose existence we first learn from the governor's letter of May 31, *1755, is matter for inference only. It can hardly be doubted, however, that this fresh Spanish advance was the foremost of the "weighty reasons" why, as he reports in the same letter, he has at his house the chiefs of the Panacay tribe from up in Cuyuni, and "must absolutely keep it friendly." For he was convinced that the Spaniards would "try to creep in softly, and, as far as possible, to approach us and hem us in; and it is certain," he adds, "that they now have taken complete possession of the creek Orawary, emptying into the the Cuyuni, which indisputably is your territory. The post located by order of the Council above in Cuyuni, is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings."

In another connection,² I have already discussed the bearing of this passage on the location of the Dutch post. Suffice it here to repeat that, though probable, it is not certain that Orawary means Yuruari, and that it is still less certain that by the Spanish dwellings not more than ten or twelve hours above the post are meant those of the creek Orawary.³ In any case, this passage can hardly help to interpret the preceding ones, for neither the one Spanish mission known to have been founded in this year on the Yuruari (that called at first by the name of this river and later by that of the Aima, at whose confluence it perhaps originally stood),⁴ nor any other possible establishment there, could answer the *description of the "two missions . . . on the river Cuyuni itself," or be counted to lie on the road between the Caribs and the Panacays. *394

A document transmitted by the governor in the following year offers more of suggestion. This is a letter addressed him on July 7, 1756, by the

¹ I regret that, by oversight, in my historical maps, as printed (Atlas of the Commission, maps 11, 15), a question mark does not appear after this ascription of site. A location had to be assigned, at least conjecturally, and the sources of our knowledge (quoted in full above) required it to be either *here or below* on the Cuyuni. That it was here, rather than below, is merely probable, and the sources are too scanty for positive ascription of any sort. The passage next to be discussed, might, if Governor Storm's estimate of distance be taken seriously, suggest the belief that one of these missions was much lower down. Of circumstances which seem to make this possible, at least, I have spoken fully on pp. 395-398, below. But I should be sorry to base aught save the most hesitant conjecture on evidence so vague and so unsupported.

² See pp. *321, *334, *385, above.

³ It may be further remarked, however, that, if Storm had located on the map of D'Anville, at a point fifteen hours above the mouth of the Cuyuni, the site of the Dutch post, and had then laid off ten or twelve hours up the Cuyuni from that point, he would nearly or quite have reached the mouth of the Yuruari, as shown by that map. (See atlas of the Commission, maps 39, 40, 62.) True, we do not know Storm to have owned a copy of this map till later; but it was shown him in 1750, and it is more than possible that he retained a tracing of it. (See pp. *365, *369, with notes, and also pp. *134, *135, of vol. iii.) Yet it is strange that, if he used D'Anville's map, he did not use D'Anville's spelling.

⁴ See vol. iii. pp. *205, *206.

No. 3.

under-postholder in charge of the post Arinda, in the upper Essequibo, near the mouth of the Siparuni. Its contents are startling, and its tone too panic-stricken to inspire the fullest confidence. Three Europeans, reports this functionary, have made themselves masters of the entire savanna above. He believes that they are Spaniards, and that these Spaniards, who are taking possession everywhere, come by way of Cuyuni. "You must know," he writes, "that they have three fast places, one in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni, the second up in Mazaruni in Queribura, the third up in Siparuni at Mawakken; those places are all gruesomely strong." And he adds much as to the strange conduct of the Indians.¹

The governor himself, though skeptical as to the report, found in it much reason for anxiety. And as he was writing of it to the Company there arrived a colonist from up in Mazaruni to give information which seemed to him to confirm the report of the bylier. This colonist, Couvreur, reported "that various Indians from above have retreated to his place; that between two and three days' journey above his plantation" (which is equal, explains the governor, to about twelve, or at most fifteen, Dutch "hours") "there live some whites who have there a great house and more than two hundred Indians with them, whom they make believe a lot of things and are able to keep under absolute command." Couvreur proposed, with the governor's approval, to form a party, go up the river, and *395 kidnap *these interlopers; and the governor provisionally accepted the project.²

Couvreur's tidings seem unmistakably to point to a Spanish mission; and, remembering the forts that always attended these missions, the bylier's may mean nothing more. Nor is it necessary to suppose them permanent missions. It was on their *entradas*, the organized expeditions for the gathering (often by constraint) of Indians for the mission villages, that the friars ventured farthest afield, and their sojourns for this purpose were sometimes of considerable length.³ Such an *entrada* into the immediate neighborhood of the Dutch would doubtless have fortified with some care the places of its halts; yet the "gruesomely strong" forts of the bylier's letter, if it may be credited, seem to imply something more than a mere *entrada*.

Two or three things in the circumstances of the time make the story less surprising. In the first place, the presence in Spanish Guayana at this time of a large military force for the prosecution of the great boundary survey between the dominions of Spain and Portugal in South America must of itself have emboldened the missionaries to fresh enterprises. The

¹ Extracts, pp. 370, 371.

² Extracts, p. 369.

³ Father Strickland prints (*Documents and Maps*, pp. 48-52) an account, by one of these Capuchins, of such an *entrada* into the upper Caroni in 1788, in which the party consisted of two friars, nine Spaniards (doubtless soldiers), and enough Indians to make the whole number a hundred persons. They were out from April until the vigil of St. Peter's day.

No. 3.

panic created in the neighboring Dutch colony by the neighborhood of this Spanish force and the chronic foreboding which followed play a great part in the correspondence of Essequibo, and even of the Dutch Government, during this period. But, what is more to the purpose, we now know that all this anxiety was justified. The secret correspondence between Spain and Portugal lately published by Great Britain¹ *contains not *396 only full evidence of an explicit agreement between those two Governments for crowding the Dutch out of Guiana, but gives in detail the method to be pursued. Spain and Portugal were to form settlements, each from its own side, thus by degrees "forming a semicircle in the interior, above and beyond the territory they [the Dutch] occupy." "In keeping them thus surrounded," says the document setting forth the scheme, "we are in front of the territory where the revolted negro slaves of the Dutch dwell, and can easily give them help covertly for their raids against those colonies."² Accordingly, before leaving Spain in 1754, Iturriaga, the commander on the Orinoco of the Spanish expedition, received confidential instructions to learn fully about the Capuchin missions, and whether they continued advancing their villages toward the Dutch;³ to use the most effective means possible for the dislodging of the foreigners on the coast of Guiana, or for hemming them in;⁴ and, especially, to communicate with the colonies of fugitive slaves dwelling at the back of the Dutch, sending and leaving among them some Spanish ringleaders to head them in their raids.⁴ To this end, early in 1756, Iturriaga arranged with the Capuchin prefect (again Father Benito de la Garriga) to undertake in person the errand to the revolted negroes of Surinam, promising him a Spanish guard, but leaving him free as to route, time, and manner. The journey, according to the Indians, was one of twenty days; but, in Iturriaga's opinion, it would be "one of a month and a half for the priests, with Indians and a guard of soldiers." Father Benito wished to wait until the following January, maintaining that to be the proper season; but Iturriaga was "trying to make him undertake the journey this summer," and, *with the help of a "cedula" demanded, still hoped to succeed. Thus *397 wrote the Spanish commander in May, 1756.⁵ The strange letter of the Arinda bylier was written in July of that year.

In 1755, moreover, report had been made to the Spanish commander that the Dutch had explored the Essequibo up to the immediate neighborhood of Lake Parima, and had even surveyed an affluent of the Rio Negro offering a way of communication with the Amazon.⁶ Now, the use of such communications by foreigners he had been expressly charged to pre-

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 70-83.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 73.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 79.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 80.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 86, 87.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 86.

No. 3.

vent.¹ It should be further pointed out that he was instructed "to make an effort to see if it be possible to pacify and reduce the Carib nation, and bring them into our missions."² In view of all this, it is possible that neither the new missions of 1754 on the Cuyuni nor the Spanish doings reported beyond that river in 1756 will seem so strange.

There was one other circumstance not less worth remembering. The Indian nation which held the paths from the Cuyuni savanna to the upper Essequibo, that of the Accoways, or Guaicas,³ was now at open war with the Dutch. Enraged at a settler, who had incited their hereditary
 *398 foes, the Caribs, to an *assault upon them, they had in the summer of 1755 attacked the Essequibo colony, and had so frightened the planters in the Mazaruni that these had retired to an island with their slaves and valuables, and dared not sleep on their plantations.⁴ At midsummer of 1756 the danger was still at its height; and, at the time of receiving the report of the Arinda bylier and the message brought by the Mazaruni planter, the governor, on account of this Accoway war, since he could not yet "imagine how this matter will turn out," and counted it "of the extremest importance to this colony," had found it necessary to leave a garrison at the old fort Kykoveral.⁵ The Spanish Capuchins, on the other hand, seem now on the friendliest terms with this most warlike and powerful of the up-country tribes. Their new village planted on the Yuruari in 1755, was composed of these.⁶ A Dutch spy, sent in 1765 up to the missions, found there "swarms of Accoways," and reported that "the missionaries are the cause of the war between the Caribs and that tribe, the natives being incited and provided with arms by them."⁷ It need not, then, have been extremely hazardous for the Spanish Capuchins to undertake at this juncture to establish themselves beyond the Cuyuni.

Of the three forts named by the bylier, that "in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni," lay nearest their point of departure. The Wenamu joins the Cuyuni from the south about midway between the mouths of the Yuruari and the Curumo. The mission "in Wenamu" may have been (as so often

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 80. It is true that, in the light of our present knowledge, the communication by the Cassiquiare might seem alone meant. But this communication was then problematical, Father Gumilla himself denying its existence; and Iturriaga was unlikely to draw fine distinctions.

² *Id.*, pp. 81, 82.

³ By some a distinction has been attempted between Accoway and Guaica; though, if not identical, they are admittedly closely akin. But to the Dutch and to the Capuchins, at least, they were identical—the name Accoway alone being used by the Dutch, the name Guaica by the Capuchins. Hilhouse, the first Englishman to ascend the Cuyuni, who had been colonial surveyor and protector of the Indians, unhesitatingly identifies them. "All the old inhabitants, both Accoway and Caribsee above this," he wrote in his journal at the mouth of the Curumo, "were converts of these missions."—(*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1837, p. 450.)

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 104–107.

⁵ Extracts, p. 368.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 324; Strickland, pp. 58, 59; or other mission-lists. Note, too, the projected Accoway village of p. 391, above.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 186.

No. 3.

with these missions) near the junction of that river with the Cuyuni. A half century ago Mr. Schomburgk found an Accoway village at *this point.¹ It will be remembered that in 1754 two missions were *399 founded on the Cuyuni.² One was destroyed at once by the Caribs. The other may possibly have been here founded, or withdrawn to here.³

From the Cuyuni savannas to the upper Mazaruni the natural and traveled route was by the Wenamu, crossing from its head waters to those of the Caramang, or Camarang,⁴ the largest of the western tributaries of the Mazaruni. It was by this route that later Mr. Schomburgk crossed from the Mazaruni to the Cuyuni, finding rude Indian ladders fixed in the sandstone terraces of the northern slope to make possible the passage.⁵ The Camarang was, at the time with which we are dealing, an Accoway stronghold. In 1755 the Dutch colonist who stirred up the Carib chief against the Accoways told the former that the Accoways were plotting to kill certain Carib leaders and then to take flight "to Camoeran, above Mazaruni."⁶ From the mouth of the Camarang an Indian path led *over the mountains, avoiding the circuit caused by the great bend *400 of the Mazaruni, and, following on the further slope the course of the Carubung, another branch of that river, reached the Mazaruni at a point much lower down.⁷ The name Carubung suspiciously resembles the "Queribura up in Mazaruni" of the bylier's story; and suspicion gathers strength when one finds the first Englishman who visited this place, in 1831, reporting that "no white man had ever been seen there before, except twenty years ago, three Spanish padres, who had lived for a month or two at the mouth of the creek, and persuaded many Indians to accompany them to the missions of the Oroonoco."⁸

¹ See map in Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen* (Leipzig, 1847).

² See p. *391 above.

³ Governor Storm's assertion that both the new missions of 1754 were *below* the creek Mejou ought not, perhaps, to be pressed too literally; and, although his statement as to the distance of Spanish dwellings from the Dutch post, if accurate, suggests a lower site for the mission not destroyed in that year, the fact that neither Dutch nor Spanish records report a later Carib foray in this quarter, coupled with the fact that the Spanish expedition sent down the Cuyuni in 1758 found clearly no mission on that river, throws much doubt on the whole matter. The fact that the Capuchin Fathers, in their affidavits of 1770 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 281-288), ascribe to the Caribs the destruction of only seven villages, points to the possible persistence for a time of one of the two missions of 1754; for they must have had in thought Tupuquen, Cunuri, Miamo, Curumo, Mutanambo, Avechica, and that known to have been destroyed in 1754. Or do they here omit Miamo, which survived?

⁴ Mr. Schomburgk called it "Carimani, or Carimang" (see Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen*, ii, pp. 343-348). On the older Spanish maps of Cruz Cano and Surville it appears as "Camaran," or "Camaron." The geologists of the colony, Brown and Sawkins, call it "Camarang."

⁵ At the date of Mr. Schomburgk's visit both the Caramang and the Wenamu were occupied by Accoways, though the uppermost village in each was of Arekunas.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 107.

⁷ Brown and Sawkins, *Geology of British Guiana*, pp. 50, 261; cf. also the great colonial map (atlas of the Commission, map 49).

⁸ Hilhouse, as reported by Capt. J. E. Alexander, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, for 1832, p. 69.

No. 3.

But, in locating "Queribura," one has to reckon also with the testimony of the Mazaruni colonist, Couvreur. Just where he dwelt "up in Mazaruni," can not be learned;¹ but that any colonist in this river ever dwelt remote from the general body of plantations near its mouth is nowhere intimated in the papers sent by the colony to Holland; and it is peculiarly improbable in 1756, when for a year the Accoways had been holding in such terror the planters of Mazaruni. And, if we may assume that Couvreur's place was, at most, not far above the lowest falls of the Mazaruni, the "two or three days' journey above his plantation" could hardly carry one farther than the mouth of the Puruni.² More definite is the "about twelve or at most fifteen hours of travel" by which the governor interprets Couvreur's phrase. The Dutch "hour of travel" (*uur gaans*),

*401 like the German *Wegstunde*, is a measure, *not of time, but of distance, and what Storm understood by it is put beyond all question by the scale of his own map of the colony,³ which is in "hours of travel." By a glance at this scale it will be seen that the distance from the old fort Kykoveral to the new fort on Flag Island, a stretch which Storm knew so well, coincides almost exactly with the "fifteen hours of travel" which is his extreme estimate of the distance to Couvreur's strangers. This distance also, measured up the Mazaruni, on any modern map, from the point where the rapids begin, falls somewhat short of the mouth of the Puruni, and reaches less than halfway to the mouth of the Carubung. Now, the mouth of the Puruni, the main northern branch of the Mazaruni, and an important route toward the Cuyuni and the coast, was a strategic point of importance for the purposes the Spanish missionaries had at heart. And the falls over which the Mazaruni rushes just at the confluence of the Puruni bear the Indian name of *Curabiri*.⁴ This is, of all the Indian names shown in the region of this river by the maps, that which is nearest in sound to Queribura.

To the precise whereabouts of the third "fort" named by the Arinda bylier—that "up in Siparuni at Mawakken"—I have found no clue. Remote as was the Siparuni from the Capuchin missions of the Cuyuni, there can be no question of the identity of that stream; and the bylier, whose own post of Arinda was close by the spot where it united with the Essequibo, should be especially trustworthy as to this nearest "fort." It is perhaps safe to conjecture that, if actual, it was somewhere on the upper reaches of that river, whose southeastward direction might make it a link in the Spanish route to the Rupununi savannas, and in that cordon

*402 of occupation in the *rear of the Dutch, which, as we have seen, was an object of Spanish and Portuguese policy.

¹ For discussion of this, see in the section on the Mazaruni, pp. *349-351 above.

² "With Indians the longest day's journey is four [Dutch] miles," wrote Governor Storm van 's Gravesande in 1769. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 167.)

³ Atlas of the Commission, map 60.

⁴ Spelt *Coorabeery* by Hilhouse, who prefers to give vowels their English sound.

No. 3.

The more violent Spanish aggression of 1758 which destroyed the Dutch post on the Cuyuni has been discussed in connection with the Dutch occupation of that river.¹ The Spaniards left no garrison to hold the captured site; and, though the Capuchins made an effort to have the whole upper Cuyuni closed against the enemy by "establishing a village, if not exclusively of Spaniards, at least of chosen Indians, with a garrison of ten soldiers," "at the mouth of the Curumo or on one of the islands in the Cuyuni,"² nothing seems then to have come of it.

Notwithstanding the much passing up and down the Cuyuni, by the Spaniards and their Indian allies, which gave umbrage to the Dutch, nothing is heard of permanent sojourn there; and it was not till 1765 (August 13) that Governor Storm van 's Gravesande reported to the Company, on the testimony of a half-breed sent up to the mission as a spy, that "preparations are being made to establish a new mission between Cuyuni and Mazaruni"—"that is," he adds, "in the middle of our land."³ And early in 1766 (January 18)⁴ he again complained that, according to the Spanish Indians, "there is a desire to establish new missions in and beyond Cuyuni."⁵ He hoped this would be checked by the Dutch post, then about to be established; and, in point of fact, one hears complaint, in his letters of the next two years, of no new mission, but *only of *403 that which he variously describes as "the mission close to the river" Cuyuni,⁶ as "about two or three hours' distance from the banks of the Cuyuni, in a creek flowing into that river,"⁷ or as "situated about four hours from Cuyuni on the west,"⁸ but which can hardly be any other than that known to Spanish sources as Cavallapi—a village of Accoways, on the Yuruari, founded in 1761 and ruined in 1770 by the desertion of its Indians.⁹ Yet by 1769 (February 21) the governor was obliged to write that the Caribs of the Cuyuni had reported "that the Spaniards have established a mission not far above the post in that river and yet another a little higher up in a creek flowing into the Cuyuni, both of which have been strongly manned."¹⁰

¹ See pp. *322–*334, above.

² See Father Benito de la Garriga's letter of June 9, 1758 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 235–237, etc.), and compare that addressed to him by another Capuchin on December 12 of that year (Strickland, *Documents*, pp. 6, 7).

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 136.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 138; cf. Extracts, p. 418.

⁵ Not "in Cuyuni and above Cuyuni," as translated in the Blue Book. The Dutch is: *dat men nieuwe missien in Ojjoeny en over Ojjoeny wil aanleggen.*"

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 143.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 159, 160; Extracts, pp. 451, 452.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 136.

⁹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118; "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 289, 290; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 144, 145, 149, 209–214, 265; Strickland, "Documents and Maps," p. 22; and especially the Capuchin map of 1771 (reproduced in the Atlas of the Commission as map 73), with the note on its margin.

¹⁰ Extracts, pp. 450, 451.

No. 3.

Where may have lain the two sites thus described, I can not so much as conjecture. There is in the published Spanish records, secular or ecclesiastical, no mention of foundations of this date which by any possibility can be identified with these; and the data given by the Dutch governor are too vague to tempt a guess. I may, however, point out, as Father Strickland (who alone has had access to all the Capuchin documents, and who is no exponent of Spanish claims) has already done, that "the location of some of the missions was changed several times for various reasons, and many missions were started which were never definitely established;"¹ and I *404 may add that the relations of the Capuchins with the Spanish *governor were not such as to make it strange if they failed to report all their enterprises to the civic authorities.² If it seem idle to credit at all such Dutch and Indian rumors as to their activity, it should be remembered that even Mr. Schomburgk, writing after the completion of all his researches in this region, was of the belief that "the missions of the Catalonian Capuchins extended formerly from the eastern bank of the Caroni as far as the banks of the Imataca, the Curuma, and the Cuyuni."³ Whether or no they again planted missions on or near the Cuyuni, the Spaniards so disquieted the Dutch post that before the end of this year, 1769, it was drawn nearer to the Essequibo.⁴ With the year 1772 it ceased altogether its existence, perhaps because the missions gave no more reason for vigilance here. At least, Dutch interest in them was at an end. There is nothing more to be learned from the Dutch records as to Spanish occupation in the upper Cuyuni.

Of any occupation by Spaniards in the coast region between the Orinoco and the Moruca, save that involved in the Orinoco-Essequibo trade, which in the last half of the eighteenth century passed wholly into their hands,⁵ the Dutch seem never to have known. They knew, indeed, of desultory raids not a few, like that which purged the Barima of settlers in 1768 or those which in 1769 and 1775 took momentary possession of the post on the Moruca; but, if these left behind them any attempt at occupation of the territory overrun, it found no record in the Dutch papers. The *405 Spanish captain who, in 1775, *seized the Moruca post threatened the postholder that a Spanish guard should be placed at the Waini entrance of the island passage,⁶ but there is no evidence that it was more than a threat. Of the Spanish raids and reconnoissances themselves it is not my task here to speak.

In the upper Essequibo the only Spanish aggression to be noted is that

¹ Strickland, "Documents and Maps," p. xvii.

² See e. g., Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 294-305, and the documents published by Father Strickland, *passim*. As to the right of initiative possessed and exercised by the friars, see note, p. 382, above.

³ In his edition (1848) of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 79, note.

⁴ See pp. *339, *340, above.

⁵ See pp. *210, *211, above.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190.

No. 3.

complained of by the Arinda bylier in 1756.¹ The allegation that the Spaniards had instigated the murder of the Dutch postholder at Arinda, which formed an item of the complaint to Spain in 1769, turned out later to be a canard.² Of other Spanish occupation in the disputed territory I have not learned from the Dutch records.

Spanish *claim*, of any formal, official sort, as to the boundary in Guiana, I have nowhere found in the diplomatic correspondence preserved in Dutch archives. As already pointed out, the Dutch remonstrances of 1759 and 1769, which alone from the Dutch side seem to have asked Spanish attention to the question, never received a formal answer.

Once or twice, in communication from the Spanish authorities of the Orinoco to the Dutch governors of Essequibo, a claim was implied or asserted—as when, in 1784, Don Carlos de Sucre wrote of his intent to expel the Swedes from the Barima;³ or as when, in 1758, the Governor of Cumaná, in reply to the Dutch governor's demand for the restitution of the men seized with the Cuyuni post, answered that they had been found "on an island in the river called Cuyuni, which is, with its dependencies, a part of the domains of His Catholic Majesty."⁴ Oftener such claims came to the Dutch only through subordinates or by hearsay, like the rumors in 1769-70 of the Spanish claim to all west of the bank of Oene⁵ (at the mouth of the Essequibo), or the claim of "the whole of the Moruca," ascribed by the postholder or the Spanish captain who seized that post in 1775.⁶ But among them I have found none (except it be the equivocal one of the Cumaná governor) which has the form of an official utterance, or which undertakes to state with definiteness the rightful course of a boundary.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE L. BURR.

NOTE.—I can not close this report, and with it my service of the Commission, without acknowledgment of my debt in its preparation, as in that of my earlier reports, to the custodians of the Library of Congress and of the library and archives of the Department of State, at Washington, to those of the Astor and Lenox libraries, at New York, and to those of the library and archives of the State of New York, at Albany, for full and free access to the treasures in their keeping. To Mr. Wilberforce Eames, the learned and acute librarian of the Lenox Library, I owe wise suggestion as well as ungrudging help.

¹ See pp. *394, *401, above.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 165.

³ Extracts, pp. 258, 259.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 103, 104. The phrase is, perhaps, intentionally equivocal.

⁵ Extracts, pp. 467, 468, 495; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 175, 176.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190.

No. 4.**On the Historical Maps.*****185**

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURE.

The historical maps herewith submitted to the Commission¹ have been prepared to illustrate my report on the evidence of Dutch official documents as to occupation and claims in the region between the Essequibo and the Orinoco, and are an attempt to show graphically the conclusions reached by that report. For a full discussion of the evidence on which these conclusions rest, reference must, of course, be made to the report itself;² but it seems wise to submit with the maps a summary of the sources used for each, and especially to say a word as to those features which lie outside the scope of the report.

To begin with, it must be pointed out that no attempt has been made to deal historically with what the maps show of the region lying west of the Orinoco and of that lying east of the Essequibo. As to these districts there has at no time been a conflict of claim. The former was from its earliest settlement in the hands of the Spaniards, and the latter in the hands of the Dutch. The French had, indeed, for a *time, *186 about the middle of the seventeenth century, a mission on the Guarapiche, and for more than half a century thereafter traded with the Indians in that region; but no political claim was ever made by them to the district. The actual Spanish occupation of the corner of territory shown on the map between the Orinoco and the coast of the Caribbean Sea, though the Spanish had long occupied the region to the west of it and were gradually pushing eastward into it, belongs mainly to the eighteenth century. In like manner the Demerara was counted a possession of the Dutch from early in their occupation of the Essequibo and the Berbice, and trade there was monopolized by them from the seventeenth century on, though the river was not thrown open to settlement until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century. Its growth, however, was rapid, and before the end of that century its colonists had distanced in prosperity those of the older rivers.

Within the region bounded by the Orinoco, the Essequibo, the Caroni, and the Atlantic, it has been my aim to note every occupation, of whatever sort, for which I have found evidence in the documents. Mere sojourn, whether for exploration, for trade, or for conversion of the Indians, I have made no effort to chronicle. This must explain the absence from my maps of any conjecture as to one or two localities which have played a part in the discussions relative to the controverted boundary. But

¹ Atlas of the Commission, maps 5-15.

² In vol. 1 of the report of the Commission.

No. 4.

wherever there is reason from the documents to believe in the existence, if only for a portion of a single year, of any post or plantation or dwelling meant to be permanent, I have given it a place upon the map.

*187 Where the evidence was so *vague or conflicting as to warrant only conjecture I have placed the name at what in view of all the circumstances seems the most probable site, but have marked the site as conjectural. As the Dutch settled, not by villages, but by plantations, the changing limits of these are shown as accurately as possible.

Historical maps compiled thus from political documents and rude sketch maps can not escape uncertainty. And where, as here, not even the geographical features of the region with which they deal have as yet been accurately surveyed, that uncertainty must be the greater. I can not hope that these maps are free from error. But they at least rest on a patient comparative study of all the documents and maps, printed or manuscript, which have come into the hands of the Commission.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1597.

The year 1597 is that in which the earliest expedition to the Guiana coast known to Dutch records set out from the Netherlands, and in which for the first time, so far as evidence has been adduced from any quarter, Dutchmen were seen within this district. The map may therefore fairly claim to represent the condition of the region at the beginning of Dutch acquaintance with it. European occupation is noted at two points only.

SANTO THOMÉ DE LA GUAYANA,¹ whatever one may think as to its *188 earlier existence or site, was in 1596, by the *indubitable testimony of the Englishman Keymis, to be found as a Spanish rancheria of some thirty houses at a point on the Orinoco near the mouth of the Caroni. This point, as seems clear from Keymis's statement, was not precisely at the junction of the Caroni, but at the point, a little below, known by Raleigh as Morequito's Port and occupied at present by the village of San Miguel.² As Professor Jameson has pointed out,³ there is no tenable evidence for the existence of Santo Thomé earlier than 1591 or 1592, the date set for its foundation by Fray Pedro Simon; and the silence of Raleigh and of the Spanish documents lately printed by Great Britain make its whereabouts between that date and 1596 very uncertain. At some time between 1596 and 1618 it was, according to the common opinion of historians, moved down the river to the site, at the mouth of the little river Usupama, which is still known as Vieja Guayana. It seems not impossible that this took place as early as 1596 or 1597, on the arrival of Domingo de Vera with his ten shiploads of

¹ I have preferred this form rather than the modern Santo Tomé, or Tomas, not only because it is that now most familiar to English ears, but because it is the original spelling and is that most in use in the documents on which these maps rest.

² Cf. Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk, pp. 78, 78, and p. 17, note.

³ In vol. 1 of the report of the Commission.

No. 4.

colonists; and the account given of the town by the Dutchman Cabeliau, at his visit there in 1598, seems at least as consistent with this as with the upper site. It has seemed wiser, however, in this map to place the town at the old site, from which it could, in any case, hardly as yet have been entirely removed.

As to the other point marked on the map, the conjectural **SPANISH FORT** in the Essequibo, there is far greater doubt. That, however, the Spaniards were this year in the Essequibo *is beyond question. *189 Already in 1596 Keymis, while asserting that "farther to the eastward than Dessekebe, no Spaniard ever travelled," had reported that "In this river, which wee now call Devoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne;"¹ and they were found there in 1597 by the expedition sent out by Raleigh under the command of Capt. Leonard Berrie, whose chronicler, Thomas Masham, tells us how the English were assured on this point.² Unpublished Spanish documents tell also of an expedition thither in this year, led by Ibarguen, the camp master of Domingo de Vera.³ And it is not until late in 1608 that another Englishman, Unton Fisher, the "cousin" whom Robert Harcourt left in the Marowyn for exploration, reports it as important news, just learned through an Indian, that now the Spaniard "hath cleare left Dissikeebie and not a Spaniard there."⁴ The oldest Spanish map of this region which I have seen—the "Map of the rivers Amazon, Essequibo, Orinico, and the adjacent region," published in the official "*Cartas de Indias*,"⁵ and belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century—shows not *only the course of the Essequibo, with *190 the Mazaruni and the Cuyuni as its tributaries, and marks on the Pomeroun, the Moruca, the Waini, and the Barima; the name of the Indian cacique there ruling, but has on the upper Essequibo a note telling how an unnamed explorer—presumably the Spaniard whose explorations the map is meant to illustrate—in the year 1553 went up the river Essequibo with four canoes, and, crossing the divide, descended on the other slope into another river, and so into the great river Amazon, where he found so many people that he turned back.

All this, of course, falls much short of proving the existence of fort or of settlement; and there is in the earlier Dutch records nothing to suggest

¹ Keymis, *Relation*, ed. of London, 1596, fol. B 4, verso.

² Masham, in Hakluyt *Collection*, ed. of London, 1811, iv, pp. 193, 194.

³ Rodway, in *Timahri*, December, 1895 (p. 325), citing documents in the Spanish archives of the Indies. Cf. the Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," p. 4, where, however, the statement that he reported "white men" there is admittedly an error. He was in search of El Dorado, and is said to have reported that he "learned very much news of the men who were clothed and fighting with arms"—clearly the fabled Manóans. Rodway's article adds that he gave as a reason for not investigating this matter that, "not having sufficient men with him, he did not wish to tarry about the rivers," which may mean any of several things. It is much to be regretted that this document has not been published in full, and in its original tongue.

⁴ "Relation of the habitations and other observations of the river of Marwin and the adjoining regions," in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), iv, p. 1285.

⁵ Madrid, 1877. Reproduced, as map 76, in the atlas of the Commission.

No. 4.

that the fort at Kykoveral was not built by the Dutch themselves.¹ In fact, the recorded need of a fort there in 1627 and the provision then made for its erection² would make this conclusion probable were it not that about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the old fort was dismantled and an attempt made to use its materials for other structures, the governor of Essequibo, himself an engineer of experience, declares it "an old Portuguese work, built extraordinarily tight and strong";³ and were it not that the Dutch historian of Guiana, Hartsinck, writing in 1770, thinks the fort certainly Portuguese, because, as he says, the *191 arms of that nation are cut on the arch of the doorway. *Un-

fortunately for the latter argument, the careful study of this es-cutcheon on the spot in 1845 and 1850 by the later and more careful Dutch historian, General Netscher, shows that the arms in question are nothing more than a simple cross.⁴ And as for the dictum of the colonial governor, it is easier to believe that he could recognize the masonry as not Dutch than that he could discriminate between the Spanish and the Portuguese work of a century or two earlier, at a period when both nations were subjects of the Spanish King. Unhappily, too, for the theory of a Spanish origin, there is absolutely no other basis for the belief—as General Netscher, himself a high authority upon the doings of the Portuguese in America, long ago pointed out—that the Portuguese were ever at any time in the Essequibo. The simple cross which appears above the arch-way would have been a strange emblem indeed to be used by the Calvinistic Dutch in the early seventeenth century; but it was an emblem even more natural to the Spaniards than to the Portuguese.⁵

All this would seem to demand at least a conjectural suggestion of a Spanish fort in the Essequibo. That, if there, it was on the site of the later Kykoveral seems probable from the lack of all tradition of the existence elsewhere of such a fort or of ruins of one. The site, too, is similar to that of the island (Faxardo) first used by the Spaniards as a citadel in the Orinoco.

*192 *There is only one other place for which there is historical claim of a Spanish settlement as early as 1597. The commander of the English expedition which in 1665-66 captured the Dutch colonies in western Guiana, Maj. John Scott, writing not long after that event, declares that "The first Christian that ever attempted to set footing on Guiana, to the southward of Oranoque, was Pedro de Acosta, a Spaniard, with two

¹ My reasons for ignoring the statement of Maj. John Scott that the fort was built by the Dutch, under one Gromwagle, in 1616, I have set forth at much length in my report.

² See Extracts, No. 15.

³ Blue Book, "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 134.

⁴ For his drawing of it see my report.

⁵ General Netscher has personally told me that, having laid this question before many well-informed Spaniards and Portuguese, he has been uniformly assured that the cross, while frequently thus used by the Spaniards, was rarely so by the Portuguese.

No. 4.

small corvils, 300 men, anno 1530, settled in Parema,¹ was drove thence by the Indians the same year, many slain, and their goods and chattels became a booty to the Careebs." But I infer from Professor Jameson's silence on this point that he found nowhere a confirmation of Scott's statement. None, certainly, has been found by me; and Scott's repute for veracity and accuracy, at least as to facts beyond the range of his personal knowledge, is not such as to make it necessary to take account of the else improbable episode.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1626.

The year 1626 is the earliest in which we have positive and trustworthy evidence of any occupation by the Dutch within the region shown by the map.

That **SANTO THOMÉ DE LA GUYANA** was now at the site indicated seems clear from the fact that here the English found and left it at their sack in 1618,² and that here the Dutch found *it when *193 they sacked it in 1629.³ The reasons for hesitating to assign to the **DUTCH POST** in the Essequibo an earlier date than this and for placing it at this date on the site of Kykoveral are set forth at much length in my report.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1648.

The year 1648 is that in which, by the treaty of Münster, Spain first recognized the independence of the Dutch and the existence of their colonial possessions. This date is of importance to the present research because of the claims based upon that treaty.

That **SANTO THOMÉ** was in 1648 at the old site, in spite of a removal which is reported in process at the time of the Dutch raid upon it in 1637,⁴ seems to me probable from the absence of any counter tradition and from the fact that the French found it here in 1685. It is not improbable that the disaster of 1637 itself may have led the Spaniards to cling to the more defensible position. That down to this date there was in this region no Dutch occupation other than that at **FORT KYKOVERAL** is abundantly clear from the documents accompanying my report.

¹ Barima. It is the only name in the region which could well take this form, and Scott's spelling of the name elsewhere dispels doubt.

² See the accounts of Fray Pedro Simon and of Raleigh's informants, and their discussion by Mr. S. R. Gardiner, cited by Professor Jameson (in Vol. 1 of the report of the Commission).

³ This seems clear from the description of its site copied by Jan de Laet from the journals of this Dutch expedition. There exists in the archives at The Hague a rude manuscript chart of the Orinoco from its mouth up to Santo Thomé, which is dated 1629, and is undoubtedly a product of this expedition. It represents Santo Thomé as situated just below a fork of the Orinoco. This may possibly be meant to indicate the confluence of the Caroni, but is more probably a misconception caused by the long island in mid-stream a little above the Usupama site of the town.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 212-216.

No. 4.

*194

***EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1674.**

The year 1674 is that in which the old Dutch West India Company, whose trade monopoly included the entire coast of America, gave place to the new one, whose charter granted it on the American mainland only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon."

The evidence for the existence and duration of the **NOVA ZEELANDIA** colony on the Pomeroon and the Moruca will be found gathered more fully than hitherto in the transcripts submitted herewith; but for the locations and names the best authority is the map of Arend Roggeveen,¹ who used the reports and plans of Goliat, the engineer who laid out the colony. That there is some doubt whether the town and the fortresses projected for that colony and so long appearing on maps were ever actually completed I have pointed out in my report. That, in any case, they ceased to exist during the English invasion and the chaos which followed, and were never after restored, there can be no doubt. The Essequibo remained in Dutch possession, save during the brief period of the English occupation. The limits assigned to the plantations there are suggested by the account given by Adriaan van Berkel² of his visit in 1671 and by such official records as remain.

The reasons for retaining **SANTO THOMÉ** at its old site are the same as in the map of 1648.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1703.

*195 The year 1703 is that in which, by the establishment for a *little time of a post in the savannas of the upper Cuyuni basin, the Dutch of Essequibo reached the westernmost point which they are known to have occupied.

The limits of the **DUTCH PLANTATIONS** in the Essequibo in 1703 may be gathered with tolerable exactness from the earliest extant map of the colony, that of Maas,³ in 1706. Of the **COLONY OF 1686-1689** on the Pomeroon and the Moruca we now know much more fully from the documents printed in the British Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," though there has at no time been a doubt as to its duration or extent. The location of the Pomeroon post established in 1679 is, I think, sufficiently shown by our finding mention of a "postholder in Courey"⁴ and of an "outlier in Wacupo;" for that these refer to the same post I see no reason to doubt.⁵ This, too, seems the inference of the compilers of the British sketch map. As to the **POMEROON POST** of 1703-1705, its existence and duration are learned from the muster and pay rolls; its whereabouts may be inferred

¹ In his *Brandende Veen*, Amsterdam, 1675.

² In his *Amerikaansche Voyagien* (Amsterdam, 1695), pp. 42-44.

³ Atlas of the Commission, map 59.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 64.

⁵ For discussion of this identity see my report.

No. 4.

from the fact that an "ancient post" is marked here in the Boucheu-roeder map of 1796-1798.¹ The site is else a probable one, both from its use for the "Huis der Hooghte" by the earliest colony here and by its selection in 1779 as the best site for a fortified post by the Spanish reconnaissance of Inciarte. As to **THE SHELTER ON THE BARIMA**, the evidence is given in full in the transcripts and discussed at length in my report. The same is to be said *of the **CUYUNI POST** of 1703, whose duration is *196 certain from the pay roll, but whose location, like that of the Barima shelter, is a matter of pure conjecture.

Of the **FRENCH FORT** on the Barima we learn through the letter of the Essequibo commandeur to the West India Company on October 12, 1689. His statement was not questioned by that most interested body, and there is no reason why it should be so by me. The exact location of the fort, however, is wholly matter for inference. It has seemed to me that those signs of earlier occupation noted on Barima Point by Lieutenant-Colonel Moody in 1807 and by Mr. Schomburgk in 1841² may much more plausibly be connected with this French fort than with that shelter of 1684, which is the only known nucleus for the tradition of a Dutch post on this river. The site was, moreover, a more natural one for the French of the islands, whose entrance to the Barima was by this door, than for the Dutch of Essequibo, who came to it through the inland bayous. But the permanence of trenches and of evidences of cultivation on a sand bank periodically overflowed by the sea is a point on which doubts may be permitted. How long the French were there can only be guessed.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1724.

The year 1724 is that in which, with the beginning of the Capuchin missions, the Spaniards began in this region to extend their occupation southward from the banks of the Orinico.

The limits of the **ESSEQUIBO PLANTATIONS** I have been able to guess only by striking a mean between the map of Maas *in 1706³ *197 and that of Storm van 's Gravesande in 1748,⁴ guided somewhat by my study of the documents. The site of **CARTABO** is most clearly shown by the sketch map made on the spot by Heneman in 1772.⁵ That the **NEW FORT** was already building appears from the correspondence of the colony. The continuance of the **WACUPO POST** is shown by the muster and pay rolls, and there is no reason to suppose it as yet changed in site. That the **CUYUNI** and **POMEROON POSTS** no longer existed is equally clear from the same sources.

The site of **SANTO THOMÉ** is no longer open to question. That the mis-

¹ Atlas of the Commission, map 70.

² Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," p. 194 (also in "Venezuela, No. 5," p. 3).

³ Atlas of the Commission, map 59.

⁴ Atlas of the Commission, map 60.

⁵ Atlas of the Commission, map 68.

No. 4.

sions of **SUAY** and **CARONI** came this year into existence is also too well known to need discussion.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1756.

The year 1756 is that in which the Spaniards of the missions reached the easternmost points known to have been occupied by them.

The limits of the **PLANTATIONS IN THE ESSEQUIBO** are now to be inferred with much confidence from the map of Storm van 's Gravesande in 1748; for the change in the interval could not have been great. The abandonment of **CARTABO** and of **FORT KYKOVERAL** for the seat of government, **FORT ZELANDIA** on Flag island, appears from the letters of the Esse-

quibo commandeurs. My reasons for believing the **WACUPO POST** *198 transferred in 1727 to the Moruca I have given in my report. That *its

site on that river is that indicated, and not that appearing in the British sketch map, is certain from the minute account of its site given by Inciarte in 1779,¹ and is made more so by the map of Chollet.² For discussion of the site of the **CUYUNI POST** I must again refer to my report. The subject is too important and too intricate to be fully treated here. It may be stated, however, that I have felt obliged to let documentary evidence outweigh Indian tradition--especially such alleged Indian tradition as escaped the alert ear of Mr. Schomburgk. To identify the site, we have the contemporary and concurrent testimony of the postholder and the by-lier of the post and of the Director-General of Essequibo as to its distance from the mouth of the river, and that of the commander of the Spanish raiding expedition and of three of his companions as to its distance from the Spanish missions;³ and in the locality thus so fully indicated we find an Indian name answering to that given by both postholder and by-lier as the place of the post. A conclusion resting on such evidence, even though there be two or three puzzling statements to be reconciled with it, seems to me to pass the limits of conjecture. That I have made no attempt to indicate the place of the island **CURAMUCURU**, where a Dutchman and a negro were in 1758 alleged to be dwelling, is because I have found no reason to believe

these aught but wandering slave-traders, and because no such place *199 *seems to have been found by the Spanish expedition sent in search of them.

On the Spanish side, one has now to meet the puzzling problem of **THE MISSIONS**. The sources for our knowledge of the whereabouts of these are not few, but they are sadly discordant and sometimes contradictory. The lists of the dates of their foundation drawn up by the missionaries themselves do not always tally with each other. Certain of the missions,

¹ Seijas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87-96 (pp. 84-89 of the English translation).

² Atlas of the Commission, map 68.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 242-247 (also in Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 16-31). Extracts, No. 210.

No. 4.

whose existence, though brief, is adequately vouched for by official and contemporary documents, do not appear in these lists at all. The still extant maps made by the missionaries themselves, so far as these have been laid before the Commission, are too crude to be a safe basis for locating them upon a modern map, and, moreover, they do not take account of all the missions destroyed. What especially adds to the confusion is the diversity of the names borne by the missions. Each regularly received besides the Indian name of its site—usually that of a stream¹—that of the saint in whose name the mission was consecrated. But in practice only one of these titles was currently used. Divina Pastora de Guarimna, or Santa Rosa de Cura, came to be known only as Divina Pastora or Cura. Unfortunately, some are called now by one, now by the other of these names, and their orthography does not always remain the same. Even the early Spanish map-makers, Cruz Cano and Surville, were misled by this into making sometimes two missions out of one. Happily, the lists *furnished by the missionaries are on this point a great help.² Some *200 of the missions, too, were transferred from one site to another, and without change of more than the Indian name. Thus Santa Maria, originally N. Señora de los Angeles de Amaruca, was long near the banks of the Orinoco before it was removed to the uplands overlooking the Yuruari; and the transfer of Santa Ana and Calvario first to the west of the Caroni and then back again to the east of that stream is a certain but confusing matter. To determine their most probable dates and sites I have made a careful comparison of all the mentions of these missions in the documents printed from the Spanish archives by Great Britain and by Venezuela³ and in the papers and maps published by Father Strickland from the archives of the Capuchin order at Rome. I have been somewhat aided by the contemporary maps of Cruz Cano⁴ and Surville,⁵ which clearly rest on official sources, and by the more modern one of the Venezuelan geographer Codazzi, *based on personal study of the ground in the fourth decade of the *201 present century; somewhat, also, by the accounts of travelers, notably

¹ Thus the Yurnari (for I take Yucuario, Yacuaria, Jacuaria, to be but variants of this word) gave a name to several sites, and some confusion has come thereby.

² A list of 1761 may be found at p. 108 of Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1" (also in Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 259; Venezuelan "Documents," I, p. 228). Lists of 1788 are at pp. 324, 334, of Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" (Venezuelan "Documents," III, pp. 219-222). A list of 1797 forms pp. 58, 59, of Father Strickland's *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question*. A list of 1799 is at p. 355 of Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" (more fully at pp. 460-469 of the *Documentos* described in the next note). A list of 1803 was used, and is given in substance, by an English traveler of 1818 (see note below). A list of 1813 is at p. 356 of Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3." A list of 1816 is printed by Father Strickland, pp. 70, 71. Of those destroyed, incomplete lists are given at p. 270 of Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," and on the Capuchin map of 1771 (*Atlas of the Commission*, map 73). And partial lists are frequent—e. g., one of 1771 at p. 22 of Strickland.

³ Including the valuable account of the missions in 1799 published by the latter State in vol. i, (pp. 460-469) of the *Documentos para la historia de la villa publica del Libertador [Bolívar]*, Caracas, 1875.

⁴ *Atlas of the Commission*, map 50.

⁵ *Atlas of the Commission*, map 71.

No. 4.

that anonymous Englishman the journal of whose visit to these missions in 1818, with its accompanying map, formed the main basis of Humboldt's knowledge of them.¹ As regards those missions which lie nearest the Orinoco, my results, as of small importance to the present problem, may stand undefended. Regarding the missions nearer the Dutch frontier, a word of explanation may be needed. As to most of these frontier missions I have been largely aided by Dutch documents; and as these maps are meant primarily to set forth the evidence of those documents, it is these frontier missions, however uncertain their sites, which I could least ignore. Full discussion must be sought in my report; but a summary may be here of use.

To begin with those farthest to the east, our knowledge of the existence of that "**IN QUERIBURA, UP IN MAZARUNI,**" of that "**AT MAWAKKEN, UP IN SIPARUNI,**" and of that "**IN WENAMU, A BRANCH OF CUYUNI,**" rests on a somewhat hysterical letter of the Dutch postholder in Arinda to the Essequibo governor in 1756.² Had this worthy spoken merely of the *202 presence of *missionaries at these points, one might have believed them engaged in mere *entradas* for the purpose of recruiting Indians for the missions. But he speaks of the Spaniards as here strongly fortified; and the fact that Governor Storm van 's Gravesande himself was inclined to lend credence to the report makes it impossible for me to treat it lightly. As to that in Mazaruni, there is, moreover, the concurrent testimony of the colonist Couvreur.³ It is on the basis of the latter's testimony that the strangers were only two or three days' journey (which the governor interprets by ten to twelve Dutch "hours") up the river that I have connected Queribura with Curabiri, the name of the fall of the Mazaruni at its junction with the Puruni. Of all recorded names of localities on the Mazaruni, it is this whose name most closely resembles Queribura; though, but for Couvreur's testimony, the mouth of the Carubung, much higher up, where a recruiting party of Spanish priests made a sojourn early in the present century,⁴ might be a serious competitor for the conjectural

¹ Printed in the *Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts* (London), vols. viii, ix (1820). To the author's identity the only clew in his journal, as printed, is found in the initials *J. P.* attached to his map. The American commissioner, Baptist Irvine, who met him among the missions, and whose correspondence I have examined in the archives of the Department of State, says of him and his companion: "Two English gentlemen, formerly of Demerari, are now making an exact and complete tour of the Missions—noting every circumstance of any importance. Being creditors of this government, they are furnished with every facility for the purpose." Whatever his name, he was an open-eyed observer. He found, too, and used a mission report of 1808 which has not else been published. Humboldt expressly acknowledges his debt to this writer, and comparison makes the extent of the debt very evident.

² Extracts, No. 196, inclosure.

³ Extracts, No. 196.

⁴ Capt. J. C. Alexander, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, vol. ii (1832), p. 60, writing of the expedition of Hilhouse and Tichmaker up the Mazaruni in 1830, says: "The travelers learned from the Indians, that up the Coomarow creek there were other fine falls; accordingly they left the Mazaroony, and turned up the creek. No white men had ever been seen there before, except, twenty years ago, three Spanish padres, who had lived for a month or two at the mouth of the creek,

No. 4.

location. Either name might easily sound like Queribura to an imperfectly trained ear. As to the mission "at Mawakken" there is no such clew. I can find in the region of the Siparuni no Indian name *resembling *203 this, and have therefore conjecturally placed the mission at a point, high up toward the source of that river, which seemed to me to fall on the natural route of the Spaniards on their way to the savannas of the Rupununi—an objective point which they are known to have had in view. In placing the mission in Wenamu at the junction of that river with the Cuyuni, I am guided only by the fact that Governor Storm van 's Gravesande mentions at this time two missions on the river Cuyuni, of which this may well have been the upper. It may be added that maps of the present century show an Accoway village on this site. In the great map of Spanish South America made by Requena in 1796 there is indeed a place on or near the head waters of the Wenamu which is marked with the conventional sign of a mission; but Requena uses this sign for much else, as, for instance, for the Dutch establishments on the Essequibo, the Demerara, and the Berbice. It is hence rash to assume that he intended this one as marking a mission, and a Spanish mission, even were it certain that he has adequate evidence for placing here anything at all. To make intelligible this startling advance beyond the Cuyuni of the Spanish missions at the middle of the eighteenth century, there must be borne in mind the Carib-Accoway war and the Accoway alliance with the Spaniards.¹

*To pass now to the north of the Cuyuni, the mission **CURUMO** is *204 abundantly vouched for, and by those—the missionaries themselves—who should best have known. In one document of 1761,² indeed, the name is by the British translator read "Cummu," with a bracketed suggestion of Cumamo; but the mission of Cumamo is known from all later official lists of these missions not to have been established until 1767, while Curumo appears elsewhere with this very statement of its destruction by the Caribs.³ That a mission of this name was situate on the river of the same name is intrinsically probable. What seems to make it certain is that a mission is shown at or near this site on the map of the Dutch governor, Storm van 's Gravesande, in 1748, on the little Spanish map handed in by

and persuaded many Indians to accompany them to the missions of the Oroonoco." The Coomarow is a branch of the Carubung.

Hilbouse himself, in his own account of this trip (in the same periodical, vol. vii), says nothing of these fathers.

¹ As Father Strickland has pointed out (p. xvii), "many missions were started which were never definitely established, . . . whilst several missions, such as Suay and Cavallapi, were afterwards suppressed." The lists of abandoned missions found in Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 270, and on the Capuchin map of 1771 are by no means complete, as will be seen by the list appended to this paper. It is not unlikely that some missions, complete or incipient, have passed from record altogether.

² Blue Book "Venezuela No. 2," p. 270. But compare Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 85, 118.

³ It needs hardly to be pointed out that there are few handwritings in which Curumu might not be misread Cummu.

No. 4.

him to the West India Company in 1750, and on the official Spanish map prepared in the archives of the Indies by the archivist Surville in 1778;¹ that we are told by the missionary prefect, Father Benito de la Garriga, that the reason given by a Dutchman for the destruction of this mission was that it lay so far to the east as to be beyond the line running south from the mouth of the Aguire;² and that by another prefect of the
 *205 missions it is asserted, as a thing *well known, that its site was less distant from the Cuyuni than Tumeremo's.³

That **MUTANAMBO** existed and was destroyed at the same time with Curumo is also explicitly testified by the missionaries; and such a mission appears by emblem on the map of Cruz Cano and by name as well on the official map of Surville. It is true that there also appears on both these maps a mission just opposite, on the western bank of the Curumo; but that Mutanambo was on the east of the river is not only testified by Surville's map, but seems a safe inference from the name, which is that of the stream emptying at this point into the Curumo from the east. It is known, too, that the savannas, to whose edges the missions in general so closely clung, extend here across the Curumo and along the Mutanambo.

The site at the mouth of the Curumo assigned the mission destroyed by the Caribs in 1754 is inferred from the letters of the Dutch governor of Essequibo.⁴ For discussion of their meaning reference must be made to my report.

A point whose location is very puzzling is that "mission," or "village," or "port," of **YURUARI**,⁵ from which set out in 1758 the expedition
 *206 that sacked the Dutch post in Cuyuni. Was it *perhaps "the settlement which," as in 1743 the prefect of the missions writes,⁶ "it has been determined . . . to found on the banks of the Yuruari River, the Carib frontier, distant four days' travel from this city [Santo Thomé], where a fort is to be constructed, with four swivel guns, six armed men"—a foundation which, as appears from the context, was to be a day and a half beyond Divina Pastora? But this, if actually realized, was probably that establishment at Tupuquen which was destroyed by the Caribs in 1750 and not reestablished until 1770.

¹ Atlas of the Commission, maps 60, 61, and 71. That it is the Curumo mission which is here shown must appear, I think, from a comparison of the passages here cited; but the evidence is set forth more fully in my report.

² Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 151.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 383 (also in Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 218). For further mentions of the Curumo mission, see Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 143; Strickland, p. 22. That the river now known as Curumo was known by that name at this time, and to those who mention the Curumo mission, appears constantly—e. g., in Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," p. 96. The "Curumo" from which the mission of Miamo was said (Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 151) to be distant "about ten leagues," was, I think, the river, not the mission.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 99, 100. And cf. atlas, maps 60, 61.

⁵ British Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 232, 235, 238, 242, 243, 244. Venezuelan "Documents," I, p. 47.

⁶ Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 70.

No. 4.

Moreover, Yuruari is spoken of in 1755 as "the new village of Yuruari."¹ Both this phrase and the fact that "El Hato" (Divina Pastora) is mentioned in the same breath as a distinct village² show that it can hardly be Divina Pastora. It seems most probable that the mission of San Josef de Leonisa, better known later as Aima, which was founded in 1755, was at first established, not on the upper waters of the Aima, where we later find it, but near the junction of that stream with the Yuruari, and was then known by the name of the latter river—a conjecture to which color is given by its being once described as "the mission of Yuruari, with the invocation of San Josef de Leonisa."³ The sites assigned to the remaining missions will hardly give rise to controversy.

As it was not found possible to set down on the map the *complete *207 names of the missions, much less the variant forms which appear in the records, there is appended to this paper a table of the missions, giving the most confusing variations in their names, and also the varying dates given for their establishment.

That I have recorded the presence of **SWEDISH PROSPECTORS ON THE BARIMA** in 1732 is a slight departure from my usage of noting only actual settlements; but the matter is of an interest and significance so unique as perhaps to warrant its insertion. The fact is established by the correspondence both of the Spanish and of the Dutch authorities in Guiana.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1772.

The year 1772 is that of the ending of the long Zeeland monopoly of the control of the Guiana colonies. With the beginning of 1773 they passed into the charge of the West India Company as a whole, whose dominating influence was that of Amsterdam, and a general reorganization followed. This map shows the condition of things just prior to the transfer.

The limits of the Essequibo plantations are gathered mainly from the map of Siraut-Destouches in 1779.⁴ As just at this time the growth of the colony was slow, the map may be taken as substantially true for the earlier year. Heneman's map of the mouth of the Cuyuni, 1772,⁵ and his general map of these Guiana colonies, 1773-1775⁶, have been of some help.

*As to the **POSTS**, that of **MORUCA** remained at the old site—the *208 site minutely described by the Spaniard Inciarte in 1779.⁷ In or

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 232.

² Venezuelan "Documents," I, p. 47.

³ "La mision de Yuruario, con la imvocacion de San Joseph de Leonista." The mission of "San Josef de Leonisa" is on the maps of Cruz Cano and Surville placed on the Miamo, while "Yuruario" is placed, as a separate mission, low on the Aima—or what seems meant for the Aima. (See atlas of the Commission, maps 50, 71.)

⁴ Atlas of the Commission, map 66.

⁵ Atlas of the Commission, map 63.

⁶ Atlas of the Commission, map 64.

⁷ Seljas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87-96 (pp. 84-89 of the English translation of this work). Cf. also the map ascribed to Chollet (Atlas of the Commission, map No. 68), which puts the post

No. 4.

about 1757 there was, indeed, a post house built at the mouth of that river for the stoppage of runaway slaves and the shelter of travelers, and placed under the care of a planter there; but this was now abandoned and fallen to ruin.¹ The **ARINDA POST** had been moved up the river to above the mouth of the Rupununi. This had been ordered and attempted as early as 1750;² but in 1764 the post was still at the old site, near the mouth of the Siparuni. In 1765 it was actually transferred.³ The **CUYUNI POST**, destroyed in 1758 by the Spaniards, was not reestablished (as is known both from the pay and muster rolls and from the correspondence of the colony with the Company) until 1766. Its site on the island of Tokoro was learned by Mr. Schomburgk from Indian *209 tradition.⁴ *That in 1769 the post was drawn back to the Island of Toenamoeto we know from the postholder himself.⁵ The location of this island in the Tonoma rapids is suggested by its name and is confirmed by tradition, as reported by Mr. Schomburgk.⁶

BEYOND THE POSTS the only occupation by Dutchmen which is of record is that forbidden one in the Barima of which we learn from the letters of the Essequibo governor in 1765-1768⁷ and from the record of the destruction of the plantations there in 1768 by the Spanish.⁸ The only clew to their exact site in that river lies in the finding in 1779, by the Spanish reconnaissance of Inciarte, of a Dutch plantation at the point indicated on the map; but the connection of this with the occupation mentioned is very uncertain.

On the Spanish side, **SANTO THOMÉ** was in 1764 moved up the river to the narrows, or Angostura, above the Caroni, leaving at the old site only the forts and their garrison, henceforward to be known as Vieja Guayana, while Nueva Guayana was the town on the new site. With the city were moved also, in pursuance of a royal order, the Capuchin missions on the

at the same site, though this fact is obscured by the map's error as to the direction of the river's course. It must be remembered that this map, though transmitted in 1791, was probably drafted between 1769 and 1772. The "Moracabura" of Inciarte is the "Haymarakaboera" of Chollet's map (the "Haimuracabara" of Schomburgk).

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 98, 106; "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 90, 91 (also in Venezuelan "Documents," pp. 166-169); Hartsinck, I, p. 258. For discussion, see my report.

² Extracts, No. 172. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 95.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 128, 134. It is true that in December, 1766 (id., p. 141), the governor twice complains of the failure of the Arinda postholder to carry out his orders, and that the orders meant may perhaps be those for the removal of the post. But the positive statement of the Zealand Chamber (Extracts No. 277) as to the location of the post and the later evidence as to its existence above the Rupununi convince me of its transfer. It seems probable that this took place actually in 1765. By 1767, at least, there was a capable postholder (id., p. 149), and the removal may have taken place then. Cf. also Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 150, 151.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," p. 19. My reasons for implicitly accepting this are set forth in my report.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 166 (also in Extracts, No. 270).

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 5," p. 19.

⁷ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 139, 140, 164; Extracts Nos. 243, 244, 249, 261, 267.

⁸ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 277-279.

No. 4.

banks of the Orinoco below the Caroni, giving rise to a new brood of Indian villages above that river. Those of the interior remained as before, their number considerably increased. The only ones as to whose location there is likely to be question are Cavallapi and Supama. As to the place of *CAVALLAPI I have been guided by the Capuchin map of 1771,¹ and *210 especially by the location of the river Cavallapi on the Capuchin map of 1789.² Yet it is hard to reconcile with this the explicit testimony of the Dutch governor, Storm van 's Gravesande, who speaks of it as "close to the Cuyuni," and tells us on the authority of messengers of his own that it was "about two or three hours" or "about four hours" from the banks of that river.³ The site of the mission of SUPAMA is hard to guess. The map of Cruz Cano locates it on the Yuruari below Tupuquen.⁴ But the missionary map of Fray Carlos of Barcelona⁵ puts it to the south of Aima, and this location is made more probable by the fact that the only river Supama (Usupama) known in this region is that which bears the alternative name of Avechica.⁶ It seems to me, therefore, that Father Strickland is doubtless right in placing it (as does also the British sketch map) on this stream. But just where it may have stood I can but guess. Had it been at the abandoned site of the Avechica mission, it would probably have borne its name. For want of a better course, I have given it a conjectural location not greatly varying from that of Father Strickland, who may perhaps have been guided by the unpublished sketch maps of which he speaks.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1796.**211**

The year 1796 is that in which Great Britain took possession of the Dutch colonies in Guiana, never again to restore them to the Netherlands save during the year or so which intervened between the peace of Amiens in 1702 and the reopening of the European war in 1703. The map represents the colonies as they left the hands of the Dutch in 1796.

The limits of the **PLANTATIONS IN ESSEQUIBO** are known with much accuracy from the map of Bouchenroder,⁷ prepared in that year from materials available in Holland. For the coast region of the Pomeroon he clearly rests on the map made by the colonial surveyors in 1794,⁸ which must be interpreted by the letter transmitting it.⁹

¹ Atlas of the Commission, map 78.

² Atlas of the Commission, map 75.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 136, 148, 159.

⁴ Atlas, map 50.

⁵ Atlas, map 78.

⁶ The "Uruan (Spanish Usupamo)" of the map prefixed to the Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," is, I think, an error. The stream formed by the confluence of the Avechica, or Usupama, with the Uruan is indeed known sometimes by the name of the one, sometimes by that of the other; but I have seen for the Uruan (Yuruani) proper no name except this.

⁷ Atlas of the Commission, map 70. As published in 1798 the map, though slightly corrected, represents the same period. See pp. *168-173 above.

⁸ Atlas of the Commission, map 69. See pp. *162, *163.

⁹ Extracts, No. 342. For discussion, see my report.

No. 4.

As to the **POSTS**, that of **MORUCA** was, from 1785 onward, as we know from the reports of the colonial authorities, at the mouth of the river. It was maintained by the Dutch to the end. That of **ARINDA** seems to have been abandoned when in 1792 the colonies passed from the West India Company to the State; at least it is absent thereafter from pay and muster roll. That of the **CUYUNI**, abandoned at the death of its acting postholder in 1772, was, as we know from the pay and muster rolls, and from other documents, never again manned,¹ **IN THE BARIMA REGION**, near the mouth of the Aruka, the Spanish expedition of Inciarte found in 1779, a ruined Dutch plantation.²

*212 *On the Spanish side there were few changes. Two or three missions had been moved back to the east of the Caroni, and sundry new ones established. The only sites likely to give rise to discussion are those of Cura and of Tumeremo. In locating **CURA** I have been guided partly by the knowledge that it was a day's journey in high water from the Cuyuni,³ partly by its known distance from the other missions.⁴ As to **TUMEREMO** we know something of its distance from the Curumo, from the Cuyuni, and from the forest, and plentifully of its distance and direction from the other missions.⁵

Of more serious importance is the **SPANISH FORT ON THE CUYUNI**, near the mouth of the Curumo, whose existence, in spite of the admitted plans and orders for its establishment⁶ and the belief of Humboldt and Schomburgk in its existence,⁷ has been expressly denied. But this was in ignorance of the documentary evidence submitted to the Commission by the Venezuelan Government,⁷ from which it seems clear that it was completed and manned in 1792 and was still occupied as late as 1809. The site assigned it is that at which its ruins are marked with care by Mr. Schomburgk in his great unpublished map of 1744 examined by me at London.

*213

***EUROPEAN OCCUPATION IN 1803.**

The year 1803 is that in which the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, after having from March, 1802, to September, 1803, been again the prop-

¹ For discussion of the evidence see my report.

² Its probable date and ownership I have discussed in my report.

³ Blue Book, "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 327 (also in Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 230).

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 327, 328. Venezuelan "Documents," III, pp. 214, 230. *Documentos para la historia . . . del Libertador*, I, pp. 487, 488. My result does not differ from that reached by Codazzi and by Father Strickland.

⁵ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 327, 329; (also in Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 230). Venezuelan "Documents," III, pp. 60, 214. *Documentos para la historia del Libertador*, I, 468. Strickland, p. 58. My result agrees substantially with the maps of Codazzi, Hebert, Schomburgk, and Father Strickland; in fact, with all known to me except those prefixed to the Blue Books, whose sources for this point (as for the omission or different location of Cura) I have not learned.

⁶ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 326-353. Venezuelan "Documents," III, pp. 212-263.

⁷ First printed late in 1896, in *The Case of Venezuela*, pp. 259-269. Now reprinted in vol. ii of the report of the Commission.

No. 4.

erty of the Dutch, passed finally out of Dutch into English hands, though not actually ceded till the end of the war, in 1814. The map seeks to show, therefore, the extent of that final Dutch ownership which must have been the basis of the treaty of cession.

The changes from the territorial condition of things in 1796 are so slight as to need little comment. If others had taken place, they are unknown to the Dutch records of the brief period of reoccupation. Lands in the Pomeroon had been largely taken up, but the grants had not passed the Moruca.¹ No POST was now maintained save that on the MORUCA, which was at the old site.²

On the Spanish side there were no new missions; but sundry posts had been established in the lower Orinico.³

Mr. Schomburgk in 1841 found far up the Barima an Indian tradition "that, at the commencement of the century, a white man . . . had advanced so far inland as the Herena River." "The Indians," he says, "showed us the place where he had cultivated sugar, and they told us that he had possessed a schooner and several punts, with which he carried on a timber trade. The Indian, in his expressive language, called the former settlement 'The last place of the white man.'"⁴ *Mr. Schom- *214 burgk conjectures that this was "very likely a Dutch settler." His mode of life, as described, certainly suggests a Dutchman, an Englishman, or perhaps a Frenchman, rather than a Spaniard.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPEAN OCCUPATION, 1597-1803 (1814).

This is an attempt at a conspectus of the results reached by the earlier maps. Dates of occupation and abandonment are given, so far as possible. Lack of space on the maps forbids certain explanations which are to be found on the special maps. It was impossible to indicate on this general map, in the same way as on the special ones, the territory occupied by the Dutch plantations; but an attempt has been made to show on the coast, and on the Essequibo and its branches, the farthest points at any time reached by agriculture or by mining (taking no account, of course, of the cassava grounds at the posts—the mere kitchen gardens of those stationed there). In the case of the Mazaruni, however, the site of the extreme plantations (for reasons pointed out in my report, to which I must refer for all discussion as to these limits) is matter of inference only.

The dates assigned the several missions are those which seem to me most plausible. The variants will be found in the table hereto appended.

¹ Extracts, No. 349.

² Extracts, Nos. 350, 351.

³ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," p. 154.

⁴ Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," p. 215 (also in Venezuela, No. 5, p. 12)

No. 4.

*215

*CAPUCHIN MISSIONS OF GUAYANA.

Date of foundation.	Date of abandonment	Indian name of site.	Invocation (saint's name).
1724	1762	Suay.....	La Purísima Concepcion.
a 1724	b 1803+	Caroni	S. Antonio (<i>later</i> La Purísima Concepcion).
1726	1728	{ Amaruca.....	{ Sta. Maria (Nra. Señora de los Angeles).
c 1730	1803+	{ Yucuario (Jacuaria).....	
		{ (Yuruari?)	
1733	1803+	Cupapuy	S. Josef (José).
1734	1803+	Jacuario (Yuruari?)	S. Francisco de Alta Gracia (<i>commonly known as</i> Alta Gracia).
1735	1735?	{ Unata	S. Miguel.
1779	1803+	Guarimna (Yuruari)	Divina Pastora; <i>called also</i> El Hato ("the cattle-farm").
d 1737	1803+		
173-?	e 1740	{ Payaraima	Sta. Barbara.
1740	1760?	{ Guayaraima	
1742	1742	{ Tipurua.....	?
1760	1769	Cunuri	?
1743	f 1750	{ Tupuquen	S. Felix del Cantalicio.
1743?	f 1750		
1770	1803	Palmar	S. Miguel.
*216 *g 1746	1803+	Curumo.....	?
1746?	A 1750	Miamo	Nra. Señora de Monserrata.
1748	1803+	Mutanambo	?
174-?	A 1750	Carapo.....	S. Fidel.
i 1752	1803+	Aguacagua (Aguacava).....	?
1753	178-?	Murucuri	Sta. Eulalia.
1754	1803+	Aima (Yuruari).....	S. Josef de Leonisa.
1755	1803+	Guasipati	Nra. Señora del Rosario.
1757	1803+	Terepi	?
175-	1758	{ Avechica.....	S. Juan Bautista.
1758	1758		
1758	1803+	Piaoca	{ Sta. Ana (at these three sites successively).
1760	1769	Paracaicuro	
1769	177-	Puga	?
177-	1803+	Casacayma	?
1760	1768	Aripuco.....	Monte Calvario (S. Felix).
j 1761	1803+		

a Caroni is by the English traveler of 1818 (perhaps on the basis of the mission-list of 1803) said to have been founded in 1721, or 1722. All other authorities give 1724; and this is probable, since Suay was the mother mission and capital till its end, in 1762.

b "1803+" means that the mission remained in existence later than 1803. All such missions, without exception, endured until the revolutionary troubles of 1817.

c Santa Maria, reestablished at Amaruca in 1730, was not moved to Yucuario until after 1740.

d The List of 1818 says 1746.

e Destroyed by the English raid of 1740, but restored.

f According to the Spanish accounts, five missions—Cunuri, Tupuquen, Miamo, Curumo, and Mutanambo—were raided by the Caribs in 1750 (all but Miamo being destroyed). But in the Dutch correspondence of Essequibo we learn, in March, 1751, of three raided in January of that year, and in August, 1752, of two "lately" destroyed.

g The lists of 1786, 1796, and 1816 say 1734; that of 1813 says 1737.

A According to the Spanish accounts, five missions—Cunuri, Tupuquen, Miamo, Curumo, and Mutanambo—were raided by the Caribs in 1750 (all but Miamo being destroyed). But in the Dutch correspondence of Essequibo we learn, in March, 1751, of three raided in January of that year, and in August, 1752, of two "lately" destroyed.

i The list of 1799 says 1751.

j The list of 1799 says 1760.

No. 4.

Capuchin missions of Guayana.—Continued.

Date of foundation.	Date of abandonment.	Indian name of site.	Invocation (saint's name).
1761	1770	Cavallapi <i>a</i>	?
1762	1803+	Upata <i>b</i>	S. Antonio.
1762	1764	Supama	?
1763	1803+	Caruachi (Caraguachi, Caravaxi).	S. Ramon.
1765	1803+	Huicatonono	S. Antonio.
1765?	1768	Uyacoa (Ullacova)	S. Felix.
1767	1803+	Cumamo	La Conversion de S. Pablo.
*1768	1803+	Maruanta <i>c</i>	?
1769	1803+	Puedpa	Los Dolores.
1770	1803+	Panapana <i>c</i>	?
1770	1803+	Las Bocas <i>d</i>	S. Pedro.
1770	1803+	Barceloneta <i>e</i> (Paragua)	S. Isidoro.
1771	1803+	Guri	S. Buenaventura.
1779	1803+	Pavarapana (Yavaragana)	Sta. Clara.
1779	1803+	Arabatayma (Arahuasaima)	S. Serafin.
1782	1803+	Cura	Sta. Rosa de Lima.
1783	1803+	Curucay	Sta. Magdalena.
1785	1803?	Aicaba	Angel Custodio.
1788	1803+	Tumeremo	Nra. Señora de Belem.

*217

a The spelling "Cavallaju," in some of the documents printed, is but a misreading of Cavallapi.

b Upata and Barceloneta were reckoned "towns," not missions, being peopled by whites instead of Indians.

c Maruanta and Panapana, though Indian villages, were planted by the Spanish governor, and never appear on the lists of missions.

d Las Bocas, "the mouths" (i. e., the confluence of the Paragua and the Caroni), is, of course, a Spanish name, not Indian—the one exception to the rule. Barceloneta, not being strictly a mission, can hardly be counted an exception.

e Upata and Barceloneta were reckoned "towns," not missions, being peopled by whites instead of Indians.

NOTE.—For the sources whence this list of missions is compiled, see pp. *199–*201 above. Only the most puzzling differences of name are here given: variations in spelling are manifold.

No. 5.

*Report on Maps from Official Sources. *121

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURN,

In submitting the maps, official or semi-official, gathered by me for the Commission during my researches in the Netherlands, it is my duty to report also what I have been able to learn as to their date, their authorship, and their sources, and I am asked to include in this report a statement of what is known of the maps of a similar character which have else come into the hands of the Commission.

What gives to such maps as a class a different value from those of private geographers and publishers is their connection with the political authorities whose right it is to define territorial boundaries or to assert territorial claims. It is therefore of importance to know just how far these authorities are responsible for their production or have sanctioned their results. To this question I have directed my study.

*I. DUTCH MAPS. *122

The earliest maps of the Guiana region which are known to have been made on the spot by Dutchmen, or even based upon knowledge gained in any part by Dutchmen, are the two ascribed to the year 1598, of which I herewith submit tracings.¹ They bear on their face no explicit evidence, either of date or of authorship, except the inscription on one of them, in a hand of the time, "Van Patten, 1598." Van Patten's identity is unknown; but it was long ago suggested by De Jonge, the historian of Dutch commerce and the archivist in whose charge these maps lay, that both these maps are by the same hand, and that they are probably the work of that Dutch expedition of 1598 whose journal we have from the pen of its clerk, Cabelliau. A comparison of the maps with this journal makes this practically certain, for the districts here mapped are precisely those where this expedition lingered. That this expedition which thus explored the Guiana coast

De Jonge, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag*, i. p. 50, note.

Extracts, No. 5 *

¹ These tracings I owe to the courtesy and the skill of Mr. W. G. Van Oyen, of the Dutch *Rijksarchief*.

² "*Extracts*" means the extracts from Dutch archives published in vol. ii of the report of the Commission. "*Atlas*" means, of course, the atlas of the Commission (vol. iv. of the report).

No. 5.

claimed to be the first from the Netherlands ever
 *123 to visit these havens, and that in *recognition
 the States General granted it freedom from convoy
 dues, appears from the minutes of the States; and it is at
 least highly probable that the journal of Cabeliau, which
 we now find among the papers of that body, was the report
 required by the States General as a condition of this ex-
 emption from dues. These maps are found also in the
 same archives; and there is every reason to believe that
 they were prepared and submitted as part of the same re-
 quired report. In that case, they take on a semi-official
 character, and must be ranked among the accredited proofs
 of the priority of this Dutch expedition of 1597-1599.
 They are suggestive, moreover, of the localities to which
 Dutch attention was first especially directed; and their
 soundings and measurements imply a further use to which
 they might be put. There is in them, however, no inti-
 mation of any occupation or attempt at occupation on the
 coast mapped, and nothing which implies territorial claim
 of any sort.

Blue Book "Ven-
 ezuela, No. 3," pp.
 205, 206.

Extracts, No. 11.

Of that alleged Dutch map of the entire Guiana coast,
 from the Amazon to Margarita, which a Spanish official
 document of 1615 ascribes to the Dutch geographer Peter
 Plancius, I have found nothing; but the petition of
 Plancius and others to the States General, in 1604,
 *124 *for a percentage of the profits of the Guiana trade
 may well point to such a service. The relations of
 Plancius with the Dutch East India Company have been
 closed, extending even to the instructing of their skippers;¹
 and sailing directions of his, drawn up just at the end of
 the sixteenth century, show that he counted the West
 Indies to be as yet within the scope of that company's
 activity and of his own functions.² It would not have
 been strange for such a map as that known to the Span-
 iards to be officially asked from him.

For long the East India Company has thus its official
 map-makers. But I can not learn that the West India
 Company, which from 1621 controlled all Dutch com-
 merce to America, ever entered into such relations with
 any maker of maps.³ Certainly nothing of the sort

¹ See the entry of his fee for these services in De Jonge, i, p. 183.

² See his directions for East Indian navigation in De Jonge, i, pp. 184-200.

³ The "*West Indische Paskaart*" partially reproduced as the first map of those
 forming Appendix No. III to the Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," is only by error
 called in the table of contents "Official Chart of Dutch West India Company." J

No. 5.

appears *in any document which I have been able *125 to find. In the very earliest years of that company one of its foremost members, Jan DE LAET, set himself at the compilation of text and maps for that careful topographical description of the New World which he first published in 1625.¹ It became at once the standard work, not only in the Netherlands, but outside; while its maps, in whose preparation he had been aided by Hessel Gerritsz. the official map-maker of the East India Company,² were widely copied. That of Guiana, adopted outright and without credit by the great Dutch map publishers, Blaeuw and Jansson, is the one appearing regularly in Dutch works of the seventeenth century. It was perhaps the adequacy of this great work which made *it possible for the West India *126 Company to dispense with an official geographer—unless, indeed, Jan de Laet himself may be called such. But Jan de Laet's maps show no political boundaries; nor is there in the accompanying text anything as to the territorial claims of any European power in Guiana.³

have carefully examined the original of this map in London without finding in it any warrant for such a claim. There are in the British Museum four of these *Pascaerten* representing "the coasts within the charter of the West India Company"—i. e., the entire coasts of the Atlantic and of America. They are by different makers and are differently colored; but neither makes any claim to be official. In passing, I may remark that there must also be something wrong with an interpretation of the colors which makes "independent" the islands of Trinidad and Margarita, the most important and best known Spanish possessions in this region. There is, however, on these *Pascaerten* another indication of the political allegiance of each district: on the colonies of each European state is pictured the coat of arms of the mother country. In each of these *Pascaerten* northern South America bears the arms of Spain; in each New Netherland in North America bears the arms of the Dutch; in none is there any coat of arms on Guiana. In the Lenox library, at New York, there is a copy of the earliest of these *Pascaerten*; this, too, has been ascribed to the West India Company, but with as little ground.

¹ *Nieuwe Wereldt, of Beschryvinge van West Indien*, Leyden, 1625. Republished in Dutch in 1630, in Latin in 1633, in French in 1648.

² See the introductory note to the list of maps in his first edition (1625). There is catalogued among the maps of the Rijksarchief at The Hague a certain *Rotario* of maps of "the West India Islands, Guayana, Brazil, and the adjacent waters," collected by Hessel Gerritsz. in 1627-28. But Mr. Telting, the archivist in charge of these maps, who has carefully examined this bundle for me, assures me that the catalogue is in error, there being no map of any part of Guayana to be found in it.

³ The map reproduced in Appendix No. III to the Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1," as "Blaeuw's map of Guiana" is the De Laet map as copied by Blaeuw's atlas. I have examined sundry copies of this atlas, most of them uncolored. The colored ones differ much in choice and place of colors. The source and meaning of the coloring I am unable to learn. To official authority, of course, neither this atlas nor that of Jansson lays claim. For De Laet's views as to Europeans in Guiana, see Vol. I of this report.

The nearest approach which I have been able to find in the seventeenth century to an official Dutch map of the Dutch colonies in western Guiana is that of the Middelburg geographer, Arend **ROGGEVEEN**, who, in his sea atlas, the *Brandende Veen*, or "Burning Fen" (Amsterdam, 1675), makes use of the descriptions and charts sent home by the engineer Cornelis Goliat, who had been charged with the location and the laying out of the colony of Nova Zeelandia (1658-1665).¹ But his maps are sailing charts, and ignore political boundaries.²

Atlas to Case, map
59.

*127 *The oldest map of the Essequibo colony now existing in the Dutch Rijksarchief bears the name of the land surveyor, Abraham **MAAS**. Maas arrived in the colony in 1701. On July 30, 1706, the governor, Samuel Beekman, transmitted to the Company a map made by him, saying in his accompanying letter of that date:

Herewith you will receive the map of the entire colony made by the land surveyor, Abraham Maas, wherein you will be so good as to see whereabouts all the plantations lie, and also how many acres have been measured off for each plantation.³

In their answering letter of February 24, 1707, the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) thus acknowledged its receipt:

The transmitted map of that river has also been gratifying to us, inasmuch as we find it very distinct in the delineation of every plantation. The list giving all the plantations and the year in which each was established we have likewise received, and this shall serve for our instruction as regards the assessment of the poll and land tax.⁴

¹ For Goliat's share in this see Extracts, Nos. 37, 38.

² There are, in the collection of the Dutch archives at the Hague, two manuscript sea-charts of the coast of Guiana in the seventeenth century. One, dated 1627, shows the coast from the Essequibo to the Amazon. The other, without date, includes also the neighboring West India islands. But neither shows any knowledge of the mainland west of the Essequibo; and neither suggests a political boundary.

³ "Hierneevens bekomt U Edele Agtb. den kaart van de Gantache Colonie gemaakt door den Landtmeester Sr. Abraham Maas, waerin U Edele Agtb. sullen gelieven te sien, waarentrent alle de plantagies leggen als meede hoe veel akkers voor ider plantage is gemetten."

⁴ "De gesondene Caart van die riviere is ons ook aangenaam geweest, de wylyse die [corrected in a contemporary hand, but in different ink, to dewyle sie] seer distinct bevinde in de afteykeninge van yder plantage."

"De Lyet van alle de plantagien en in wat jaer die aangelegt syn, hebben wy mede ontfangen, en sullen die tot onse narigtinge laten strecken omtrent het invorderen van het hooft en ackergelt."

No. 5.

*To which Beekman replied on July 11, 1707: *128

That the map of the river was found by you distinct gives me pleasure, and, inasmuch as the land surveyor has surveyed since then a few small plantations beside, and has also measured off to certain other plantations, as requested by them of me, certain additional pieces, you shall receive the completed map on the arrival here of proper paper, which is wanting here.¹

It is possible that Maas was unable to get this good paper until his return to Europe, for the next we hear of a map is when on February 14, 1715, the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) voted 25 guilders to the land surveyor Maas "for the making of the new map of Rio Essequibo presented a week ago to the meeting."² The one map of Essequibo bearing Maas's name which is still to be found among those of the West India Company has no date; but that it is the first of those above described seems sufficiently shown by the fact that it is drawn on ten separate sheets of very ordinary paper, pasted together two abreast and then end to end. It must be assumed, then, to represent the plantations of the colony in the year 1706, *and that not without some omissions.* It *129 indicates no colonial boundaries. The accompanying list of the plantations and of their dates of establishment is not to be found.

On December 12, 1726, there was read in the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company "a letter from A. Lerlorant, engineer in the river of Essequibo, dated September 5 of this year, serving particularly to transmit a map of the above-named river."⁴ No such map can now be found. **LESLORANT** (as his name is oftener spelt) was the engineer charged with the erection of the new fort on Flag Island.

In 1736 the Company was again in correspondence with a surveyor regarding a map of Essequibo, but nothing

¹ "Dat de kaart der riviere van Haer Ed: distinct bevonden is myn welgevallende, en nadien de Lantmeter nog eenige kleyne plantagies na dato heeft gemeten, ook nog eenige plantagies op haer versoek aen myn nog eenige stukken heeft bygemeten, soo sullen Haer Ed: de volalagen kaart, met d'aenkomst van schoen papier dat hier manqueert ten vollen ontfangen."

² "Voor het maken van de nieuwe Caart van Rio Isequebe over agt dagen aen de vergaderinge gepresenteert."

³ Such an omitted plantation, known to us through the contemporary records, is, e. g., that of *Nieuw Middelburg*.

⁴ "Gelesen een missive van A. Lerlorant Ingenieur in de Rivier van Isequebe de dato 5 September deses Jaars, dienende in het bysonder tot geleyde van een kaerte figuratif van d'opgem. Rivier."

No. 5.

seems to have come of it.¹ With the outbreak of the border troubles with the Spaniards of Orinoco, toward the middle of the century, however, the need of a better map was felt by the Company; and on September 9, 1747, its supreme board, the Ten, instructed Commandeur **STORM**

VAN 'S GRAVESANDE to have one made, if a competent *surveyor could be found in the colony. He

lost no time, but on February 11, 1748, transmitted the desired map, explaining in his letter that, as he could find no competent surveyor, he had undertaken the task himself, compiling from sundry charts which he had from time to time drafted for his own satisfaction.² This map was, however, unfortunately lost in transit. The ship

which bore it was captured by the French. Its author at first hoped that it might yet come to hand, but could later only congratulate himself that "the French will at least make no use of the map, since the smith P. Van der Mart and the corporal Soete have assured me that they themselves saw them tear it to pieces and trample it under foot before their eyes."³ The undaunted Commandeur, however, though he had kept no copy of the map, had set himself at once at reproducing it; and by September 8, 1749, he could again forward a map. This map, too,

though as late as 1769 it was still hanging in the hall of the Zeeland Chamber at *Middelburg,⁴

seems to have utterly disappeared. I sought it in vain, both in The Hague and in Zeeland. But the Government of Venezuela, more fortunate, having found it at Paramaribo, in the colonial library of Surinam, a certified copy of it is in the hands of the Commission. Save that the date attached, August 9, 1748, is earlier than one would infer from that of its transmission, it answers in all

¹ One letter of this correspondence (August 30, 1736) is to be found in vol. 2008 of the West India papers (Hague, Rijksarchief).

² "Hebbe ik zelve zoo veel my de kortheyd der tyts heeft toegelaten, een kaart opgemaakt uyt differente kaertjes die ik van tyt tot tyt uyt liebbebberie hebbe opgenoomen dezelve is niet van de uysterste exactitude, maar sal weynig manqueeren, als alleenig, dat beneedenog veele Eylanden zyn die daer niet opstaan, wyl dezelve niet hebbe opgenoomen, en niet bewoond zynde van weynig belang, de plantagien, waarby het Getal der slaaven niet uytgedrukt staan, zyn die geene waarvan de lysten nog niet ingecomen waren van den Jaare 1747."

³ Thus he writes the Company on June 8, 1749.

⁴ The historian Hartelnck was then permitted to have a copy of it made, on condition that the original should not leave the walls of the Chamber. See Extracts, No. 271. In basing his own map of Essequibo and Demerara upon it, Hartelnck treated it (as he tells us in his preface, p. xii) with much freedom of amendment.

No. 5.

respects to what we know of it from its author's letters: in its lack of colors, in its showing the two missions and the active volcano, in its want of the Blaauwenberg and of the Cuyuni plantations. And the date, 1749, attached to the volcano, would of itself show that the map was not completed until that year. The importance of this map, though it shows no boundary line, needs no pointing out.

Atlas to Case, map 60.

Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 92; Extracts, No. 211.

But Commandeur Storm had scarcely sent off his map—there is some reason for believing he had not yet sent it¹—when there came into his *hands another, a *132 **MAP MADE BY THE SPANIARDS.** Already, on March 23, 1747, he had written to the Company about a certain Spanish exploring expedition to the sources of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni, and had reported these explorers to be making a map, of which he would try by all possible means to gain a copy. By November 20, 1749, if not earlier, that copy was his; for on that date, in again mentioning to the Company "the discoveries made in our neighborhood by the Spaniards in the year 1748," he could add, "a copy of the map whereof (notwithstanding its being prohibited on pain of death) I have been able to obtain."² That this was the identical map which a few months later in Zeeland he handed over to the West India Company to illustrate the report then submitted by him in person, saying of the map that "it was made by the Spaniards and copied from theirs," there can be little reason to doubt; nor yet that it was this that he meant when in his letter of September 2, 1754, he *referred *133 the Company to "the little map handed over by me at my interview in Zeeland." From the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber it appears that "the little map mentioned in the Commandeur's report" had been at their wish "handed over by him" to the Stadhouder; but it must have been returned to the Company, for there now

Extracts, No. 172.

Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 99.

Extracts, No. 172.

¹ This lies in the singular agreement of the maps in certain details, notably as to the courses of the upper Essequibo, the Mazaruni, and the Cuyuni. Unless both rested on some earlier map unknown to me, it is hard to resist the belief that Storm's map was in these respects copied from the other.

² See Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 92. But the translation there, "to obtain cognisance of," is in error. This letter, in Storm's own neat hand, is at The Hague, where I have studied it. As, however, this passage has been printed, and with exactness, by Netscher (*Geschiedenis*, p. 382), it was needless to include it in my extracts. The Dutch of the sentence in question runs: "*De ontdekkingen door de Spanjaarden in onze nabuurschap in den jaere 1748 gedaen en waervan (niettegenstaande op levensstraf verboden) een coppye van de Caerte hebbe weete te bekomen, konnen mede van geen gering voordeel voor ons wezen.*"

No. 5.

Atlas to Case, map
61.

Extracts, No. 172;
cf. Blue Book "Ven-
ezuela, No. 3," p. 95.

Blue Book "Ven-
ezuela, No. 3," p. 110.
For D'Anville's map
(published in 1748),
see Atlas to Case,
maps 39, 40.

Extracts, No. 210.

Blue Book "Ven-
ezuela, No. 3," p. 118.

exists, among their remains, a little map which can hardly be any other.¹ It can not be quite certain, indeed, that this little parchment map is the identical copy made from the Spanish map or the identical one handed in by Storm van 's Gravesande. There are in it odd misspellings which seem impossible, not only to Storm himself (in whose handwriting it is not), but to any other dweller in the colony,² and it is not impossible that this is but a copy, later made on parchment for its better preservation, of that handed over by Storm. In any case, it is clear that this map is not a mere copy from a Spanish one, but a translation into Dutch as well; and it may well have undergone other modification in the process. It is hardly possible, *for example, that the Spanish Jesuits could in 1747 have known of a change in the place of the Arinda post which was not so much as resolved on by the Dutch until 1750. The little map contains no suggestion of boundary; but both this and Storm's own map derive a peculiar interest from the fact that it is these which must have lain before the Company when it drew up in 1759 that remonstrance to the Spanish Court which is the earliest known communication between the two Governments as to territorial limits in this region. Another map had, indeed, already been appealed to, which only by mishap had not found its way to the Company's hands. This was the map by the great French geographer, D'ANVILLE, which, on September 9, 1758, Storm van 's Gravesande had cited in support of his claim to the Cuyuni, declaring that it was "drawn by Mr. D'Anville with the utmost care" and that on it "even our boundaries" may be seen portrayed, "of which, it appears, he was informed by good authority."³ Storm had, as he later explained, first become acquainted with it during his visit in Holland in 1750-51, when he saw it in the hands of the Stadhouder. But the company did not identify the map, perhaps *searching for one of Guiana by itself. In reply to their further inquiry, Storm explained on September 1, 1759, that what he meant was D'Anville's latest map of

¹ It is this map which is reproduced as a "sketch map by Governor Storm van 's Gravesande" in Appendix No. 3 to the Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 1" (map 5); but here from a free-hand copy of 1887, which, though patiently made, does not lack serious errors.

² Such as "Anwacke" for Ariwacke (the British copyist has corrected this out of hand), "stabes" for Itaboe, "Consetrall" for Courthial.

³ . . . "en daerop selver onze limiten afgeteekeent zien, waarvan het schynt hy van goeder hand onderregt was."

No. 5.

South America, but that he could not transmit it because both of the two copies received by him from Europe had been sent off, one after the other, to the Spanish authorities of the Orinoco in support of his protest against their aggressions. By May 2, 1760, however, a copy had come again into his hands and he had copied from it the portion relating to Guiana, marking in along the Cuyuni, in pursuance of the Zeeland Chamber's specific request of December 3, 1759,¹ the locations of the company's former plantation, Duynenburg, and of its abandoned coffee and indigo plantations, as also the Creoles' place, the Blaauwenberg, where the miners had worked, and the company's post, adding at their proper sites the other three posts of the colony. But this map he accidentally omitted to inclose in his letter of this date, and it was not till March 18 of the next year (1761) that upon a reminder from the company it was actually forwarded. *At *136 last, on June 22, 1761, it lay before the company, and in their letter of November 9 they acknowledge with enthusiasm its receipt and its interest.²

So report their minutes for this date.

Extracts, No. 218.

Tardy though it was, it arrived at a not inopportune moment. Only a fortnight before there had been laid before the Company the printed copies of the map of Demerara made by Storm's much-loved nephew and namesake, Laurens Lodewyk **VAN BERCHEYCK**. Van Bercheyck, whom Storm had brought to the colony in 1751, had served first as land surveyor, then as military commandant in Essequibo, and in 1759 had especially commended himself to the company by the completion of this excellent map of Demerara.³ But it was on June 8, 1761, when were laid before them a dozen engraved copies of the map, dedicated to the Chamber, that their gratitude found expression. It was voted, not only to order sixty additional copies for the Company, but "to pay for the engraving of the plate of the said map." On November 9, 1761, they *made Van Bercheyck Commandeur of De- *137

Minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, June 8, 1761.

¹ Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 114. By an error in translation the three plantations named are here (and elsewhere in this connection) spoken of as still existing. In the original the verb is always in a past tense. That they had long been abandoned is else well known.

² This map, alas, can no longer be found.

³ Not only was he Storm's nephew (the son of his wife's brother—see Netscher, p. 383), but became his son-in-law. He was sent to the colony as surveyor on October 23, 1751 (a few months later than his uncle's return thither); was confirmed as commandant (captain-lieutenant) January 6, 1755; transmitted his map December 7, 1759, the Company receiving it March 24, 1760.

No. 5.

Minutes of the
Zeeland Chamber,
November 28, 1761.

Atlas to Case, map
62.

Extracts, No. 221.

merara, and on November 23 they further adopted a formal resolution of thanks for the map, voted its maker a cask of red wine, and gave him outright a negro slave whom he had asked to purchase.¹ Many copies of this printed map still exist. A part of them show only the river Demerara, as mapped by Van Bercheyck; but in others there is inserted in the margin a little inset map of Guiana as a whole, which is clearly copied from the map of D'Anville—just such an extract, in short, as that received by the company from Storm van 's Gravesande at almost the same moment with the engraved Van *138 Bercheyck map. Is it too much to suspect *that the inset was thus suggested, and was added at the wish of the company?²

This conjecture receives added color from a request addressed by the Company to Van Bercheyck on August 23, 1762. They asked the cost of a map of the river Essequibo, and further, "whether, either in that map or on a separate one at the same time, there could not be mapped also the coast from the Essequibo to the Orinoco, with accurate location of the mouths of the rivers Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima, and of such others as flow into the sea between the Essequibo and the Orinoco." Van Bercheyck replied, March 10, 1763, that this coast had already been so accurately mapped by D'Anville that he could hardly hope to do better, but that he would gladly make his map of Essequibo the more sightly by including the

¹ Cf. their letter to Van Bercheyck, January 11, 1762:

"Wy hebben op zyn tyt wel ontfangen U Ed. missive van den 7 Dec. 1759 met de daerby gevoegdt geteekend, en aen ons opgedragene kaarte van Rio Dimmerary, ook zyn vervolgens in de maand Juny dezes jaers U Ed. vader den Heer Groot Majoor van Bergcheyck in onze vergaderinge [in] U Ed. naam aan ons gepraesenteerd eenige gedrukte exemplaren van dezelve kaarte, die naderhand ten onzen verzoeken van nog 60 andere zyn gevolge geworden.

"Al t'welk wy als een blyk van U Ed. yver, attentie, en erkensten voor deese kamer considereerende, ons zoo aangenaam is geweest, dat wy t'zelve hebben geoordeelt te moeten remunereren, gelyk U Ed. zal blyken uyt de Extract resolutie onzer vergaderinge in dato den 28 Nov. 1761, en waarvan copie authentyk den deezen is gevoegd.

"Wy vertrouwen dat U Ed. door onze voorsz. remuneratie mitagaders door U E. aanstellinge tot Commandeur van Dimmerary zult aangemoedigt worden, om U Ed. alle mogelyke kragten van U Ed. nieuw aanbevoelen post te quytten, en dus volkomen te beantwoorden aen de verwagting, en het vertrouwen, die wy van U Ed. geformeert, en op U Ed. gesteld hebben."

² True, this inset does not contain the plantations and posts marked in by Storm. It is a copy of D'Anville, pure and simple, and may of course be due only to the enterprise of the publisher (Hendrick de Leth, at Amsterdam); but the other seems to me the more probable conjecture.

No. 5.

coast to Barima.¹ But, while the Company was yet hesitating over the cost, the enterprising Van Bercheyck, whose hands had meanwhile been full with the suppression of the great slave revolt, died (May 12, 1764), and no part of his map of Essequibo ever saw the light.

Extracts, No. 226.

*That the West India Company should now pin *139 its faith to the D'Anville map is not strange. When in 1769 there was drawn up by the Company and adopted by the States General that remonstrance to the Spanish Court which is the only document known to my research wherein a claim to boundary is definitely and formally communicated by the one Government to the other, it was not to the Barima, as desired by Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande, but only to "beyond Waini," as laid down in the D'Anville map, that Dutch territory was asserted to extend; and the D'Anville map was cited by name in support of the claim. It is, I am convinced, the only map ever cited in support of any boundary by either Dutch or Spanish authorities.

On October 9, 1765, Storm van 's Gravesande reported to the West India Company that "there has put in here Captain Jacob **BOGMAN**, colonial coast-guard of Surinam, who has orders to take measurements of the whole coast as far as the territory of the State goes, to chart all the banks and the entrances of the rivers, and to make a new map of it. This will be of much service to navigation. He began at Cape Orange."² *Neither the *140 papers of Essequibo nor those of Surinam at this period throw any further light on this enterprise of Captain Bogman. It is unusual, however, for such sea charts to show political boundaries; and there is no reason to suppose this, if ever completed, an exception.³

Another map, of which likewise we know only through the correspondence of Storm van 's Gravesande, belongs to the very last year of his long administration. On August 27, 1772, he wrote to the Company.

Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 180.

¹ This answer would seem to imply that he regarded the Barima as the boundary.

² "Hier is ingelopen Capiteyn Jacob Bogman commandeerende s'lands uytlegger van Suriname welke bevel heeft de geheele kust te peylen zoo verre het district van den Staat is, alle de banken optenemen en ingangen der rivieren en een nieuwe caert daarvan optemaken. Dit sal van veel nut voor de navigatie zyn. Hy heeft van Caap Oranje begonnen."

³ It is not impossible that his results may have been utilized in the "Chart of the coast of Guiana between the rivers Essequibo and Orinoco" published in 1785 at Amsterdam by G. H. van Keulen.

Very many plantations having been laid out on the west coast of this river,' **BOUWMAN**, the surveyor who measured all those plantations, has at my request made a chart of that coast as far as Pomeroon and the Post of Moruca.³

He adds, doubtless on the evidence of this map, that already between the actual mouth of the Essequibo and the creek Hamake there were twenty-seven plantations, while from that point it was but six thousand rods to the *141 creek *Maria caboera, and thence but nine thousand to the mouth of the Pomeroon.³ But what surprised him most in this exact map⁴ was the location of the Post in Moruca, which he had not supposed so far up the creek, but now finds to lie just before the inland passage through the Itabos. This map, if ever sent to the Company, is now lost. One would gladly believe it preserved in the map later compiled and transmitted by Chollet. But while as to the location of the Moruca post and the number of the west shore plantations this later map answers nearly to the description, it does not tally as to the distances on the coast.

Atlas to Case, map
68.

In the spring of 1772 there visited Essequibo for the first time a young map-maker whose share in its cartography was to be large. This was Johann Christoph von Henemann,⁵ or **VAN HENEMAN** (as later, giving a more *142 Dutch turn to *the name, he signed himself), an ensign of German extraction from the garrison of Surinam. He had shown such abilities as to be charged in 1770 with remapping that colony,⁶ and now, having this task well toward completion, he was given leave of absence to accompany as far as Essequibo a Dutch war vessel then

³ The Dutch is: "*aan de Westwal deser riviere.*" "On the coast west of this river," would be a more exact; though less literal, translation.

³ Dutch: "*die kust opgenomen tot aan Bowaron en Maroc tot aan de post.*"

³ There is here certainly a slip in the Blue Book translation. The words "taken up" are not in the original, and are quite impossible here (cf. not only all late maps, but especially Extracts, No. 324). "Roods" should be *rods*. It is of *distance* the writer speaks. This letter, though signed by Storm in autograph, was written by a secretary, who has sadly misspelled the proper names. They are, however, quite recognizable, and I venture here to correct them. The secretary's orthography is that given by the Blue Book.

⁴ Dutch: "*by deze exacts opneeming.*"

⁵ His habit of signing his initials, "J. C.," in the form of a monogram was puzzling to copyists, and one of the letters was often omitted. Hence it is that Netscher (p. 387) makes two men out of him, suspecting one to be the father or brother of the other.

⁶ This appears from his petition to the directors of Surinam on August 20, 1789 (in vol. 902 of the Surinam papers, Hague, Rijksarchief). The Dutch is given on pp. *151, *152 below.

No. 5.

lying in Surinam, in order that he might take observations along the coast.¹ Arriving in Essequibo, he became, with the captain of the vessel, Van den Velden, the guest of the old governor, Storm van 's Gravesande, and under his guidance made an excursion up the river to the old fort of Kykoveral and the falls of the Cuyuni. "This morning about ten o'clock," says the journal of Captain Van den Velden, under date of April 9, 1772,² "we went up the river Cuyuni in two canoes (one a small one, in which Mr. Van der Heyden went ahead to point out the way, inasmuch as a little way up this river one has to navigate among a chain of rocks lying partly under water, partly showing above it). About *half past *143 eleven we came to the first fall of the river, called Acajou, which comes down with great swiftmess and noise, being nearly eight feet high and flowing through a multitude of crags and rocks, as may be seen in a special map, which the engineer Heneman, who was with me, made of this river and fall, as much as time permitted." This map thus made for Van den Velden is the most detailed portrayal known to me of the lower course of the Cuyuni and the junction of the three rivers, at first and for long the site of the colony. Strictly speaking, it has no official quality whatever. Yet, made as it almost certainly was, under the eye and with the help of the old governor, Storm van 's Gravesande, as a contribution to the official journal of a naval officer of the State, its testimony is of a more than private order.

Atlas to Case, map
68.

Heneman returned to Surinam,³ but not for long. With the opening of 1773 the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara passed out of the old Zeeland monopoly into the control of the West India Company as a whole; and its new managers felt at once the need of an engineer's services. As early as April 8 of that year the Ten resolved to send one to report as to the best *route for a canal between Essequibo and Demerara. On April 15 they resolved to write "to the Commandeur and councilors in"

¹ Thus Governor Nepveu, of Surinam, in his letter to the Society of Surinam, March 11, 1772: "*Den vaandrich Henneman heeft de Kaart van de Colonis de novo opgenoomen, en zo accuraat mogelyk alles nagegaan,*" etc.

² This journal is No. 1317 of the great admiralty collection in the Rijksarchief at The Hague. It bears the title: "*Journaal van 's lands schepen d. Triën en Boreas, 1770, 1771, 1772, en 1773.*"

³ It would appear from his memorial of August 20, 1789, above cited, that he first kept on with Van den Velden to Holland, where he laid a part of his map of Surinam before the directors; then returned to the colony.

Demerara that this body has decided that both for the safety of the river of Demerara and for the prevention of smuggling a redout or battery shall be established at the place which shall be deemed most suitable, and that to this end there shall be sent on behalf of this body a capable engineer, who must be provided by the Commandeur with whatever is necessary; and this engineer, together with the captain-commandant and with the land surveyor who shall be deemed most capable therefor, must draw up a plan and transmit it to the Chambers Amsterdam and Zeeland." This engineer was also to inspect the island of Borssele and the government buildings thereon. And on the same day it was further resolved "that the Director-General [of Essequibo and Demerara] and the Commandeur of Demerara must cause to be made an accurate map of both the rivers, leaving open provisionally the place for the public buildings until it shall be decreed at what place they are to stand."¹

- *145 *The Company, a part of whose directors, as members also of the Society of Surinam, must have known of Heneman's good work in that colony, doubtless had already an eye on their engineer. On May 5, 1773, the Society of Surinam consented that Heneman, now "first lieutenant of artillery and engineer," might absent himself for the task in Essequibo and Demerara; and in November he entered on the work. This task, as later defined by the Ten, was "to examine the situation of the two rivers, to take measurements thereof, and to draw up a plan of forts and batteries for the defense of those rivers." But from the first he seems to have been charged with the making of a general map, as well as with the planning of fortifications. In his final report of his survey, submitted on September 18, 1776, he speaks of himself as engaged upon it from November, 1773, till March, 1775. By that time, though he complains bitterly that he was not supported by the authorities, who furnished him with no yacht for his work and for helpers gave him only green negroes, knowing no speech but their African gibberish and needing even to be taught to row, while the only man
- Extracts, No. 297.
- Extracts, No. 308.

¹ Thus the minutes of the Ten for this date. The Dutch of this last resolution runs:

"23. Dat den Directeur-Generaal en Commandeur van Demerary, moeten laten opmaaken eene accouaate kaart van beyde de Rivieren, provisioneel de plaats der publique gebouwen openlaaten, tot dat zal zyn gearresteert, op welke plaats deselve zullen koomen."

No. 5.

who could carry chain for him was a black he had brought along from Surinam, *he yet had made "the *146 requisite charts, plans, and drawings," so as to be able to form therefrom a general map. 'This general map, which was to give accurately all the plantations, was perhaps never completed. It very probably shattered on the rock of expense, for already on December 22, 1774, the Ten were protesting that they could not see why a map of the two rivers need cost so much. At any rate, no such map is now to be found among the archives of the Company. But among those archives there is a map by Heneman¹—a mere sketch map—giving the results of his surveys, and meant as a basis for the more elaborate one. It bears the title:

Extracts, No. 297.

Atlas to Case, map 64.

"Sketch map of the Colonies of Rio Demerara and Rio Essequibo, as also of the abandoned Colony of Rio Pomeeroon, together with a part of the Colony of Rio Berbice, with the further Districts, Rivers, and Creeks of the Colonies aforementioned, as likewise the contour of the Sea-coast and its Banks, etc., from sundry observations and surveys drafted and complied toward the formation of a General Map of the said Colonies and their Plantations and conceded Lands and Grounds, as also of those Districts and Lands which can yet in the future be granted and cultivated,² serving *for the freer and better *147 communication of these Colonies in case of a domestic or foreign war, etc., etc., and moreover for the transportation of produce and merchandise more conveniently and with less risk than outside by sea. By order of the Honorable Chartered West India Company, conceived and drawn by J. C. v. Heneman, Engineer."

This map bears no date, and it can not be quite certain that it was transmitted with its author's report in September, 1776.³ Yet this is every way probable; and, in any case, as Heneman now returned to Surinam, the map's information belongs to this period. When there are taken into account the haste and the hindrances of his work, and the fact that at the same time he prepared

¹ This sketch map—a large one on heavy brown paper—is uncolored except for the indication, in *sepi*, of the ground available for plantations; the inner border of this is shown by the dotted lines parallel to the rivers.

² There is here almost certainly an omission in this title—probably a line mentioning the *canals* as also shown by the map.

³ It is much to be regretted that the minutes of the Ten for 1777 are lost. The resolution of the Ten on April 29, 1776, that "the commandeur in Demerara must send over the map made by the engineer Heneman," refers more probably to one of his local charts.

No. 5.

For two of these
see Extracts, No. 297
inclosures.

and submitted several local charts and many elaborate tables, great accuracy as to the remoter parts of the colonies will hardly be expected; and in particular his portrayal of what lies west of the Essequibo and the Pomeroon does not suggest personal observation. Both as to the coast region and as to the upper course of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni, it seems—what it doubtless is—a mere adaptation of the map of D'Anville. It is perhaps,
*148 *therefore, needless to conjecture any other source for the boundary line which appears for a short stretch at the northwest corner of the map. Both in point of departure on the coast and in direction it concurs nearly, though not quite exactly, with D'Anville's line—starting a trifle more to the east and trending a trifle more to the west.

Atlas to Case, map
65.

But there exists another map by Heneman, of quite another interest and importance; the one map, so far as I am able to learn, ever devoted to the boundary between Spanish and Dutch Guiana.¹ It now lies in the library of the department of the colonies at The Hague,² though how it came there it is hard to guess. Labels still decipherable on its back seem to show that it once belonged to the collection of the West India Company.³ Further clew I have not found. The map's title runs:

“Sketch Map of the Boundaries between Royal-Spanish and Dutch Guiana on the mainland of South
*149 *America; belonging to the Report hereon, conceived and chartered by v. Heneman, sworn Engineer.”

The report here mentioned can not be found. It forms no part of that submitted by Heneman to the West India Company in September, 1776, which nowhere makes mention of this boundary.⁴ It is not impossible that it was

¹ The map is uncolored, except for a stripe of red along the boundary line; this comes out only imperfectly in the reproduction. That the map is a copy, not Heneman's autograph manuscript, is made probable by the omission of his initials, due doubtless to that puzzling monogram already mentioned.

² I much regret that the examination of this collection came very late in my work at The Hague. During the time which remained to me no effort was spared to learn the exact date and occasion of this map; but my success was slight.

³ These can be made out, though now pasted over, by holding the map up to the light. My conclusion is that reached also by the archivist of the West India papers, Mr. Telting, who better than any other knows this collection of maps.

⁴ Of this report of September, 1776, there are two copies in the Rijksarchief (in vols. 175 and 2012, b, of the West India papers), both signed by the author in autograph. I have carefully examined both.

No. 5.

handed in at the same time as a confidential report. What makes it improbable are the differences between his general map and this special one, and notably the difference in the boundary line itself. The boundary leaves the coast, indeed, at what may be meant for the same point, though changes in the contour of the coast and in the spelling of names, the insertion of a new river (the "Moccomocco"), and the omission of an old cape ("Caap Breme") leave this somewhat uncertain. What is more significant is its change in direction. Instead of running south-southwest, as in the general map (and in D'Anville's), it has veered two full points of the compass, and now runs due southwest, no longer cutting (as in D'Anville's map) the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni, but crossing the head waters of the great branches of the Orinoco—the Aguire, the Caroni, the Caura, *the "Paruma" *150 (D'Anville's "Pararuma"). Just beyond its intersection with the last-named stream this western boundary of Dutch Guiana turns at a sharp angle and becomes the southern boundary, running thence east by south to the edge of the map. When, at whose instance, and for what purpose this map was made, and what sanction, if any, it ever received, it would be of exceeding interest to know. I have sought in vain for any mention of it in the minutes, both open and secret, of the West India Company and of the successive councils which until 1803 followed it in the government of the Guiana colonies. It is possible that it may have been prepared for the Stadhouder, who shared the passion for geography common among the princes of his time and who gathered a rich collection of maps;¹ but if so, he seems never to have

¹ This suggestion I owe to the kindly interest of the archivist-in-chief at The Hague, the Jhr. Th. van Riemdijk. What I learned of the disordered condition of the private archives of the House of Orange, now awaiting the completion of a building for their satisfactory housing and arrangement, and the scantiness of the time remaining to me in Holland, forbade my making personal research among these papers; but Mr. van Riemdijk had the kindness to ascertain for me, whether there might not be a catalogue of the maps of the Stadhouder, and informs me that no such catalogue exists. The interest of the Stadhouder, not only in maps in general, but in those of Guiana in particular, is shown by a passage, interesting in itself, in the minutes of the West India Company (the Ten). On August 19, 1784, the burgomaster Van den Helm Boddart stated in the session that His Highness the Stadhouder had informed him that, at the order of the French Government, "Marjoun de la Perriere" was making "a most accurate map [*een alleraccuraatste kaart*] both of the river Essequibo and of the river Demerara." Thereupon it was resolved to write to the French Government, asking copies of the map. La Perriere had governed the colony in 1783.

*151 *made a communication regarding it to the bodies administering the affairs of the colonies.

What has already been said of the career of Heneman prior to 1776 must make it improbable that his map of the boundary antedates that year. It may be of use to add what has been learned of his subsequent career. We find him presently engaged upon a series of elaborate district maps of the Surinam colony, still preserved and prized at The Hague. These he completed in 1778,¹ and was sent to bear his work in person to Holland, there to lay it before the directors. This appears from a petition which in 1789 (August 20) he submitted to these directors of Surinam for the reimbursement of expenses incurred in the making of this map.² In it he recapitulates his

¹ Rijksarchief, West India papers, vol. 902 (*Requesten, Apr. 1796-Jan., 1797*). The statement of Van Sypesteyn, in his *Beschrijving van Suriname* (1854), p. 290, that on his map of Surinam Heneman "was busy, with fourteen surveyors, from 1771 to 1784," is, on Heneman's own testimony, an error. There is, however, no reason for doubting Van Sypesteyn's further statement that "Heneman was, in 1793, lieutenant-colonel of engineers in Surinam, on leave in the Netherlands"; and that "in 1776, being then a captain, he took part in the forest campaigns [i. e., the expeditions against the bush negroes] described by Stedman."

². . . "Zoo is vervolgens ook, nae reype overweeging en raadpleeging ten ondergeteekende Ingenieur gelast en geordonneerd geworden, deese opneemingen te doen, en ter uytvoer te brengen. Yverig en begeerig zich van deese last en orders op de bestmoogelyekste wyse on gelyck als het een getrouw Ingenieur-officier betaamt, te quytten en te ontleedigen, zoo heeft dezelve nae alle getrouwheydt nauwkeurighydt en oplettendtheyt, op de exacte wyze, de eersten stuckken deesser opneeming gedaan, en booven gemeldte kaarten geformeerd en gekaarteerd en geteekend, deselve den Gouverneur Commandeur en eenige raaden in 't jaer 1772 voorgelegd door deselve met genoegen aengenoomen, naegzien en onderzocht, en vervolgens tot op verdere en hogere approbatie der respectabele vergadering in Europa, geapprobeerd naastvolgens met behoorig verlof door wylen de H^r Gouverneur J. Nepveu voorsz. voorzien, met Hoog Boord (zynde het landschip van oorlog den Boreas, gecommandeert door wylen den capitayn van der Velden) nae Europa gezondten, nae myn arrivement alhier ter steedt, aen de achtbaare vergadering deese genoemde eerste stucken dier kaarten . . . met eerbiedt voorgelegd, door de achtbare vergadering met genoegen gesien onderzocht en door toenmaals d H^r Bewinthebber en Directeur M^r J. Randorp geexamineerd en vervolgens door de volle vergadering geapprobeert, om op even ende deselve voet als de eerste stucken voornoemt die opneeming en verdere voortzetting en formering derselver kaarten hierboven vermeldt voortzetten. Dienvolgens oock den ondergeteekende Ingenieur geordonneert en gelast om nae de colonie Suriname, etc., etc., weer te vertrekken en terug te keeren en nae myn komste aldaer de verdere opneeming en noodige meetingen en het kaartenree en teekenen der verderen en overigen rivieren en districten der Colonien ter uytvoer te brengen.

"Dit met zeer veel vermoeynissen en uytgestaane ziekten en moeylykheden verknogdt en gepaardt gaande werck na 6 jaarigen arbeidt door Goods goedyd volloedig geeyndigt hebbende, door verdere last van wylen d H^r Gouv^r J. Nepveu in den jaere 1778, met het uytgevoerde werck en tot standt gebragde

No. 5.

*services to Surinam, but says nothing of his work *152 in the neighboring colonies. The petition *is dated at *153 Amsterdam, where, therefore, he then was, though still in the service of the colony. In September, 1796, the petition was renewed, Heneman being still in Amsterdam.¹ On August 14, 1798, Major F. von Bouchenroeder petitioned the Dutch Committee on Colonies for their consent that the engineer Heneman, whom he describes as "employed in the Amsterdam Chamber of this Committee," "aid him in the preparation of maps of Berbice and Surinam and of a general map of Guiana, as a sequel to his Demerara and Essequibo, inasmuch as Heneman "in earlier days traveled in these regions by order of the Government and made many surveys." But the Committee awaited a similar request from Heneman, which never came.² On August 20, 1802, Heneman, still writing from Amsterdam, petitioned that all requests for lands in the Guiana colonies might be laid before him, "as was the custom hitherto." This suggests what may have been his occupation in the Netherlands since 1778. On August 11, 1803, another petition was received from him by the Council of the American Colonies. It speaks of orders *for maps— *154 nineteen in all—given him on April 18, 1787, and September 28, 1796. Sickness, he says, has prevented their completion; he is now, he adds, engaged on a new map of Demerara. On October 31, 1803, the Council voted him the sum of eight hundred guilders, in full payment of all claims, a copy of the new map of Demerara to be included for this payment; "and," adds the resolution, "he is hereby instructed to report definitely whether anything—and if so, what—is still lacking to the collection of maps of the cultivated portion of Surinam prepared by him, and henceforward to make no maps for the Council without its express authorization." Whereupon, on Jan-

Minutes of the
Council of the
American Colonies.

Minutes of the
Council. (Rijks-
archief, West India
papers, vol. 1080.)

Minutes, as above.

Kaarten deeser opneeming, hier nae Europa gezondten zyndte en deeser steedte aen de achtbaare vergaadering met alle eerbiedt voorgelegdt, en door toenmalige Heeren Bewinthebberen van der Poll, en Geelvinck en Berewoudts en d H^r Burgemeester J. Rendorp in het zelve jaar 1778 naegesen en geexamineert en ten vollen geaprobeert zyndte geworden.

"Ingevolge last en ordre der achtbre vergadering zyn deese kaarten op groot olyphants papier geкартеedrt en geformeert en alle nae eene en eeven deselve schaal gereduceert en geteekent en aan de respectable vergaadering door den ondergeteekenden overgelevert." . . .

¹ Rijksarchief, West India papers, as above. It is as an inclosure in this second petition that the older one is now found.

² This matter appears more fully in connection with the work of Bouchenroeder, pp. *171-*78, below.

No. 5.

Minutes of the
Council. (West India
papers, vol. 948.)

uary 12, 1804, he submitted a list of maps which "ought to be added" to the Council's collection.¹ Among these is a "map of the Orinoco." What is meant is not possibly this map of the boundary, in which, as will be seen, a great part of the Orinoco's course is shown. But the Council, taking *this up on January 16, simply filed it for reference. The colonies were already in the hands of the British.

How naturally at any time during this long service Heneman might have been turned to for such a map as that in question is apparent. The absence from his map, however, of any indication at the mouth of the Demerara of the new colonial capital, Stabroek, which was founded in 1782, makes it tolerably certain that the map antedates the English occupation of 1781. And the fact that Santo Thomé appears at the old site below the Caroni instead of at the new one of Angostura, to which it was removed in 1764, as he could perhaps have learned from Spanish maps available to him in Amsterdam—for those of Cruz Cano and Surville had now been published—adds ground for the belief that he made it before leaving Guiana in 1778. In that case it seems most probable that it was a special task confidentially assigned him as a supplement to that completed in September, 1776, and that the changes from the earlier map grew out of further study, or perhaps out of the suggestion to which the new map owed its birth.

The next map of Guiana known to me is one of *156 which the West India Company itself perhaps *never possessed a copy. At least none is now to be found in its collection or is mentioned in its minutes. This is the map of **SIRAUT-DESTOUCHES**. The copy herewith submitted to the Commission was bought by me at The Hague from a well-known house dealing in old books and maps.*

Atlas to Case, map
66.

¹ Rijksarchief, West India papers, vol. 968. This list runs in part as follows:

"van Essequibo, die zeer groot en breed is.
De kaart der Rivier Essequibo, oostwall.
idem Essequibo, westwall.
De kaarten van de Eylanden van de Rivier Essequibo.
De kaart van het boevengedeelte van Essequibo.
"van Poumeron:
De kaart der Rivier Poumeron.
idem Orinocoque."

² W. P. Van Stockum's Sons, on the Buitenhof. This map, I am happy to say, I am permitted on behalf of the Commission to add to the collection of the Rijksarchief, in trifling recognition of the many courtesies of its custodians. I may here add that all the manuscript maps thus bought for the Commission and here

No. 5.

The inscription upon it tells us that it is a "sketch map of the colony of Rio Essequibo drafted from various observations as a basis of operations tending toward a projected general map" and dedicated to the Director-General and Court of Policy of the colony by Albert Siraut-Destouches in Essequibo, January 4, 1779; and that the present copy of it was made by the authorized land surveyor I. Van der Burght in 1801. There is no reason to question its truth. If the map itself was unknown to the Company, the names of both Siraut-Destouches and Van der Burght are familiar enough to its records. The former came to the colony in 1768 with the surveyor Massol, and had scarcely reached there before he was sent off on an exploring trip up the Essequibo.¹ He seems then to have settled *down as a planter on the so-called "Arabian coast" *157 (the seashore just at the west of the mouth of the Essequibo), and to have prospered there, uniting, so far as permitted, the functions of a land surveyor with those of a planter.² Whether or not his project of a general map ever reached its full consummation, it seems to have attained at least a riper stage; for another map, bought in Holland for the Commission from another dealer,³ bears in spite of its coloring and its greater elaboration, so close a resemblance to this sketch map in general treatment, and concurs so exactly in the number and location of the plantations, that it was almost certainly made by the same hand and at nearly the same time, being apparently a slightly later form of the same map.

Extracts, No. 268.
Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 152.

Atlas to Case, map 67.

While both of these maps are of value as showing the limits of occupation at this date, neither suggests a boundary save by the extent given the map itself. But from this very fact they derive a peculiar interest; for when in 1781 *the English commander, Capt. Edward *158 Thompson, on taking possession of the colony for Great Britain, demanded from the Court of Policy a map

reproduced have been subjected to the careful examination of the scholars in charge of this collection.

¹ Extracts, No. 268.

² The Court of Policy, which seems to have been well disposed toward him, not only tolerated this, but even ventured in 1775 to make him for a time colonial surveyor; but the company made repeated and sharp protests on the ground that he had received from them no authority to exercise this function. During the French occupation (1782-1784) Siraut-Destouches was himself a member of the Court of Policy, and on the departure of the French was left acting governor of the colony (February-October, 1784).

³ The old house of M. Nijhoff at The Hague.

No. 5.

Minutes of the
Court of Policy,
April 13, 1781; Ex-
tracts, No. 319.

For Thompson's
map see map 6 of
Appendix No. 3 to
the Blue Book "Ven-
ezuela, No. 1"; or
Atlas to Case, map

43.

Atlas to Case, map
68.

For this petition in
full, see Extracts, No.
337.

See Extracts, No.
342, inclosure 2.

of the colony that he might acquaint the King of England with its importance, they ordered copied for him, as their records tell us, "the sketch map of the river drafted by the land surveyor Destouches, which lies in the office of the secretary." That this was the sketch map above described is suggested not only by the striking concurrence in title and by the fact that the secretary's office was precisely where such a map dedicated to the Director-General and Court of Policy would naturally be lying, but by the fact that a map there treasured might most naturally have been copied twenty years later by the colonial surveyor Van der Burght. And if so, the English map of the coast of Guiana "from the observations of Captain Edward Thompson in the year 1781," which prints along the river Barima the words "Western boundary of the Dutch according to their claim," must have derived this boundary from some other source than the map thus put into Captain Thompson's hands by the Dutch colonial authorities—a point of no small interest, if, as I believe, this is the earliest map to show that boundary.

The map I have next to describe is also a waif, *159 *without title, date, or name of author. But happily there exists of this two copies, one of them in the West India collection at The Hague and bearing the monogram of the Amsterdam Chamber; and among the papers of the Amsterdam Chamber there is a certain document mentioning the transmission of a map which can hardly be any other. This is a petition from the colonial surveyor **LOUIS CHOLLET**, received by that Chamber in September, 1791, asking a grant of land in the river Pomeroon or on the coast west of it. The petitioner had given attention, he said, to the west coast as far as the Pomeroon, and to that river itself, on account of their agricultural promise, and had embodied his observations in a memorial which he enclosed, together with a map, made by himself, beginning at the creek of Mahaicony and ending with the boundary between the Spaniards and the colonies of the State, in which map the river of Pomeroon and the neighboring districts were portrayed. Chollet's memorial of this date has not been found, but there is a later memorial by him on the opening of the Pomeroon, transmitted by the Governor-General in 1794. It is in French, like this map. The Amsterdam Chamber's monogram at the top of the map is to all appearance by the same

*160 neat hand as the *map itself; and the fact that both

No. 5.

map and petition were thus addressed to the Amsterdam Chamber, instead of to the Ten or to the Company as a whole, while among the extant maps of the Company there is no other answering in the least to the description, makes its identity virtually certain. The map herewith submitted to the Commission, though unmistakably drawn and colored by the same hand, is not an exact duplicate of that in the archives at The Hague. It bears no monogram and has in a corner a bit of landscape, with a shelter, or rest-house, in the foreground and the name "Pont-marron" attached—a view perhaps sketched at the mouth of the river. The limit of the plantations on the coast is not precisely the same; and, what is of more moment, while The Hague copy shows something more of the interior in the southwest portion of the map, that submitted has more of detail in that northwest quarter which is of more interest to the present research.¹

*That either of these maps represents the condition *161 of things in 1791 is not to be believed. On the site of Stabroek, at the mouth of the Demerara, there appear only plantations; the Moruca post is at the site it occupied before 1781; and the plantations on the west bank of the Essequibo are not so far seaward as they are known to have been in 1772.² The only date on either map is 1769, which (on the Hague copy) is given as the date of the burning of a forest in Demerara.³ Between this and 1772, then, would seem to be the period represented in the main by this map. Chollet wished only to illustrate the Pomeroon district, and this during the interval was doubtless unchanged. It seems not improbable that even for this northwestern region he may have made use of that chart, by the surveyor Bowman, of the coast "as far as the

¹ It is for this reason that this, instead of the Amsterdam copy, is reproduced in the atlas of the Commission. The map was bought by me in Holland for the Commission, at the same time and place as that last above described—at Nijhoff's, in The Hague. It should be added that neither in the case of this map nor in that of either of the others bought for the Commission could anything be learned from the dealers as to the earlier history of the map. Each of the well-known firms in question had a large collection of such old colonial maps.

² See letter of Storm van 's Gravesande, August 27, 1772. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 180.) But, as pointed out on page 141, above, there is here an error in translation, the words "taken up" being impossible in this connection; the writer speaks only of *distances*, and of rods, not "roods." A piece of land "below Capoey" creek (*beneden Capoey*), and therefore close by the place where in these maps the plantations end, was granted one Jacob Citters on April 4, 1772. (Minutes of Court of Policy, May, 1877.)

³ "Bois brûlé en 1769."

No. 5.

Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 8," p. 180.

Pomeroon and the post of Moruca," which the Director-General mentions in his letter of August 27, 1772. The boundary—here calling itself the "line which
*162 *according to the maps separates Dutch Guiana from the Spanish possessions"—is evidently that laid down by D'Anville.

For his journal of this expedition and his letter of inclosure, see Extracts, No. 842.

Atlas to Case, map 69. The coloring of the original does not appear in this reproduction.

Two very different maps of the Pomeroon, one of them by Chollet himself, the other by the rival surveyor, Van der Burght, were about this time in use in the colony and were sent to the home government. They were rude sketch maps showing only the lower Pomeroon (to the mouth of the Moruca), but meant as a basis for the concession of lands in that region.¹ It was their crudeness and mutual contradiction which led in 1794 to a careful survey of the district by the two surveyors jointly, under the eye of the Governor-General himself. The resulting map, drafted by Chollet, was transmitted to the Dutch Council of the Colonies in August, 1794. It must be borne in mind, in its study, that the batteries, the canals, the paths here shown, the town whose site is indicated, were only projected; it was but a plan for submission to the home authorities. The plantations so minutely laid out were as yet, as appears from the list on the map,
*163 only in small part granted, though *many petitions were waiting. The only place of actual occupation shown by the map is the Moruca post; and even that is probably depicted as it ought to be rather than as it was. The project was still before the Council of the Colonies, and its realization still in abeyance, when, in April, 1796, the British assumed possession of the colonies.

Meanwhile, however, another and more notable map was under way. On the 28th of December, 1795, one Friedrich von **BOUCHENROEDER** submitted to the Colonial Committee of the newly organized Batavian Republic a petition for "a vacant governorship in one of the West India colonies." But that he understood "West India" in the wide sense suggested by the territorial scope of the "West India Company" appears a moment later when he adds:

¹ Both are in the collection at The Hague. Van der Burght's is dated December 14, 1790; Chollet's 1793. The only thing of interest about either is that Chollet places the Moruca post on the west of that river's mouth. For a discussion of this (which was changed in his more careful map of the following year) I must refer to my historical report.

No. 5.

"And, since the possessions of the State on the coast of Guinea are the least known and since they still need (or might well be given) the most improvements and new institutions, therefore this government, if intrusted to me, would give the most opportunity for usefulness to the State."

And that Guinea was no slip of the pen for Guiana is shown by the essay which he incloses in proof of his acquaintance with colonial needs, a thirty-page memoir, entitled:

"Reflections on the Fundamental Laws and Measures to be observed in the establishing of new Colonies and *Plantations, with reference to the profits which the *164 Commonwealth of Holland might have from the Colonies, both in the East and the West Indies, especially at the Cape of Good Hope and on the coast of Guinea; by F. von Bouchenroeder, The Hague, 5 Dec. 1795."

The memoir is written in German, with a parallel Dutch translation, and shows acquaintance with Guinea, but not with Guiana.

These papers are in vol. 901 of the West India papers of the Rijksarchief (pp. 92-127).

With his petition the applicant submitted a sketch of his career. Of his German birth he says nothing. In 1770, at the age of thirty-seven, he had entered the Prussian service, with the rank of ensign. Thence in the same year he passed into the Hessian service, with the rank of lieutenant, and in 1784 became a captain. In 1785 he went over into the service of the province of Holland as "captain proprietary" of a company in the "Jaager Corps" of Salm, of which regiment he was in 1787 made major. In the internal troubles which followed he had played a considerable part until the opening of 1793, when his sympathy with the popular party was by the conservatives rewarded with dismissal; since that date he had been in retirement near Hanau, in Germany.¹ He was, in

¹ This "Staat van Dienst" is in full as follows:

"Staat van dienst van Frederich van Bouchenroeder oud 37 jaaren getreeden in Pruisischen dienst, in het jaar 1770, in Qualiteyt van Vondrig.

"In Hessischen dienst in het jaar 1770, in Qualiteyt van Lieutenant, en Capitain in 1784.

"En laatstelyk overgegaan in Hollandschen dienst, in het jaar 1785, in Qualiteyt van Captain proprietair van eene Compagnie by het Jaager Corps van Salm; tot Major by hetzelfde Corps benoemd zynde, in het jaar 1787, en het gecommandeerd hebbende als Commandant, zedert de opregting.

"In 1787 by het Burgerleger te Woerden, etc., gediend hebbende als Quartier Meester Generaal; en by de Verdediging van Amsterdam, by het etablisseeren

*165 short, a *soldier of fortune, who had spent as a Hollander eight of the two and sixty years of his varied life. and now again sought Dutch employment.

His petition was referred to the subcommittee on police and justice, which on February 10, 1796, recommended that his essay be sent for examination to the authorities on the Guinea coast, and that his application meanwhile be put on file. Nothing daunted, the old soldier vigorously turned his hand to a new task; for barely six months later, on August 26, 1796, in the session of the Committee on Colonies, "there was read a letter from F. van Bouchenroeder, written here at The Hague on the

24th of August, transmitting a map, by him conceived and drafted, of *the rivers Essequibo and Demerara, and stating his intention to have this draft engraved, and, with the approval of this Committee, to publish it." As soon as the map should be engraved it was his intention to present the original to the Committee, together with certain printed copies.¹

The map was referred for examination to the subcommittees on police and justice and on troops and defense, and on September 21, 1796, they jointly reported thereon, recommending that "in recognition of the knowledge,

der Posten van Amstelveen, Ouwerkerk, Kalverslaan, en Overtoon, gefungeerd hebbende als Generaal Commandant.

"Burger zynde te Delft en Amsterdam, zoedert den jaare 1787.

"Gedimiteerd den 1^{en} Jann. 1793, toen het Corps Jaegers uyt den particulieren dienst van de Provintie van Holland overgong in dienst der Generaliteyd, en dat om reeden van zyn by alle Gelegendheyd gemanifesteerd patriottismus, en in zonderheyd om dat hy in bovengemelde Qualiteyd gediend had by het Burgerleger.

"Zeedert gewoond hebbende op zyn buytenverblyf te Emrichshof by Hanau, en niet gepensioneerd, en ook niet wederom geemployeerd zynde geweest, in dienst van eenige Mogendheyd.

"Bygewoond hebbende de Campagnes van 1777, en van 1787.

"VAN BOUCHENROEDER."

¹ Bouchenroeder's letter is not to be found among the papers of the committee; but its contents appear from the committee's minutes, and from the report of the subcommittees, as here given. . . . "geexamineerd hebbende een Request van F. van Buchenröder waarby hy aan het Comité presentieerd eene proef van eene door hem vervaardigde Generaale Kaart der Bataafsche Colonien gelegen in Gulana welke hy voorneemens is in twee bladen aen het Comité optedraagen en waervan het tweede blad zal bevatten de Grens van Suriname aan de Rivier Marowynne welke hy voorneemens is, zo het de approbatie van het Comité mogte wegdragen te laten graveeren, en op intekening uittageeven voor den prys van f. 6 . . engeillumineerd voor f. 9 . . per stuk en alsdan de Origineele teekening met eenige gedrukte exemplaren ter dispositie van het Comité intelleveren versoeckende deswegens met de intentie van het Comité te worden vereerd."

No. 5.

skill, and research put forth by F. Bouchenroeder, for the sake of being of use to the Fatherland, in the preparation of this handsome and very well worked-out map," the committee should, for the encouragement of his enterprise and as a contribution toward the costs, subscribe for a dozen colored copies and permit him to dedicate the work to *itself; and, in case the execution of *167 the printed map should be satisfactory, should further manifest to him its approbation.¹

The map was accordingly engraved, and on June 21, 1798, Major von Bouchenroeder transmitted to the colonial committee, with a letter of inclosure,² the dozen colored copies. That the promised gift of the original manuscript of the map was also not forgotten is proved by the *fact that this manuscript is now to be found *168 among the Committee's papers. A reproduction of it I herewith submit.

¹ . . . "dat het Committé uit aanmerking van de kunde werkzaamheid en aangewende poging van den persoon van F. Buchenroeder om den Vaderlande nuttig te zyn, in het vervaardigen van deeze schoone en zeer wel uitgewerkte kaart by favorable Resolutie aan hem zoude kunnen declareeren dat het Committé daerop, tot aanmoediging van en voortgang in dit zyn werk en te genoedkoming van de kosten, welke hy tot het graveeren van deeze Kaart zal moeten-maaken, zoude kunnen doen inteekenen voor twaalf staks geillumineerde kaarten tegens den prys door hem gestipuleerd, ten einde de Comptoiren van dit Committé almede de Colonien daarvan kunnen worden voorzien.

"En dat wyders aan hem zoude kunnen worden geaccordeerd om die Kaart aan het zelve optedraagen en de executie derzelve wel bevindende hem nader zyn genoegten hierover te manifesteeren."

² "Aan het Committé tot de Zaaken der Colonien, en Besittingen van de Bataafsche Republicq, in America, en op de kust van Guinea.

"Medeburgers:

"De ondergeteekende heeft de Eer aan Ulieden hiernevens te presentereen 12 geillumineerde Exemplaren der kaart van Essequibo & Demerary, met de kaartoe behoorende Tabellen dewelke de ondergeteekende met Ulieder Approbatie heeft doen graveeren, en aan Ulieden heeft opgedragen.

"Indien de executie dezer kaart Ulieder Approbatie waardig, en dezelve voor de Bataafsche Natie van Belang, en Nut is, zoo zal de Ondergeteekende zich der Moeiten tot dit Werk besteed, met genoegten herinneren.

"Verzoekende dat het Ulieden mag behagen om de nodige orders te stellen, ten einde den ondergeteekende de Inteeken gel den te doen toekoomen, bedragende voor 12 geillumineerde Proefdrukken met Tabellen, a tien guldens per Exemplaar, de somme van f. 120.

"Waarmede de ondergeteekende na toewensche van Heil zich met Eerbied noemt.

"UWen dienstvaardigen Medeburge,

"F. v. BOUCHENROEDER,

"Major.

"Haag den 21 Juny 1798.

Woonende op't Hooge Zand

Let V. No. 288."

No. 5.

Atlas to Case, map
70.

Interesting are the differences between this manuscript, prepared, as has been seen, in 1796, and the engraved map of 1798. That it was Bouchenroeder himself who was responsible for these changes may be inferred from a letter written by him to the Committee on August 6, 1798, wherein he remarks:

“The undersigned trusts that, while the original drawing of this region received your approval, the execution of the engraving will give you not less pleasure, inasmuch as the plate, as compared with the drawing, has been further notably augmented.”

It is not unlikely that in the course of the proof reading some of these improvements of the engraved map had been entered on the manuscript itself; but in any case striking differences remain. The manuscript is wholly in Dutch; the engraved map is translated, so far as *169 possible, into French. But the title is much *more than translated. In the manuscript it runs:

“General and Special Map of the Colonies of the Republic of the United Netherlands lying in Guiana along the sea-coast, the rivers Pomeroon, Essequibo, Demerara, from the frontiers of Berbice to the river Moruca on the frontier, in the Spanish possessions Orinoco.”

If this is but broken English, it is because it is a translation of broken Dutch. The map, in accordance with its title, breaks off just west of the Moruca; and at the west of this river, in the neat hand of the author, one reads along the margin the words (of course in Dutch) “the boundary line between Spain and Holland,” and then, written at a slightly changing slant, “is about 16 [Dutch] miles farther west, on the river Barima, close by the river Orinoco.” The engraved map likewise goes no farther west than the Moruca; but all mention of the boundaries has been struck both from the title and from the margin of the map, while in the upper right-hand corner of the map has been inserted (what is wanting in the manuscript) a little inset map of Guiana from the mouth of the Berbice to the mouth of the Orinoco, wherein the Dutch boundary is set at the Barima, and beside it an “old Dutch post on the frontiers of the Spanish possessions.”

Atlas to Case, map
46.

*170 *As to the sources of Bouchenroeder, whether for these changes or for the map itself, I have been able to learn nothing from the documents. That, however, it

No. 5.

was a compilation made in Holland by one who had no direct acquaintance with the Guiana colonies is clear from the circumstances. To such acquaintance Bouchenroeder makes no claim; and from almost the beginning of his task those colonies had been in the hands of the British, who were at open war with the Dutch. Nor is any evidence to be found that he made this map at the instance or subject to the instructions of anybody. That he had access to official maps and papers, however, can not be doubted, for its northwestern portion is but a reproduction of the unpublished chart of Chollet sent the colonial committee in 1794, and its details as to plantations and cultures in the older parts of the colony could scarcely have been gained without study of its land records.

Atlas to Case, map
69.

If any doubt remained as to Bouchenroeder's want of personal knowledge of Guiana or as to the method of his map-making, both might safely be inferred from the further petition submitted by him on August 6, 1798:

"Inasmuch," he urged, "as it is now known *that, *171 although there exist maps of the other portions of the mainland of Guiana, both of Berbice and of Surinam, these nevertheless, not to mention a multitude of errors and of changes which have taken place since the preparation of the maps, were drawn each on a different scale, and are therefore not suited to make up a general map; therefore the undersigned has taken counsel with himself to further extend his map of Essequibo and Demerara and to prepare on the same scale maps of Berbice and of Surinam, and moreover to have engraved a general map of all Guiana, from the river Orinoco to the Amazon river.

"The undersigned, having posted himself upon this subject and having taken the trouble to get the most trustworthy information possible, has become aware that the engineer Heneman, who is employed in the Amsterdam Chamber of this Committee, in earlier days journeyed in these regions by order of the Government and made many surveys; wherefore the undersigned concluded that for the furtherance of his undertaking he could not do better than address himself to the engineer Heneman. And so to this end he repaired to him at Amsterdam and apprised him of his *intention, proposing that in case the *172 engineer Heneman was in a position to supply him, the undersigned, for his draft already made, such infor-

mation that he could form the most accurate maps possible of this region, then he, the undersigned, would like to carry out this enterprise in partnership with the aforesaid Heneman.

"To this the engineer Heneman showed himself favorably disposed in so far that, in case the Committee would grant its approval thereto, he would then be willing to work in partnership with the undersigned on the preparation of good maps of this sort."¹

*173 *Bouchenroeder begs, therefore, that Heneman be permitted to aid him; but also--

... "that, at need, it be permitted to him and to the aforesaid Heneman to ask from the archives of the Committee such information and such maps as should be found necessary for the completion of their work."²

The Committee deferred its consent until it should receive a request to the same end from Heneman. No such request ever came; and, though Bouchenroeder alone completed and in 1802 published a map of Berbice, the re-

¹ "Terwyl het nu bekend is, dat ofschoon van de verdere gedeelten op de vaste kust van Guiana, kaarten existeeren zoo van de Berbice, als van Surinaame, dezelve echter behalve een meenigte gebrekken, en veranderingen, welke zedert het vervaerdigen deezer kaarten hebben plaats gehad, iedere kaart op zich zelve naar een byzondere maatstaf vervaerdigd zynde, derhalve niet geschikt zyn eene generaale kaart te kunnen formeeren, zoo is de ondergeteekende by zich te raade geworden, om zyne kaart van Essequibo & Demerary verder te extendeeren en naar denzelfden maatstaf de kaarten van de Berbice en van Surinaame te vervaerdigen, en benevens eene generaale kaart van geheel Guiana, van de Rivier Orinoco tot de Amazone Rivier, te doen graveeren.

"De ondergeteekende zich op dit sujet geïnformeerd, en moeite gedaan hebbende, om zoo veel mooglyk goede narigten te bekoomen, is ontwaar geworden, dat den Ingenieur Heneman, welke by dit Committé, Kamer van Amsterdam geemployeerd is, in vroegere tyden op order van het gouvernement, in deeze Landen was gereisd, en veele meetingen gedaan heeft, weshalve de onderget. had geoordeeld, dat ter bevordering van zyn onderneemen, hy zich niet beter zoude kunnen adresseeren, dan aan den Ingenieur Heneman; hy zich ten dien einde ook by hem te Amsterdam heeft begeeven, en van zyne intentie kennis gegeven, met propositie, om, indien den Ingenieur Heneman in staat was, hem ondergeteekende tot zyn bereids vervaerdigd concept, zodanige narigten te kunnen suppediteeren, om de meest mooglyk accurate kaarten van dit gewest te kunnen formeeren, dat alsdan de onderget. deeze enterprize in compagnie met voorn, Heneman wilde doen. . . .

"De Ingenieur Heneman heeft hiertoe in zoo verre zyne bereidwilligheid betuigd, dat wanneer het Committé zyne approbatie daartoe wilde verleenen, hy alsdan met den onderget. gemeenschappelyk zoude willen werken, om zodanige goede kaarten te vervaerdigen."

² . . . "dat het des noods aan den Onderget. en voorn. Heneman, mag worden gepermitteerd uit de Archiven van het Committé zodanige informatien, en kaarten te verzoeken, als tot het complete werk zouden mogen nodig zyn."

No. 5.

mainder of his scheme seems never to have been carried out.

The colonies were lost in 1803, and we are at the end of the official map-making of the Dutch in western Guiana. An official map in the full sense—undertaken by order of Government, executed at its expense, and published under its sanction—there never was. Such maps of this *region as can lay claim to that quality *174 in any sense I have described. Few of them so much as suggest a western boundary, and of these not one was ever put forward as a statement of that boundary—not even by the West India Company to the State, or by one branch of the Government to another. The only map, so far as Dutch official records show, which ever received this distinction was the map of the French geographer D'Anville; and that not on the ground of any official knowledge or authority, but only of a general repute for accuracy.

II.—SPANISH MAPS.

The story of Spanish maps from official sources is a much briefer one. Though there is mention in the documents from Spanish archives printed by Great Britain and Venezuela of sundry maps sent to the home government by the Spanish colonial authorities on the Orinoco, none of these have either been published or laid before the Commission. Maps officially published in Spain are, however, not wholly wanting to the printed literature of the subject.¹

*The **OLDEST SPANISH MAP OF THIS REGION** *175 known to me is that printed at Madrid in 1877, by the Spanish Government, in the atlas to the *Cartas de Indias*. The internal evidence of matter and handwriting shows it to have been made shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century; and not only these, but its Spanish text and its presence in the Spanish archives, attest its Spanish source. But there is nothing in the map itself which suggests for it an official origin; and its modern editor tells us nothing of it whatever. It shows considerable knowledge of the Guiana coast, and especially of the

¹ It should be pointed out here at the outset that for lack both of time and of opportunity I have made no such careful search for Spanish maps as for Dutch, and that of such maps as have come into my hands I have learned scarcely more than they tell us themselves.

No. 5.

Essequibo, with its branches and neighbor streams;¹ but it belongs to a period antedating all known Dutch acquaintance with Guiana, and has, therefore, no direct bearing on the question of boundary.

Atlas to Case, map
61.

One other such Spanish sketch map, of much later date, comes to us through the hands of the Dutch. It is that ascribed to the Jesuit fathers of the exploring expedition, in 1747, to the sources of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni. The copy of it stolen for the Dutch governor of Essequibo and by him handed over, perhaps not without additions, *176 to the West India Company in 1750, *I have described among the Dutch maps of its period.²

Atlas to Case, map
50.

The earliest published Spanish map to treat this region with any minuteness of detail is the great map of South America by the royal geographer, Juan de la CRUZ CANO Y OLMEDILLA, issued at Madrid in 1775.³ What official sanction, if any, this map may have had I have not learned; but there can be no doubt that its information must have been drawn largely from official sources.

Three years later there was prepared, in the Spanish archives of the Indies, a map of Guiana whose claim to an official character is explicit and complete. It calls itself a—

Atlas to Case, map
71.

“Corographic map of Nueva Andalucia, . . . compiled from the best observations and latest accounts by Don Luis de SURVILLE, second official of the Archives of the Secretariate of State and of the General Control of the Indies, by order of his Chief, the Honorable Señor Don Josef de Galvez, in the year 1778.”

It was published in the following year in Fray Antonio Caulin's *Historia de la Nueva Andalucia*, for which it had probably been prepared—a book which, after lying a *177 score of *years in manuscript in the censor's hands, was now put forth “by the order and at the expense of His Majesty” from the official press of the department of the Indies at Madrid; yet not without abundant editorial additions describing the progress of Guayana in the interval. Even with these additions, as Humboldt long ago pointed out, the text and the map are often enough in conflict. The boundary laid down in Surville's map agrees with

¹ More as to this may be found in my paper “On the historical maps.”

² At pp. *131–*134 above.

³ The Spanish-Dutch boundary line, as laid down on this map, is described by Secretary Mallet-Prevost, in his paper on the Cartographical Testimony of Geographers, at pp. *78–*81 of this volume.

No. 5.

that of Cruz Cano's, except that it gives to the Dutch the whole of the confluence of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni with the Essequibo.

Just at the end of the century there was published the great official "Map of the greater part of South America, comprising the countries through which is to pass the boundary line dividing the dominions of Spain and Portugal, made in pursuance of Royal Order, by Lieutenant-General Don Francisco **REQUENA** in the year 1796."¹

As regards the Dutch boundary, the line appearing on this map agrees in the main with that shown by the maps of Cruz Cano and Surville; but it cuts the Pomeroon in mid-course, instead *of giving that river wholly *178 to the Dutch, while on the other hand, it leaves to the west a slightly larger territory at the junction of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni.² So far as may be judged by simple comparison, Requena's treatment of the region between Orinoco and Essequibo is a careless one, showing little information beyond that to be gained from Cruz Cano and Surville. It was perhaps the belated sheets of this map which the Dutch envoy Ruysch had in mind when in December, 1801, he wrote from Amiens of "the maps which are now being engraved in London and will be ready next May," from which the Spaniards would for the first time learn the nature and worth of the rivers lying just east of the Orinoco.

Extracts, No. 346.

While there have fallen under my eye no other Spanish official maps of this region, there remain certain **MAPS FROM ECCLESIASTICAL SOURCES** which have a quasi-official character. As is well known, the conversion of the Indians was always *made a leading object of the *179 Spanish polity, and to this end the missionaries were often intrusted with civil as well as religious functions.

¹ "Mapa Geográfico de la mayor parte de la America Meridional que contiene los países por donde debe trazarse la línea divisoria que divida los dominios de España y Portugal, construida en virtud de Real Orden por el Teniente General D. Francisco Requena en el año de 1796."

² Attention should be called to the curious fact that all three of these official geographers (Cruz Cano, Surville, and Requena), while showing one river Pomeroon ("Pumaron," "Poumaron") east of the boundary line, show another Pomeroon (under the old spelling "Baurum" or "Bauron") much to the Spanish side of that line; and, besides a Moruga (the name appears on Cruz Cano's map only) just at the west of the boundary, have also a "Moroca" (Requena writes "Morocoi") west of the other Pomeroon—Cruz Cano and Surville, more oddly still, locating on this more western Moroca the Dutch post ("la Posta"), which perhaps they deem a Spanish one,

From 1734, when the Catalanian Capuchin friars, who had already for some time been planting missions in this region, received as their province, by agreement with the rival missionary orders and with the sanction of the Spanish Government, the whole of the Spanish territory south of the Orinoco, from Angostura to the sea, the administration of their conquests to Christianity remained in their hands; and, in spite of some attempts at secular control by the Spanish governors, they were able to maintain it.¹ Their district being thus conterminous with the Spanish frontier, the maps sent by them to their superiors in Europe become of interest as evidence, not only as to occupation, but as to ideas of boundary. Of these maps, now treasured in the archives of the Capuchin order at Rome, certified manuscript copies of three have been laid before the Commission by the Government of Venezuela. At the same time, however, an English scholar, the Rev. Joseph

Atlas to Case, maps
72-75.

Strickland, S. J., has published all these (adding *180 another) in *photolithographic facsimile, in his "Documents and maps on the boundary question between Venezuela and British Guayana" (Rome, 1896).² The earliest of these maps, ascribed conjecturally by Father Strickland to about the year 1765, can hardly be of later date than about 1735, since it represents only the missions which are known from the mission lists to have been then in existence;³ and both the topography and the handwriting add likelihood to this view. It is very probably a map of the missions at the date of the agreement of 1734. The second is known to be of 1771; the other two are ascribed by Father Strickland, and I believe with justice, to about 1779 and to about 1789 respectively. The first, second, and fourth show no boundary line. On the third is laid down what is apparently meant for a boundary, primarily (as is shown by the answering line at the west) a boundary of the Capuchin mission district, but incidentally, doubtless, of what the clerical map-maker deemed the dominions of Spain. Leaving the

¹ For the agreement of 1734 and the royal approval of it, see Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 65-68, and Strickland, pp. 5, 6. The documents printed by Father Strickland bring out well the relation of the missionaries to the secular authorities.

² On account of the greater assurance of accuracy given by the photographic process (though a careful comparison shows the manuscript copies in entire agreement with the printed ones), it has seemed wise to reproduce in the atlas the facsimiles of Father Strickland.

³ See the table appended to my paper "On the historical map s."

No. 5.

coast a little to the east of a small river *probably *181 meant for the Moruca, this line runs south-southwest, crossing the Cuyuni somewhat below two branches which I take to be the Curumo and the Wenamu. Not far from the Mazaruni it turns directly south, crossing that river near the junction of a stream perhaps meant for the Caramang, and continues due south, crossing the Apanoni (Rupununi?) midway of its course, and approaching the corner of a lake (Amucu?). Thence it runs south-east to the edge of the map, cutting the Essequibo not far from its source.¹ It needs no pointing out that a line with these bearings would not, on any map of to-day, pass through the places named. It would much less pass through those suggested by Father Strickland in the interpretation given to this boundary line in his map at the front of his volume.² I can find no reason to suppose *that this line was, even in the mind of the *182 map-maker, an authorized statement of a Spanish claim. What gives it perhaps a greater interest than such a statement is the possibility or probability that it is meant to represent, not a *de jure* but a *de facto* limit of possession.

So far as Dutch official records show, and so far as I have been able to learn by research elsewhere, no map was at any time put forward by Spain in definition or support of any claim regarding the boundary between the Spanish and the Dutch possessions in Guiana. But both the map of Surville and that of Requena, beyond all other maps of this region known to me, whether Dutch or Spanish, have the stamp of an official character.

The official maps put forth in the present century, by Great Britain and by Venezuela, do not fall within the scope of this study.

¹ The key to the initials appearing on this map is (as Father Strickland informs us) unfortunately mislaid. The meaning of most of them may be readily guessed. Spanish establishments are indicated by capital letters; Dutch, by lower-case ones; streams, by numbers. The "N" surmounting another initial is doubtless for *nación*, Indian tribe.

² The considerations urged by him in his text (pp. xix, xx), though they deserve careful study, seem to me inadequate to support his conclusions. Nor can I quite understand on what ground, in the note on the map, he represents this boundary line (so different from that of the map prepared just at this time in the Spanish archives and put forth in a work issued "by the order and at the expense of his Majesty" from the press of the Spanish bureau of the Indies) as indicating the boundary "according to the Spanish claim."

No. 6.***Report upon the cartographical testimony of geographers. *3**

By SEVERO MALLET-PREVOST.

WASHINGTON, October 10, 1896.

To the Commission appointed "To investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana":

SIRS: In accordance with your instructions, I have the honor to submit the following report upon the cartographical testimony of geographers.

INTRODUCTION.

The maps which furnish this evidence form a class by themselves: it is therefore important, at the outset, to define clearly what kind of maps are to be examined, and what exactly is to be the scope of that examination.

As evidence of boundary, maps in general may be divided into two classes, or considered from two stand-points.

1. Some maps have a special significance quite distinct from that which may attach to *them when *4 considered as merely expressing the personal views of their authors: they are maps which bear some special relation to treaties; or which have been made the subject of comment by Governments in their diplomatic correspondence or State papers; or which have, in some measure, obtained the official sanction of interested Authorities. This class of maps will be made the subject of a separate paper by Professor George L. Burr.

2. On the other hand, maps perform the function of pictorially expressing the views of the particular geographers or map makers who may have been instrumental in bringing about their publication. They furnish us, therefore, with the opinions of a particular class of experts; and the value of this kind of testimony depends largely upon the special circumstances of each case.

This cartographical testimony of geographers is what I shall endeavor to analyze and to classify: and it may be well to point out that in doing this I in no way review the ground already so carefully gone over by Dr. Justin

Winsor in his report of March 4th, 1896. In that report Dr. Winsor has presented the results of a general survey of the whole field: he has not attempted
 *5 to classify the various boundary *lines; nor to trace their genealogy; nor to ascertain their meaning. This, therefore, is the task which I shall endeavor to perform. It is a task which involves the interpretation of maps, and which seeks to read therein the thoughts and intentions of their authors. If it be suggested that, on this account, the results of such work must always involve an element of doubt, and that they partake to some extent of the nature of speculation, it may with justice be answered that, as the witnesses are no longer here, the written testimony which they have left behind them must be assumed to express their thoughts while living. If, in isolated instances, the analysis of that testimony shall warrant our imputing to certain map makers a greater clearness of insight and a greater definiteness of intention than they really possessed when they drew their maps, that fact will hardly avail to shake the validity of the general conclusions to which the examination *as a whole* may point. The human mind often works in unconscious obedience to motives which, though but feebly apprehended at the time, are yet potent to determine a particular line of action. Geographers are not free from the operation of this rule; and if a subsequent study of their work shall at times disclose
 *6 their intentions with a *clearness of which they were themselves possibly not fully conscious, the fact remains that, consciously or unconsciously, their work was shaped by those intentions, and that we are warranted in basing our conclusions upon that assumption.

A further word by way of introduction:

All the maps of the region in dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela have been made with an imperfect, and generally very defective, knowledge of the country. They are therefore replete with errors; and it is hardly to be expected that any of them should present boundary lines which will commend themselves to the unqualified approval of the Commission.

Not on this account, however, should these maps be disregarded in the present controversy. A critical examination will certainly disclose therein errors of fact and errors of judgment; but those very errors, especially in

No. 6.

cases where they may be found to be general in the maps of a particular period, serve to illustrate the beliefs of the world at that period; and thus throw light upon the meaning of contemporaneous treaties.

Furthermore, such an examination will also be found to disclose the causes which have led *to the *7 adoption by geographers of the boundary lines appearing on their respective maps; and consequently will throw light upon the meaning of those lines.

The first glance at the hundreds of maps which have been brought to the attention of the Commission gives the impression that almost every imaginable line between the Orinoco and the Essequibo, and even to the west and east of those streams, has, at some time or other, been drawn. A more careful examination, however, leads one to see that the difference between these lines is, in many cases, more apparent than real; and that two lines which are in fact drawn according to the same principle differ mainly because the geography of their maps differs. This discovery reduces very considerably the number of really distinct lines. When, finally, it is ascertained that the vast majority of map makers are mere copyists, faithfully reproducing the accuracies and inaccuracies of their respective prototypes; and that the number of those whose work shows independent and original thought is small, a further and important reduction is effected in the number of lines to be analyzed.

All maps of that region which lies between the Amazon and the Orinoco group themselves under a few heads. The groups thus formed *stand more or less *8 closely related to each other, show oftentimes signs of growth one from the other, and present a series whose evolution is not without significance.

To study the series in its logical sequence it will be necessary to limit the present discussion to the work of those geographers who, instead of mechanically copying that of their predecessors, give evidence of original thought. The maps of these geographers, for the most part, signalize the first appearance of the various lines which they respectively represent. In a separate appendix will appear a detailed list of all maps examined, accompanied by a statement of their classification.

EARLY MAPS.

The earliest maps of South America, published during the sixteenth century, give little information which can be of use in the present inquiry. What they do disclose is that at that time Spain and Portugal were the only European Powers in South America; and that in those early days, excepting the dividing meridian of Pope Alexander VI, and its modifications, geographers made no attempt to draw any boundaries whatever. The names used to designate the various regions either indicated the *political supremacy of Spain or Portugal, or else they were devoid altogether of political significance. "*Castilla del Oro*"¹ is an example of the former; "*Terra Sanctæ Crucis*," "*Terra Incognita*," "*Terra Firma*," "*Paria*," "*Caribana*," are examples of the latter.

Atlas to Case, map
16.

MERCATOR, in 1538, used four names to designate the various parts of the continent. To the northern portion he gave the name of "*Parias*," to the region below the equator the name of "*Aruaccas*." The part south of this is called "*Bresilia*"; while the southern extremity he named "*Gigantū regio*." In one of the maps of a Ptolemy atlas of 1540 we find the northern coast of South

Atlas to Case, map
17.

America covered by the following legend: "*Parias abundat auro et margaritis*." *In 1568 **ORONTIUS FINÆUS** designated the same region by the single

Atlas to Case, map
18.

word "*Canibales*." In 1534 **PETER MARTYR** placed the name "*Paria*," in small type, directly west of the Orinoco; and left *Terra Firma*, as a whole, without any designation whatever. In 1587 the same geographer used the two words "*Caribana*" and "*Paria*" to designate all the region north of the Amazon; placing "*Caribana*" on the west, and "*Paria*" on the east.

Atlas to Case, map
19.

¹ The geography of Claude Ptolemy, Venice, 1548, has the words *Castilla del oro*—i. e., Golden Castile—covering South America north of the equator. This occurs on two maps. This designation, in various forms, such as *Castilla del oro*, *Castilla de oro*, *Aurea Chersonesus*, etc., appears upon the following maps of the sixteenth century, and perhaps upon others also:

Ptolemy, Venice, 1548.

Hieronymus de Girava, Milan, 1556.

Ptolemy, Venice, 1561.

Honterus, Basle, 1561.

Forlani, Verona, 1566.

Porcacchi, Venice, 1572.

Myritius, Ingolstadt, 1590.

Cornelis de Judæis, Antwerp, 1593.

Wytfliet, Lovanii, 1597.

Atlas to Case, map
18.

Perhaps the *first* use of the name is due to **PETER MARTYR**, who on a map dated 1534 uses the words *Castiglia nuova over Perv*. (See Nordenskjöld's facsimile atlas, plates 45, 48, 49, 51, and pp. 119, 126, 127.)

No. 6.

ORTELIUS in 1572 gave the name "*Caribana*" to the whole region lying north of the equator; and his example seems to have been largely followed; with the effect that "*Caribana*," by the close of the sixteenth century, had quite displaced "*Paria*."

Atlas to Case, map 20.

From this it will appear that, in those early days, the names generally used had reference to the native tribes supposed to inhabit the regions designated by them, and carried no political significance of any kind. "*Paria*" first, and then "*Caribana*," came generally to be employed as names for Terra Firma.

What has been said is important because it explains the meaning of "*Caribana*," and helps to make clear its significance when used in subsequent maps. At the time of Martyr and Ortelius there was no question as to Spain's supremacy *in Terra Firma. Neither the *11 English nor the Dutch had yet been heard of on those coasts; in fact the latter were not yet in existence as a nation. The names, therefore, which were used were *descriptive* and not *political*. True, some of those names in later years came to acquire political significance by reason of the fact that they came to designate territories occupied by Spaniards or by Portuguese respectively; but it is important to keep in mind the fact that, *in their origin*, they were mere tribal appellations, without political significance of any kind.

Along the "*Wild Coast*" the Caribs were the most warlike of all the savages. They had, on that account, impressed themselves on white men as the dominant tribe. Nothing was therefore more natural than that geographers, acting upon that assumption, should give the name of "*Caribana*" to the whole territory.

In the course of time the extent of the region designated by this name became more restricted. The Spaniards began to effect settlements on the western coast, gradually extending themselves as far east as the Orinoco. Either they drove the Caribs before them; or, what seems more likely, they ascertained that those Caribs were but one of many tribes, and that their actual habitat was beyond the Orinoco, or extended at most but a short distance west of that river.

*The cartographical expression of this fact is to be *12 found in the maps of DE BRY (1599), DE LAET (1630), BLAEUW (1635), Hondius (16—), SPEED (1626), Gottfried (1631), and others; but, in order to understand

Atlas to Case, maps 22-25.

No. 6.

the meaning of these maps and the significance of a new designation which they introduce, it is essential to first examine **RALEIGH'S** map of 1595.

Atlas to Case, map
21.

That map, for the first time, made familiar the word "*Guiana*."¹ The mythical lake of "*Parima*" is placed in the interior of the country: upon its banks is the fabulous city of "*Manoa*"; the kingdom of "*El Dorado*" is in the basin of the lake itself: and to the watershed of the lake Raleigh gives the name of "*Guiana*." This "*Guiana*" was a region in which the world at that time firmly believed, but which neither Raleigh nor any other European had ever seen: it was a mythical land, unexplored, unknown, free from the political control of any European nation.

This new factor, as was natural, introduced confusion into the maps of that time. "*Caribana*,"
*13 *the unexplored "*home of the Caribs*," had been pushed to the east of the Orinoco: "*Guiana*," the equally unexplored "*land of gold*," had arisen to contest its supremacy in that region.

Atlas to Case, map
22.

Hondius, **SPEED**, Gottfried, and their followers settled on a compromise. They gave the name of "*Caribana*" to the coast, where the presence of the warlike Caribs was experienced by the occasional explorer; and they gave the name of "*Guiana*" to that interior kingdom of *El Dorado* which they inclosed in fanciful boundaries, and which they separated both from "*Caribana*" and from the Orinoco.

Atlas to Case, maps
23-28.

DE BRY, **DE LAET**, **BLAEUW**, and their followers on the other hand, discarded altogether the tribal appellation of "*Caribana*"; and, for want of a better, gave to the whole region, including both the coast and the realm of "*El Dorado*," the single name of "*Guiana*."

The important fact to be observed with regard to all these maps is that, however they may disagree as to the use of "*Guiana*" or "*Caribana*," they all agree in using one or the other, or both, to designate that region lying between the Orinoco, the ocean and the Amazon.²

Atlas to Case, map
70.

¹ There is in the archives at Seville a map of the Amazon, Essequibo, and Orinoco rivers, published for the first time in 1877 by the Spanish Government in "*Cartas de Indias*," in which the name "*Guayana*" appears. The date of this map is not given; but the latest date upon its face is 1554, and the map itself was probably prepared not much later.

² Blaeuw's special maps of "*Guiana*" disclose no intention on his part to show any portion of that region as either Spanish or Dutch. In some of his maps of that portion of Terra Firma which lies west of the Orinoco the legend "*Nueva*

No. 6.

One of these names had, from the *beginning, been *14 used to indicate the "*home of the Caribs*"; the other, the location of the fabled "*El Dorado*." Neither had ever been used to indicate Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, or English jurisdiction. The use of these names, therefore, raises, at the outset, a presumption in favor of the theory that the earliest geographers looked upon the land to which these names were applied as regions still to be conquered. In other words, the maps of Martyr, Raleigh, Hondius, Speed, Gottfried, De Bry, De Laet, Blaeuw, and of their contemporaries and immediate successors, do not give "*Guiana*," nor "*Caribana*," nor any definite portion of either of these, as Dutch territory: they give it as a great unknown country, touched here and there along its borders, it may be, by the vanguard of exploration; but, for all that, still unknown, unpenetrated, vague, and—save by fancy—unbounded.

But this conclusion does not rest alone upon the use of these names "*Caribana*" and "*Guiana*."

*The theory which the use of these names establishes *15 as a *presumption* is raised to the category of *assurance* by a comparison of the various copies of Blaeuw's map reproduced in the accompanying atlas.

Atlas to Case, maps
25-28.

Prior to **BLAEUW**, the geographers who had designated the whole region between the Orinoco, the ocean, and the Amazon either as "*Guiana*" or "*Caribana*," were De Bry in 1599, Hulsius in 1599, Hondius in 1613, Speed in 1626, De Laet in 1625, and Gottfried in 1631. None of these gave boundaries of any kind, save such as inclosed "*Guiana*," and served to separate it from "*Caribana*" on the coast and from the Orinoco on the west.

BLAEUW'S map is a mere copy of De Laet's. As first published in 1635, it shows no boundaries whatever.¹ A later edition of 1667 likewise fails to show boundaries.

Atlas to Case, map
25.

Atlas to Case, map
26.

Andalusia" is carried across the Orinoco. While this may, and probably does, show that Blaeuw looked upon a portion, at least, of Guiana as Spanish, it does not prove that he looked upon the remainder as Dutch. This point will be discussed later. For the present it is merely desired to emphasize the fact that the carrying of the name "*Nueva Andalusia*" across the Orinoco in no way contradicts what has been said respecting the neutral character of the names "*Guiana*" and "*Caribana*."

¹ Like many maps of that time, Blaeuw's maps are often highly ornamented. The work of illumination is done by hand, and varies according to the whim of the artist. Various tints are used around borders, around lakes, and over mountain chains; but a careful comparison of different copies of the same map shows that these tints vary, and that they have neither political nor geographical significance.

No. 6.

Atlas to Case, map
27.

The copy in the Blue Book is given as of 1640, and shows painted boundaries. One of these painted boundaries runs from the Orinoco to the *Amazon, about parallel to the coast, and three hundred to four hundred miles inland; south of it is Lake "*Parima*;" on the shore of the lake is the city of "*Manoa*" or "*El Dorado*." The region thus marked off to the south has no special designation, but it seems reasonably certain that whoever drew the boundary line intended thereby to show the limits of the fabulous country of *El Dorado*. The region lying north of this boundary line reaches the coast; and, with the exception of two comparatively small tracts, embraces all the territory between the Amazon and the Orinoco. The excepted tracts both lie on the Orinoco, one extending from the head of the delta southwest to a point a short distance north of St. Thomas, and the other extending from a point south of St. Thomas, about 125 miles upstream.

Neither tract seems to be bounded by any natural features: the painted lines which limit them do not appear to be based upon any recognizable principles.

On the margin of this Blaeuw map of 1640 the compilers of the Blue Book have given the following as their interpretation of the painted boundaries: "*The yellow colour is understood to indicate the Dutch boundary.*"

It should be noted, in the first place, that the *17 *map itself is entitled "*Guiana Sive Amazonum Regio*," and that this discloses no intention on the part of Blaeuw to make it a map of Dutch territory.

In the second place, St. Thomas, which was always indisputably Spanish, is shown as situated *within* this supposed Dutch territory.

In the third place, in the whole extent of territory, from the Orinoco to the Amazon, this supposed map of Dutch colonial possessions fails to mention a single Dutch town, settlement, or fortress. If we except the Indian town of *Macurewarai* and the fabulous *Manoa o' el Dorado*, at least four hundred and fifty miles intervene between St. Thomas and the first settlement on the east. The River Curetyni (Corentin) furnishes the first evidence of human habitation in that direction: yet, if the two villages there shown were in fact Dutch, Blaeuw, *in what is alleged to be a special map of Dutch settlements*, fails to even give them a name. In the same way, other towns or villages are shown at various points along the

No. 6.

coast, from the Corentin to the Amazon; yet Blaeuw fails to give them any but Indian names. It has also been claimed that in the year 1640 (the date assigned to this particular copy of Blaeuw) Dutch settlements had already been established on the Essequibo *and per- *18 haps on the Pomeroon. If this be so, and if Blaeuw, himself a Dutchman, had been engaged in making a map intended to show the bounds or extent of Dutch colonial possessions, is it conceivable that he should have given the location and names of the *bordering* Spanish towns, and that he should have entirely omitted to give either the location or the name of a single Dutch settlement *within* the supposed Dutch territory?

In the fourth place, other copies of Blaeuw, one at **HARVARD LIBRARY**, in Cambridge, and another in the library of the **UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY**, in Washington, have painted boundaries quite different from those appearing in the Blue Book copy—boundaries which closely resemble those first shown by Sanson in 1650, and which we shall consider later.¹

Atlas to Case, map

25.

Atlas to Case, map

28.

Finally, it is well known that, between the date of the first and last publication of Blaeuw's maps, the Dutch were by no means the sole *possessors of the *19 Guiana coast. The English and the French were constantly sending out expeditions to the Wild Coast, and making settlements there in the same manner as the Dutch. It would therefore seem to be too much to assume that Blaeuw intended to designate the whole of Guiana as Dutch territory.

The examination which we have thus made of the Blaeuw map would seem to place beyond question the fact that it and its contemporaries (none of which show anything different) were absolutely without political significance as regards "*Guiana*." Their obvious intention was to include under that name all the wild and unknown region between the Orinoco and the Amazon; and they made no attempt to indicate in any way the political subdivisions of which that region might itself be susceptible.

¹ All of Blaeuw's maps of Guiana which have been brought to the attention of the writer, excepting only that which, as a copy, is reproduced from the British Blue Book, have every appearance of having been printed from the same plate. The colored hand-painted boundaries which some of these contain are therefore subsequent additions; and the variety of these latter points strongly to the conclusion that they are the work of different individuals, and that, whatever their meaning, Blaeuw himself can not be held responsible for them.

Another important fact brought out by this examination, and which should be steadily kept in mind in the consideration of other maps, is that mere colored boundaries, where the plates themselves show no engraving to correspond, are entitled to but scant consideration, and should be received, if at all, with great caution. Such boundaries can be added at any time by anyone; and the wide divergence which they show is evidence of their untrustworthiness, or of their fanciful character.

*20 *De Bry (1599), Hulsius (1599), De Laet (1630), and Blaeuw (1635), in their designation of the whole region between the Orinoco and the Amazon as "*Guiana*," were followed or copied by Janson in 1653, Duval in 1654, Jacobsz in 1654 (?), Pagan in 1661, Ogilby in 1671, Sellor in 1675, Wells in 1698, Van Der Aa in 1700, De Fer in 1713, Senex in 1719, Moll in 1720 (?), "The English Pilot" in 1742, 1758, and 1767, R. and J. Ottens in 1745, Coleti in 1770, Blair in 1779, Gilij in 1780, Surville in 1781, Waddington in 1794, and by others.

Hondius, Speed, and Gottfried in limiting "*Guiana*" to the interior and designating the coast region as "*Cari-bana*," were followed or copied by Piscator in 1652, Schenk in 1700 (?), and by R. and J. Ottens in their edition of De Witt, about 1720.

THE SANSON LINE.

Atlas to Case, map 29. In 1650 appear the earliest *engraved* boundaries which can be said to indicate the influence of any European Power east of the Orinoco. In that year the French geographer, **SANSON**, published a map entitled "*Amerique Meridional*"; the importance of which lies in the fact

that it marks a new departure; and that Robert *21 *de Vaugondy and others, a century later, without any correct appreciation of its real significance, mechanically copied and erroneously interpreted its boundary line.

As regards boundaries and general designation of regions, Sanson was himself a follower of Hondius, Speed, and Gottfried. These map-makers, it will be remembered, had placed "*Guiana*" in the interior. Sanson did the same; only he prolonged to, and even beyond, the Amazon the line which in the Hondius and Speed maps had formed the southern boundary of "*Guiana*." In the same way, the line which in the earlier maps had served

No. 6.

to divide "*Guiana*" from the Orinoco region, he continued north beyond the "*Guiana*" of Hondius and Speed, making it the western boundary of "*Caribana*," pushing that region still farther to the east, and separating it, in part at least, from the Orinoco. In doing this, he merely emphasized a division which Hondius, Speed, and Gottfried had already foreshadowed when they separated "*Guiana*" from the region lying immediately on the Orinoco. What those geographers had probably had in mind was, that "*Guiana*" lay somewhere beyond the Orinoco, a little farther than Europeans had yet penetrated: they had accordingly separated it from regions which *were better known. A careful examination of Sanson's maps warrants the conclusion that he did the same; that is to say, that he separated regions which were known, or under the actual control of Spaniards, from regions which were not as yet effectively explored. And this he did by extending northward the line which, in Hondius' map separated "*Guiana*" from the Orinoco region. This line he carried along the crest of the mountain chain supposed to divide the upper Orinoco valley from the unknown region to the east; the mountain chain itself, as well as the boundary, he made to terminate on the Orinoco a short distance below the head of the delta.

Six years later (1656) SANSON published a special map of this region, entitled "*Partie de Terre Ferme ou sont Guiane et Caribane*." This second map, as regards its geographical details, was based upon De Laet; and, as a consequence, the mountain chain, which in his earlier map had terminated on the Orinoco *below* the head of the delta, was now made to terminate *above* that head. This change with respect to the position of the *mountains* did not, however, effect a corresponding change in the position of the *boundary line* itself, the northern terminus of which remained *below* the head of the delta. It is *important to ascertain the meaning of this divisional line.

Atlas to Case, map
80.

In the map of 1650 the region lying between it and the Orinoco is inclosed, on the one side by a well-defined river, and on the other by an equally well-defined mountain chain. That chain constitutes the divide between the drainage basin of the river (the delta region excepted) and the regions to the east. It is therefore fair to conclude that, whatever other significance the boundary line may have had, it was at least intended to separate this portion

of the Orinoco basin from the region to the east of it. This is strictly true of the line shown in the map of 1650. It would be equally true of the line shown in the 1656 map were it not for the fact that, in this later map, owing to the change in the position of the mountain chain, the boundary line, in order to maintain its original termination *below* the head of the delta, is compelled to leave the mountains before they reach the Orinoco and to push beyond them to its former terminus farther downstream.

This persistence of the line in its original position, even at the sacrifice of departing from what constitutes on the map a natural water parting, is significant, and seems to demand explanation.

*24 *In 1650 the usual course pursued by the Spaniards in their navigation of the Orinoco was to enter from the side of Trinidad and the Gulf of Paria, and to go up one of the western mouths to the head of the delta, and thence to St. Thomas. The navigation to the "Great Mouth" was dangerous and inconvenient, and what is now known as the *Barima region* was little frequented. This being the case, if Sanson had desired to indicate, by the northern terminus of his line, that particular point of the Orinoco beyond which the Spaniards rarely went, and beyond which no Europeans had established settlements, he would have selected the very spot at which he actually placed it. That this was in fact the purpose of his line at its northern extremity would seem to be the only explanation of the otherwise apparently arbitrary manner in which that line leaves a natural physical barrier and runs to a point which has no apparent importance or significance, except as it marks the spot where navigators were accustomed to turn their barks northwestward in search of safer and more convenient outlets to the sea.

It would seem, then, that we have the meaning of Sanson's line at its two extremities. On the north it marked the frontier of civilization: *on the south it separated the *known* Orinoco from the *unknown* El Dorado. Between the two it followed a mountain chain whose meaning is at once apparent, as it separates the valley commanded by St. Thomas from the unexplored regions beyond. The name "*Nueva Andalusia*," brought from across the Orinoco and engraved over this valley, emphasizes its Spanish character; while the names and legends beyond the mountains, and the absence from the map of any indica-

Roggeveen (A).
First part of the
burning fen, etc.,
fol. Amsterdam,
1675, p. 6.

No. 6.

tions of European settlements there, show very conclusively that, to Sanson's mind, that region was as yet unexplored. The whole coast in the 1650 map, where the boundary line first appears, is given up to "*Caribes*," "*Capuri*," and "*Harrytiahans*"; no town nor village of any kind is seen; no trace of either Dutch or Spanish influence. In Guiana itself the mythical "*Manoa del Dorado*" reigns supreme over "*Muckikeri*," "*Epuremei*," "*Amapaca*," "*Arwacas*," "*Apehous*," and a single Indian village called "*Macurewarai*." The Essequibo is indicated only by its mouth; nothing whatever is shown of the Dutch upon its banks.

What must we conclude from this? Clearly, that Sanson intended, when he drew his line, to mark off that territory which the Spaniards had occupied with settlements. Was it also his *intention to fix the *26 limits of Spanish aggression into savage territory, or to define the western Dutch boundary of the Dutch colonies? I think not.

In the first place, if Sanson had had the Dutch in his mind when he made his map, or at least when he made his *special* map of this region in 1656, and if it had been his purpose to give to the world the latest obtainable information respecting Dutch possessions in Guiana, we might not unnaturally look for some trace of this in the title of the map itself. Yet we find that that title makes no reference whatever to the Dutch, but simply informs us that we are looking at "*Guiana and Caribana*," and adds that these form a part of Terra Firma.

In the second place, if Sanson had had in his mind the Treaty of Münster, concluded eight years before; and if it had been his purpose to show the territorial extent of the rights conferred upon or confirmed to the Dutch by that treaty; it is strange that he should have entirely omitted mention of any Dutch settlements on either the Essequibo or the Berbice. These were at that time the extreme western settlements of the Dutch; their location must necessarily, under the treaty, determine the location of the boundary itself; and to suppose that such important *landmarks could be omitted from a map *27 which was to publish that boundary for the first time to the world, would be much like supposing that Hamlet could be omitted from the play which bears his name. But what is still stranger, if Sanson intended to fix Dutch frontiers, is that Kykoveral is not only not mentioned, but

that, in its place, this same Sanson actually writes the word "*Arwaccae*," as though no Dutch existed; and between the Orinoco and the Essequibo the only designation is the word "*Caribes*"; indicating that Sanson looked upon this as purely Indian territory. All this forbids the supposition that he had undertaken to ascertain the location of the Dutch settlements or to lay down their boundaries.

A careful examination of Sanson's map fails to disclose a single settlement which can be recognized as distinctively Dutch. His 1650 map gives no towns whatever, not even Indian, excepting "*Macarewarai*," and the mythical "*Manoa del Dorado*." In his 1656 map no settlements are shown on either the Essequibo or the Berbice: on the Corentyn and its tributaries are seven towns, all with Indian names: and on the Surinam River there is a town called *Noyeve*.

*28 As a third and final reason for refusing to *look upon Sanson's line as a *western* Dutch boundary, is the fact that he makes no attempt to fix any Dutch boundary on the *east*. There was as much reason for his fixing the one as for his fixing the other: there was every reason why he should not attempt to fix either. Too little was known at that time about the geography of the country to make any intelligent division possible. These considerations, taken in connection with what has already been pointed out as to the purpose of at least a portion of the north and south boundary line, lead to the conclusion that this line was drawn without any thought of the Dutch and without any intention to fix a line of right. It was not a political line, in any sense; but was merely intended to separate *Nueva Andalusia* from that region which, to Sanson at least, continued to be "*Caribana*," and all which that name implied.

An examination of Sanson's maps having brought us to this conclusion, it may not be amiss to go beyond the maps themselves and to search for further light in Sanson's written works. Does he therein support or contradict the interpretation thus placed upon his maps? I translate the following from his "*L'Amerique en plusieurs cartes, etc.*," published in Paris about 1656, pages 69-73:

*29 *"In my geographical tables I have divided this South America into Peruviana and Brasiliana; subdividing Peruviana into Terra Firma and Peru; and Brasiliana into Brasil and Paraguay; the first division is made by a line which runs from the mouths of the Amazon to

No. 6.

the southern extremity of Chili, and this line divides South America into two equal parts, the one belonging almost exclusively to the Spaniards and the other for the most part to the Portuguese.

* * * * *

"Terra Firma may also be divided into Terra Firma and Guiana.

* * * * *

"The Spaniards possess almost all Terra Firma, nothing at all in Guiana.

* * * * *

"Under the general name of Terra Firma we include that part of South America lying most toward the north and which is connected with North America by the Isthmus of Panama.

"It extends from the Isthmus of Panama to the mouth of the Amazon, nearly a thousand leagues. Its breadth between the North Sea and the states which lie along the Amazon is not more than 200 or 250 leagues or a little more. This breadth being but a quarter of the length is our reason for dividing this *Terra Firma* into two parts of which the westernmost and the larger belongs for the most part to His Catholic Majesty, and retains the name of Terra Firma, and the easternmost, which is the smaller, is nearly all in the hands of the natives, some Europeans having established settlements on the coast and this may be called 'Guiana.'"

*Thus does Sanson summarily dispose of any *30 question as to the Dutch character of his line.

I have gone at length into the question of Sanson's line, because some of his followers seem to have misunderstood its meaning; to have attributed to it political significance; and to have copied it as an expression of Sanson's own judgment respecting the location of the Spanish-Dutch frontier. It is interesting to trace the growth and development of this fallacy. Blome in 1669, G. Sanson in 1669, Jaillot in 1695, Vischer about 1700, Dankerts about the same time, Overton in 1740, and R. and J. Ottens probably a little later, all published maps in which they reproduced Sanson's north and south line, without apparently giving it any other significance than it originally had.

ROBERT DE VAUGONDY.

In 1749¹ and 1750², however, **ROBERT DE VAUGONDY** published maps of "*North and South America*," and of "*South America*," in which, for the first time, we find Sanson's north and south line given as the western boundary of the *Dutch*. Seventeen years later, in 1767, another edition of Robert de Vaugondy's map of South

¹ In Lib. of Congress, Amer. maps, II, 19.

² Atlas to Case, map 31.

No. 6.

Atlas to Case, map
32.

America was published by **DELAMARCHE**, and in this it is evident that the correctness of the *first publication had come to be doubted. This is shown by the fact that on this later map two distinct lines are given: one, the old Sanson line; and the other, a new line which departs from the first at a point about 75 miles before its northern extremity reaches the Orinoco; and which, with a curve, first to the east, and then to the north, runs to the ocean between two rivers, which are shown as flowing into the sea about midway between the Orinoco and the Essequibo. Whatever may be the merits of this new line, it does not appear to have been followed by subsequent map makers; and the vacillation of its own publishers respecting it certainly excuses any further consideration of it at this time.

Whatever Robert de Vaugondy or Delamarche may have thought in 1767, the first of these had, in 1749, given an erroneous interpretation to Sanson's line; and the mischief had therefore been done. This 1749 map was evidently taken as an authority either by Governor Pownall or by Sayer and Bennett who, between them, published a map in 1777 which, though said to be compiled from D'Anville with corrections by Pownall, is, so far as this line is concerned, a copy of Robert de Vaugondy.

*32 *There is every reason, however, to believe that Robert de Vaugondy was not the only one, nor even the first, to misread the maps of the Sanson school.

POPPLE.

Atlas to Case, map
33.

British Blue Book
Venezuela, No. 1
(1896), Appendix
III, map 3.

In the British Blue Book there is a map (No. 3), entitled "*Map of Surinam. Extract from a map of the British Empire in America, with settlements adjacent thereto, executed with the approbation of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, etc. By Edmund Halley, F. R. S., Astronomer Royal. 1733.*" The engraved boundaries which appear on this map are distinguished also by a red color; and below the title is the statement that red represents the Dutch possessions.

Atlas to Case, map
34.

The ascription of the map to Halley is a mistake. It was made by **HENRY POPPLE**, and, as originally published in London, contains upon its face the following statement:

Mr. Popple undertook this map with y^e approbation of the R^t Honourable the LORDS COMMISSIONERS of TRADE

No. 6.

and PLANTATIONS; and great care has been taken by comparing all the Maps, Charts and Observations that could be found, especially the *Authentick Records* and *Actual Surveys* transmitted to their LORDSHIPS by y^e Governors of the *British Plantations* and others, to correct y^e many errors committed in former Maps, and the Original Drawing of this having been *shewn to y^e learned *33 D^r EDM. HALLEY, Professor of *Astronomy* in y^e University of *Oxford*, and *F. R. S.* he was pleased to give his Opinion of it in the Words following.

"I have seen the above-mentioned map, which, as far as I am judge, seems to have been laid down with great accuracy and to shew the position of the different Provinces and Islands in that part of the Globe more truly than any yet extant." EDM. HALLEY."

It will be noted, in the first place, that this is primarily what it purports to be, namely, a "*Map of the British Empire in America, with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto,*" and not a "*Map of Surinam,*" the Dutch colonies thus misnamed coming in only as they fell within the field of the map. That these appear at all is due to the fact that, in order to include the colonies of the Spanish Main, the map itself extends as far south as five degrees of north latitude; and that, on that account, they could not well have been left out. They form the extreme southeast corner of the map, and, as will be perceived by reference to the Blue Book copy, there is no attempt at details of the region. Such details as do appear are crude, even when judged by the standards of 1733. The boundary line by which Popple divides, not the *Essequibo*, but "*Surinam*" from "*Nova Andalusia,*" is either a bad copy of Sanson's north and south *line, or else it is meaningless. It *34 would be unfair to Popple to assume that he presented this line as expressing any opinion of his own respecting the extent of either Spanish or Dutch rights. The engraved boundary begins above the delta of the Orinoco at the mouth of a river which is given as "*Covrama.*" It does not follow that river, neither is it guided by any visible mountain chain or water parting. Running to the southwest, it cuts directly across the next river which it encounters, leaving more than half of it to the east. It continues by dividing in two the fictitious lake of Casipa, notwithstanding the fact that, according to the map itself, St. Thomas is located on an island in that

Atlas to Case, map
33.

No. 6.

lake. It finally terminates at the limits of the map. This line is, on its face, arbitrary, and drawn without any apparent reason. Had its termination above the delta of the Orinoco been due to any supposed Dutch post or settlement there, such post or settlement would certainly have been shown, so as to thereby justify a departure radical and apparently indefensible. Had it been intended to set off to the Spaniards that territory which was immediately dependent on St. Thomas, it would at least have given to that city the lake, upon an island of which

Popple erroneously supposed that it was located.

*35 If the Blue Book copy of this map, which colors all the islands of the Orinoco delta as Dutch, be a correct reproduction of the original, it only serves to emphasize the untrustworthiness of the map as regards Dutch and Spanish boundary lines. Neither Holland nor Great Britain has ever claimed, or pretended to claim, that delta. Copies of the same map in the libraries of Congress, of Harvard College, and of the Geological Survey (the first of which is reproduced in the atlas accompanying this report) are uncolored, and show merely the engraved line.

Atlas to Case, maps
34 and 35.

It may well be doubted, from what has been said, whether Popple gave this feature of the map any thought whatever. It was beyond the declared province of the map itself, a mere useless and incidental appendage; and the most plausible explanation that can be given of it, consistent either with reason or with the intelligence of Popple, is that it was rudely copied from Sanson himself, or, what is much more likely, from some imperfect reproduction of his maps.

One thing is certain, and that is that few, if any, took this line seriously. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it was reproduced only twice, both times in 1744. In that year Emanuel Bowen published an atlas, which

*36 contains, among others, four different maps showing the Orinoco region. Only in one of these does the Popple line appear, and that is in a "*Map of the West Indias*," in which "*Surinam*" plays an unimportant part. In his special map of "*Terra Firma*" no boundaries whatever are given. Also in 1744 appeared an anonymous map, as an illustration in Rapin de Thoyras' History of England, "as continued by N. Tindal." This was a "*Map of North America*," in which a small part of

No. 6.

"*Surinam*" appears in the southeast corner. It is hardly deserving of mention.¹

THE DELISLE LINE.

After Sanson, the next man who exercised any decisive influence on the cartography of Guiana was **DELISLE**. This geographer published his first map in 1700; followed it by a second in 1703; and finally by a third in 1722. These maps, taken together, reveal the purpose which Delisle had in laying down the lines there shown. Those lines are the more important, because passing first through the hands of D'Anville, Arrowsmith, and others, *they came at last to find their final expression in what has come to be known as "The Schomburgk Line."

Atlas to Case, map

36.

Atlas to Case, map

37.

Atlas to Case, map

38.

*37

Delisle's earliest map may be said, in a sense, to have gone back to first principles. Like some of the earlier geographers who had labeled *Terra Firma Spanish* by giving it the name of "*Castilla del Oro*," Delisle labeled it *Spanish* by setting off various well-known Spanish provinces to the west, and by then including the remainder, which comprised all the region to the east of the Orinoco and a considerable portion to the west, under the name of "*Nle. Andalousie*." True, he gave it the double name of "*Guiane* ou *Nle. Andalusie*" but the use of the latter designation, taken in connection with the fact that he gave no European settlements of any kind east of St. Thomas, makes it quite clear that, to his mind, "*Guiane*" was all Spanish. The map bears other evidences of original work.

But Delisle was evidently an enterprising and progressive geographer; and, not satisfied with his first work, he published a second map, three years later; which, in addition to showing a modified geography of the region, showed also modified boundaries.

In this second map "*Nle. Andalusie*" and *"*Guiane*" were no longer confounded. The former *38 was pushed across the Orinoco to the west, and even there was confined to a region comparatively near the coast. "*Guiane*" likewise suffered loss: first, by having "*Nle. Andalusie*" taken from its north westerly corner; and

¹ Since writing the above my attention has been called to two other maps where this line appears: one, a map by *Buache*, published in Paris in 1740; and another, a map by *Covens and Mortier* of 1787.

again, by having its southwesterly extremity lopped off and given to "*Nou^{ve}. R. de Grenade*." As now bounded, "*Guiane*" comprised all the territory east of the Orinoco, and an apparently unsettled district west of that stream.

The change from 1700 to 1703 is significant, and must be understood in order to properly interpret the later map of 1722.

In the first map, within the region designated as "*Guiane ou Nle. Andalusie*" appear five towns; two of them (*Comana* and *St. Thomas*) Spanish, and three (*Port de Morequito*, *Port de Carapana*, and *Manoa*) Indian. The whole territory is recognized as Spanish, and there is no attempt to set apart any portion of it as still open to settlement by other European nations.

The "*Guiane*" of 1703 is quite different. The portion lying west or northwest of the Orinoco contains the name of not a single town or village. Except for the names of two Indian tribes (*Aroras* and *Amapaia*), the region might be supposed to be uninhabited. But the
 *39 portions *which since 1700 Delisle had cut off from the northern and southern extremities of this region and had given to "*Nle. Andalousie*" and "*Grenade*," contain towns. It would certainly look from this as though Delisle, in dividing this uninhabited tract from the settled land north and south of it, had merely intended to separate the civilized, or semicivilized, from the savage. It would be absurd to suppose for one moment that he marked this tract off as Dutch territory. Even the extreme British claim does not touch the eastern bank of the Orinoco, except at its mouth; while *this* tract extends to a point at least two hundred miles west of that river.

The fact that this wild region was marked off, taken in connection with the fact that it was made a part and parcel of the region lying to the east of it, between the Orinoco and the Amazon, certainly raises a presumption that the latter region, in Delisle's mind, was of much the same character as the former, and that it was logical to class the two together.

What about the region to the east?

After passing the Orinoco and leaving the Spanish city of *St. Thomas* and the two Indian villages of *Carapana* and *Morequito*, Delisle's map shows no trace of civil-
 *40 ization for quite three *hundred miles, until we reach the Surinam River, at the mouth of which appears a Dutch fort. The intervening country is covered

No. 6.

with the names of Indian tribes, and nothing more. Leaving the Dutch fort on the coast and going into the interior, we see not a trace of civilization. What we do find are names and legends, such as "*Acoquas nation tres nombreuse*," "*Moroux people fort barbares*," "*Acuranes pays noyez*," etc. Not only are there set down in this vast district a Dutch military post (Fort de Zelande), but—what to a French Royal Geographer must have seemed of far greater importance—the French "*Isle et Ville de la Cayenne*."

In the middle of all the savagery depicted, with a Spanish city 350 miles west and with a French town 250 miles east, can it be believed that a French geographer intended that the boundaries of Guiana, going 300 miles farther west than the Spanish city, 250 miles farther east or south-east than the French town, and nearly 500 miles south into unknown and unexplored regions, should be taken as marking territory appertinent to and dependent upon a Dutch fort on the coast!

What this line meant must now be evident. As the tract west of the Orinoco was cut off from civilization by the lines which separated it from * "*Nle. *41 Andalusie*" and "*Grenade*," so was all the region to the east cut off in the same way. This was in no way inconsistent with the presence within that territory of a Spanish, a Dutch, and a French lodgment. In 1700 Delisle had given *all* the country to the Spaniards. By 1703 he had come to see that that would not do; that the Dutch and the French had each of them obtained a foothold within that territory, and that title by mere discovery, unsupported by effective and actual as distinguished from constructive possession, might possibly have to give way before the inroads of other civilized nations. He therefore gave to Spain what was indisputably hers by *actual* occupation and settlement, calling it by the name of "*Nle. Andalusie*" and "*Grenade*," and as for the rest, he left it a region by itself, within which he showed various national posts, but which he made no effort to parcel out between the nations which those posts respectively represented.

Let us now turn to the map of 1722, which, unfortunately, is on a smaller scale, shows little detail, and is, therefore, more difficult to interpret. In some respects, however, this very absence of detail becomes significant,

and discloses, rather than obscures, the meaning of such features as do appear.

*42 *We must approach the study of this map, keeping in mind the purpose which Delisle had when he published his 1703 map and drew his 1703 line. That purpose may have changed in the meantime; yet the presumption is against it, and the burden of proof on the other side.

In this latest map Delisle gave the name of "*Terre Ferme*" to the whole of the northern extremity of South America, bounding it on the south by an engraved and colored line. West of the Orinoco appear the names of various well-known Spanish provinces, which he left without boundaries. The whole western region he called "*Castille d'or*." The ancient word "*Paria*," never before used by Delisle, he now employed to designate that region west of the Orinoco which, in his map of 1703, he had made a part of "*Guiane*." The eastern portion of "*Terre Ferme*," as a whole, he designated "*Goyane*," and the portion so designated he bounded on the west by an engraved line, starting on the coast from a point a little to the east of the point of entrance of the eastern mouth of the Orinoco. From this point he ran his new line southwestwardly, keeping it nearly parallel with, and at a distance of about seventy-five miles from, the Orinoco; then

curving it slightly to the right as it approached its
*43 southern *terminus, he made it meet the eastern branch of a mountain chain shown as coming from the southeast.

What was the meaning of this line? There is no evidence to show that it was intended as the western boundary of the Dutch colony of Essequibo. On its face it purported to be the boundary merely of "*Goyane*"—the "*Wild Coast*"—and to be therefore devoid of political significance. Certainly all that we have learned respecting the character of Delisle's earlier maps confirms this idea. In his map of 1703 Delisle had merely intended to separate the civilized from the uncivilized. In his later map of 1722, whatever else he may have done or intended to do, he did, as a matter of fact, precisely the same thing. The region west of the Orinoco, which formerly had constituted a part of "*Guiane*," he still designated as wild by the simple use of the word "*Paria*"—an aboriginal name first used by Columbus. The difference between "*Paria*" and "*Guiane*," and the apparent reason

No. 6.

why they were now separated, was that, whereas "*Paria*" was surrounded on all sides by Spanish settlements, and was therefore no longer open to other nations, "*Guiane*," save only at the few points already occupied by Europeans, continued accessible along its whole *coast. The Orinoco region, which, if Delisle's map *44 had been correct in geographical details, would have been *approximately* the region west of his dotted boundary line, he had perhaps now come to look on as a region naturally and necessarily dependent upon and appurtenant to St. Thomas.

In Sanson's time navigators had been accustomed to use the western mouth of the Orinoco in preference to the eastern. Whether or not this continued to be the case in 1722 does not appear; but, however this may have been, certain it is that by the latter date the Spaniards had become more alive to the importance of controlling all the mouths of the river upon which their principal city was located. Since 1650 (the date of Sanson's first map), British, French, Dutch, and possibly Swedes, had all cruised in or about the mouth of the Barima. Its importance to the Spaniards of St. Thomas, from a military and commercial standpoint, had thereby been suggested; and it was probably because he was thus led to look on it as necessary to the safety and prosperity of that city that Delisle, in the absence of any British, Dutch, French, or other post in that neighborhood in 1722, drew a line which left the Orinoco *and all of its mouths* within the region which he *assigned *45 to St. Thomas. Apparently, then, Delisle's line, whatever meaning it may really have had, did, as a matter of fact, very correctly show the division between the Spaniards on the west and the wild and unsettled country on the east. That it was intended as the western boundary of Essequibo is more than improbable. The Essequibo settlements were not shown on the map; and I have already remarked on the absurdity of assuming boundaries for places whose existence is not even hinted at. No reason is apparent on the face of the map why a Dutch boundary should have begun near the mouth of the Orinoco. If Delisle had believed in the existence of a Dutch post at that point, and had determined to draw a political boundary line based upon that belief—a boundary differing radically from all lines previously published—he would, for his own vindication, have indicated the loca-

tion of such a post on his map, just as Bouchenroeder did later in 1798.

No; this line could not have been intended as a Dutch boundary. "*Goyane*" appears on Delisle's map as a whole, unbroken and undivided; bounded on the north and east by the ocean and the Amazon; on the south by a mountain chain and the dotted line separating it from *the Amazon region; on the west by the line under discussion. That line was a boundary of "*Goyane*"—a name which the region bore—not of *Essequibo*—a name which the region did not bear. Within it were the towns of Surinam and Cayenne, one Dutch and the other French. No boundary separated those towns or settlements from each other; no boundary fixed the limits of the Dutch on the west, nor of the French on the east.

Unlike Sanson, Delisle seems not to have published any written explanation of his own respecting his map; but in an "Introduction," which, either by him or by his publishers, is attributed to Sanson, and which is adopted without reservation, and may therefore be taken as expressing Delisle's own views, we find confirmation of the conclusions here reached. The following translation is from page 27 of the "Introduction" to Delisle's undated "Atlas Nouveau," published at Amsterdam by Jean Covens and Corneillé Mortier:

CHAPTER III.

THE PRINCIPAL STATES OF AMERICA.

3. The Foreign Dominions established by some of the States of Europe are as follows:

1. France has established herself in New France, *47 *in various Caribbean Islands, and upon the coast of Guiana.

2. Spain, or almost entirely Castile, possesses there New Spain, *Terre Ferme*¹ or New Grenade, Peru, Chili, Tucuman, which forms a part of Paraguay, and the greater part of the Antilles.

* * * * *

5. The United Provinces under the name of the Dutch, there hold various Caribbean islands, and *SOME colonies on the coast of Guiana*.¹

"*Terre Ferme*," which Delisle thus stated to be in the possession of Spain, is not defined in the "Introduction"; but his map of 1722, by carrying the name across the

¹ The italics are not in the original.

No. 6.

boundary of "*Goyane*," shows that it was not limited by that boundary. On the other hand, so far was Delisle from regarding "*Goyane*" as Dutch that he distinctly limited the *Dutch* possessions in that quarter to "*SOME colonies on the coast*"; referring in much the same language to the French settlements at Cayenne. Thus has Delisle by direct statement confirmed the interpretation above placed upon the character of his line.

D'ANVILLE.

If Sanson had been understood by his immediate and misunderstood by his remote followers, Delisle had the misfortune to be misunderstood and misinterpreted almost from the start by *D'Anville; a man whose *48 name and influence were sufficient to perpetuate the errors which he introduced down even to the present day.

D'Anville has generally been looked upon as the originator of the line which has come to bear his name, and which has been copied by so many map makers. The great contributions which he made to geography, his researches, and the independence and originality which he exhibited, combined with the fact that on his map, with its improved geography, his boundary line between the Dutch and Spanish possessions in Guiana *appears* to differ from the line which Delisle published in 1722, all support this idea; yet a careful comparison of his work with that of Delisle shows that, however original D'Anville may have been in portraying the physical characteristics of that country, and in showing for the first time a boundary between the Dutch and French possessions in Guiana, *as regards the particular line now under consideration*, he was a mere copyist of Delisle; and, what is more, a mechanical copyist.

How this came about it is not difficult to see. **D'ANVILLE'S** map of 1748, in which his line first appeared, was not a special map of *Guiana*, but a general map of *South America*. The correspondence going on about that time between *the *49 Zeeland Chamber and the Dutch Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, shows how hazy and indefinite were the notions of boundary, even in the minds of the parties directly interested in the matter. It was not strange, therefore, that a geographer, engaged in making a general map of the whole continent, should give little study to a

Atlas to Case, maps
39 and 40.

small and comparatively unimportant feature of that map. The boundary question was not then the burning issue which it is to-day. The actual settlements of the Dutch and Spanish were separated by 150 or 200 miles of wild territory, uninhabited save by savage Caribs; its streams and waterways were difficult of navigation—some of them at certain seasons of the year quite impassable. The extensive swamps, impenetrable forests, and mountain ranges which intervened made a post or two sufficient provision against the running away of slaves from the Essequibo to the Orinoco. What more natural, under those circumstances, than for D’Anville to leave the boundary question alone? He found at his hands, ready made, a line laid down by an eminent Royal Geographer of his own country. An edition of Delisle’s 1722 map, published after his death by Covens and Mortier, had been altered by the addition of the

*50 words “*Aux *Holland*” after the name “*Surinam*,” and “*Au Roi de France*” after the name “*Cayenne*.” True, this in no way altered the meaning of Delisle’s line; but the addition of these words may easily have misled D’Anville in his interpretation of that line. To one not especially looking for a distinction between political and what may be called *regional* boundary lines, it was most natural that Delisle’s map, particularly with the added words, should at first glance have given the impression that it contained a political Dutch-Spanish boundary. Most boundaries are political; regional boundary lines are exceptional. Even a trained geographer like D’Anville, or like those who to-day assume Delisle’s line to be political, might well misread such a boundary unless its non-political character were forced upon their attention. It is precisely because of this that I have entered into a lengthy collation of the facts to show what Delisle himself really intended.

Under these circumstances, it was a most natural thing—in no way derogatory to D’Anville’s reputation as a geographer—that he should have fallen into the error above pointed out, and that he should have copied Delisle’s line into his own map, giving to it, for the first time, a *political* significance.

*51 *That it was an adoption of Delisle’s there can be no reasonable doubt. D’Anville would not have given it as an independent line, expressive of his own judgment

No. 6.

regarding the proper division between the Spanish and Dutch, unless he had at the same time shown on his map something to warrant it—some basis for its support. As it appeared on D'Anville's map, it was on its face an arbitrary line. On that map it disclosed no reason for starting from where it did, nor for running thence in a fixed direction regardless of natural barriers. Its northern terminus was on the coast just outside the entrance of the Orinoco mouth; yet the map failed to disclose any Dutch post there or to show at that point any traces of Dutch occupation. Leaving the coast, it ran into the interior, touching and all but crossing the Barima River, and then crossing, first the upper branch of the Cuyuni, then the Yuruari, and finally the Mazaruni. These were arbitrary features which serve to show that this line was not one exhibiting intelligent thought, but rather one copied from some other map, without any appreciation of what it had there meant. Thus we see that, from beginning to end, the line is, on its face, arbitrary; and that the map upon which it appears fails to disclose in its support any reasons either of settlement or topography.

*Not so with the same line as it appeared in De- *52
lisle's map of 1722. According to the different geography of that map, the line had there clearly indicated either an equal division of the Orinoco-Essequibo region, or else it had marked the water parting between the valleys drained by those rivers. In either case the division was intelligible and based upon well-recognized principles. The same line transferred to D'Anville's map was, by reason of the modified geography of that map, shorn of meaning and divested of its original character.

The considerations thus adduced seem to establish beyond reasonable doubt the true origin of the D'Anville line. It is possible that the facts which seem to me to show this may not carry equal conviction to all minds. Some may find a more plausible explanation of D'Anville's Spanish-Dutch boundary in the fact of its parallelism with the Dutch-French boundary which appears upon the same map: To me it seems more likely that the Dutch-Spanish boundary, instead of following the Dutch-French boundary, was itself the controlling factor in fixing the direction of the latter after it had left the Maroni River. Others, again, may accord a greater measure of importance to any one of a dozen other facts, *each of *53
which may successively be invoked in support of

No. 6.

as many different theories. While frankly recognizing the limitations of our knowledge in this regard, and while admitting that the theory given is not entirely free from possible objection, it is important to note that no other theory which has been suggested can so satisfactorily explain the arbitrary character of the line itself. As has already been explained, whatever may have been the origin of the line, that arbitrary character is patent, at least in the absence of any claim to documentary evidence supporting it; and if D'Anville did not in fact copy from Delisle, the only effect which that conclusion could have would be to lessen our estimate of D'Anville as a careful and painstaking geographer. The only explanation, it seems to me, which is consistent with D'Anville's high standing as a geographer, is that which has been here advanced. After all, if the arbitrary character of the line be recognized, the question of origin becomes one of secondary importance, its only use being to explain how and why the line is arbitrary.

There is another consideration which shows that D'Anville either took his line from Delisle without understanding Delisle's meaning, or that he laid
 *54 it down arbitrarily. Strictly speaking, *it is a consideration outside the limits of this report, but it so entirely confirms what has been said that it may be instructive to refer to it. The contemporary correspondence between the Dutch Governor Storm van 's Gravesande and the Dutch West India Company shows that at this time they did not know where the boundary was nor how to determine it. Upon becoming acquainted with D'Anville's map, they at once accepted this line *on his authority*, but did not even then know any historical facts whereby to fix it. It is therefore clear that D'Anville did not base it upon any historical research nor upon inquiries of the people who must be supposed to have been the best informed about the facts.

Delisle's "*regional*" boundary line having thus been labeled political by so high an authority as D'Anville, its character has not been heretofore questioned; and we find a host of geographers and map makers who have simply followed in D'Anville's footsteps, and have mechanically copied his work. Among these may be mentioned De La Harpe (date unknown), Bolton in 1755, Covens and Mortier in 1757, Van Ber-

Blue Book Venezuela, No. 3 (1896), pp. 86-87, 88, 90, 110.

Blue Book Venezuela, No. 3 (1896), pp. 109-110.

No. 6.

cheyck in 1759 (or rather the inset in his map, by whomsoever supplied), Hinton (The Universal Magazine) in 1762, The London Magazine in 1763, Buache in *1763, Tirion in 1767, Jefferys in 1768 and 1775, *55 Bowles in 1770, Sayer in 1772, Kitchin about 1774, Robertson in 1777, Schloezer in 1777, Santini in 1779, Brion de la Tour in 1780, Campens in 1780, The Political Magazine in 1780, Kitchen (sic) in 1782, Von Reilly in 1795, Janvier in 1784, Moithey in 1785, Dunn in 1786, Bowen about 1788, Clouet in 1793, Morse in 1793, Mannert in 1796, Wilkinson in 1794 and 1800, Blomfield in 1807, Kelly in 1819, and others.

Those here mentioned have, for the most part, followed D'Anville without attempting to disguise the fact, many of them quoting him as their authority.

THOMPSON.

In 1783 William Faden published a chart by L. S. de la Rochette from the observations of Captain **EDWARD THOMPSON** in the year 1781. Thompson was the officer in charge of the force that seized the colony of Essequibo in March, 1781. He remained there until October of that year, and during this interval collected information respecting the geography and extent of the colony. The chart which, two years later, was published by Faden, was the result of those investigations. Apart from *his own observations along the coast, Thompson's *56 sources of information, particularly as to the *extent* of the colony, were probably the maps of D'Anville and **SIRAUT-DESTOUCHES**, and the history of the Guiana colonies by the Dutch official Hartsinck.

Atlas to Case, map 43.

Atlas to Case, maps 66 and 67.

The Siraut-Destouches map was furnished him in answer to a request made by Thompson on April 13, 1781, of the Court of Policy of Essequibo, for the purpose, as he said, that he might give His Majesty of Great Britain an adequate notion of what pertained to the colony. This map, the only known copies of which are in the hands of the Commission, and are reproduced in the atlas accompanying this report, goes only to just beyond the Maroco River, and lays down nothing west of the post on that river.

Atlas to Case, maps 66 and 67.

Thompson could not, therefore, have obtained his Barima boundary from that source. From what source did he obtain it? D'Anville and his followers were the

only map makers who had gone into the Barima region for the purpose of locating there a political boundary. In view of this fact, it seems hardly too much to say that, had it not been for the example thus set, Thompson would hardly have ventured so far beyond the limits of a map furnished by the colony itself in answer to a formal request.

*57 *It is possible, even probable, that Thompson was influenced by the statement of Hartsinck respecting the existence of a Dutch post on the Barima River, and by the further statement of the same historian that "some limit Dutch Guiana on the west by the Barima River." It is quite evident that Hartsinck himself was little influenced by either of these considerations, for in his own map he placed the boundary at the Waini River. Nevertheless, these statements, particularly as they were in line with his own interests as Colonial Governor, probably decided Thompson to follow D'Anville's lead. They gave an apparent basis of right to D'Anville's line, or at least to a line in that region. Thompson recognized this fact; it is also evident that he recognized the arbitrary appearance of the D'Anville line, and that, resting upon Hartsinck's statements, he sought to adjust that arbitrary line to a natural feature lying in its path. The course of the Barima River, as then understood, was about parallel to the course of the D'Anville line. It started from about the same point on the coast, and ran into the interior in such a direction that D'Anville's straight line had to be deflected but very little in order to make the two coincide.

This is evidently what was done, and so a line
*58 which had been arbitrary on its face was given *the appearance of a line drawn according to natural features. The adoption of the Barima River as a boundary led to further and important changes in later maps, and thus it is that Thompson comes to be a link between D'Anville on the one hand, and Bouchenroeder and Arrowsmith on the other.

JEFFERYS.

To interrupt for a moment the thread which we are following, and which will finally be seen to connect Delisle with Schomburgk, it may be useful to turn for a moment to a series of maps published about this time, which serve as an excellent illustration of the vacillation in the minds

No. 6.

of map makers respecting the exact location of the Barima boundary.

THOMAS JEFFERYS, who has been mentioned as a follower of D'Anville, published four charts, to which reference will here be made. They are dated, respectively, 1775, 1781, 1792, and 1795. The first of these gave the D'Anville line without change of any kind. It showed the geography of the coast region in detail, erroneously placing the Amacura east of the Barima, but locating both of these streams west of the boundary line and within Spanish territory. Barima Point, called by Jefferys "*Cape Breme according to the Dutch pilots*," was by him placed at the mouth of the Amacura, and well to the west of the boundary.

Atlas to Case, map

41.

The chart of 1781 showed the first change from the old Delisle-D'Anville line. In this Jefferys moved the northern extremity west as far as the Amacura, which still continued to appear east of the Barima. At the mouth of the river he placed the words: "*R. Amacura which Divides the Dutch from the Spanish Settlements.*"

Atlas to Case, map

42.

When Jefferys came to publish his third chart of 1792 he had before him Thompson's map of 1783, and the result is evident: both the geographical features and the boundary were taken directly from that map. In this new chart the "*Cape Breme*" of his earlier chart took the English name of "*Cape Barima, or Cape Breme of the Dutch.*" This cape was located entirely to the east of the river, which was made to serve as boundary; and the Amacura, which in his earlier chart had appeared to flow into the Orinoco around both sides of Cape Breme, giving to this latter the form of a delta, was in the later chart moved east to correspond with the same feature in Thompson's map.

Atlas to Case, map

44.

Atlas to Case, map

43.

Jefferys' chart of 1795 is interesting, because it shows to some extent a recession from the position suggested by Thompson and accepted by Jefferys in 1792. In this last chart Cape Breme is shown as lying entirely to the west of the Barima River, and therefore within Spanish territory.

Atlas to Case, map

45.

BOUCHENROEDER.

In 1798 **BOUCHENROEDER** published a map, a small inset in which has been reproduced in the British Blue Book as No. 7. Its connection with the D'Anville line and with Thompson's and Jefferys' charts is evident. Bou-

Atlas to Case, map

46.

Venezuela, No. 1
(1896), Appendix
No. III.

chenroeder, following the lead of Thompson, gave the Barima River as the boundary between the Dutch and the Spanish as far as that river went; but, in imitation of D'Anville, he prolonged the line from the head waters of the Barima into the interior, so that, if continued, it would have cut the Cuyuni River just as the D'Anville line had done. Bouchenroeder erroneously placed the Barima River to the west of the Amacura. So far he was a copyist. The new feature which he introduced was what he called "*Ancien poste Hollandaise Sur les Limites des possessions Espagnoles*"; and this "poste" he placed on the Barima not far above its mouth.

The testimony of Bouchenroeder as to the existence and location of this so-called "poste" is open to two objections. First, that it was purely hearsay. The post
 *61 was called an "*ancien*"—that is to say, an *old* or *extinct* post—and therefore must have ceased to be. His testimony as to its existence is therefore of little value.

In the second place, Bouchenroeder's knowledge of the geography of the region was extremely limited. Not only did he misplace the Amacura and Barima rivers, but he grossly erred in showing the latter as a straight stream, running in a direction conveniently near the arbitrary line which D'Anville, Thompson and Jefferys had laid down. No details of the region were attempted; and it must be evident to even a superficial observer that, in this particular at least, Bouchenroeder's work was merely an attempt to carry out the ideas suggested by Jefferys, Thompson and D'Anville. In sailing charts, which showed only the coast line, Jefferys and Thompson had indicated the Barima River as the boundary. In Jefferys' chart of 1775, which included a portion of the interior country, that geographer had given the boundary as a straight line. In later maps Jefferys and Thompson had made the Barima River and the D'Anville line to coincide. Bouchenroeder did the same; but with an evident desire to
 adhere to the D'Anville line more closely than either
 *62 Thompson or Jefferys had *done, and with that freedom which a limited knowledge of the geography of the region permitted, he drew the Barima River as a straight stream lying directly in the path of the boundary line; and from its head waters, as has already been pointed out, he continued that boundary line as before into the interior in a direction which, if prolonged, would, as in D'Anville's map, have cut the Cuyuni River.

No. 6.

It had been easy for Thompson, Jefferys, and Bouchenroeder thus to make the D'Anville line and the Barima River coincide, because in each of their maps the two lay so close together. Thus it was that they paved the way for the next geographer, who discarded the straight line almost entirely, and made his boundary follow the windings of the Barima. Thus it was that John Arrowsmith came to form the next link in the chain which will be found to finally connect Schomburgk with Delisle.

JOHN ARROWSMITH.

JOHN ARROWSMITH published his first map in 1832. His uncle, Aaron Arrowsmith, had been a map publisher before him, and had copied largely from Cruz Cano, who will be examined later. Thompson and Bouchenroeder either never saw, or else entirely ignored, the **CRUZ*CANO** map published in 1775. Cruz Cano had given the correct relative positions of the Barima and Amacura rivers, and had shown many details of the interior region, which apparently never came to the knowledge of either Jefferys or Bouchenroeder.

Aaron Arrowsmith had reproduced many of these details in his maps. John Arrowsmith did the same, but added new features and modified old ones in accordance with newer and better information. His map of 1832 probably represents what was, at that time, the best knowledge of the geography of that region.

As regarded boundaries, Aaron Arrowsmith had followed Cruz Cano, giving to the Dutch, and to their successors the British, nothing beyond the Pomeroon district. John Arrowsmith, probably under his uncle's influence, engraved the same boundary upon his map; yet his own leaning was evidently in another direction, for we find on that same map a second line, lying farther west, drawn through the same region through which Delisle, D'Anville, Jefferys, and Bouchenroeder had drawn theirs.

As already stated, John Arrowsmith, taking his uncle's (Aaron Arrowsmith's) maps as his guides in matters of geographical detail, correctly placed the Barima River to the east of the Amacura. Bouchenroeder had shown both of these streams on his map, but had mistakenly transposed their names. On this account his "*ancien poste Hollandaise, etc.*," had been misplaced. His intention had evidently been to locate it on the Barima; and he in fact placed it upon a river to which he gave that

Atlas to Case, map

47.

Atlas to Case, map

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Atlas to Case, map

47. See also Jour.

Roy. Geog. Soc. IV,

820.

Atlas to Case, map

47.

*64

name. As it turned out, however, Bouchenroeder's *Barima* was Arrowsmith's *Amacura*; and as this latter geographer, when he came to publish his map, chose to follow Bouchenroeder's *location* rather than his *nomenclature*, the boundary line, which he copied from Bouchenroeder, took another step westward.

As has been already stated, Bouchenroeder had made the river follow the boundary line: John Arrowsmith made the boundary line follow the river. As the two maps gave different courses for the same stream, so did they give different directions to boundary lines which, apparently different, were in fact the same. Beyond the head of the *Amacura* (called by him "*Barima*") Bouchenroeder had drawn a straight line, approximately parallel to the *Essequibo*. Had this line been continued beyond the *Cuyuni*, it would have cut that stream just as *65 D'Anville's line had originally done. *Taking the general direction of the line in Arrowsmith's map, it very nearly paralleled the *Essequibo* River. In the absence of any written statement by John Arrowsmith explaining the principle upon which he drew that line, or giving the source from which he copied it (and diligent search has failed to discover any such statement), we are warranted in going to the map itself for an explanation.

One thing is quite clear: Arrowsmith either intended to draw a new line, or he intended to copy an old one. If his intention was to arrive at a solution of his own respecting the merits of the boundary question, his map ought, upon its face, to bear evidence of that fact, and to disclose the principle upon which the attempted division was made.

An examination of Arrowsmith's map shows, in the first place, the existence of *two* boundary lines: this indicates vacillation and uncertainty. Had the author been sure of either line he would certainly have discarded the other; had he intended to publish a new line to the world—a line proposed by himself, and based upon some principle the justice of which appealed to his own mind—he would hardly have weakened its effect by producing another line alongside of it.

*66 *In the second place, if Arrowsmith had not depended upon the authority of Bouchenroeder or Thompson for the Dutch ownership of *Barima* Point, or for the existence there of a supposed Dutch post, it seems unlikely that he should have ventured to show a boundary

No. 6.

beginning near that point, without himself giving, in its support, some evidence of Dutch possession in that vicinity.

In the third place, the line drawn by Arrowsmith ignored important physical features which would not have been ignored had it been a new line drawn without regard to other maps. Notwithstanding its apparent regard for topography, it bears evidence on its face of being an arbitrary line adjusted to only those natural features which happened to lie in its path, but careless of other and more important features lying beyond it.

The Amacura River, which under the name of "Barima" had been given by Thompson, Jefferys and Bouchenroeder as the boundary between the Dutch and the Spanish, was not followed to its source by Arrowsmith: he presently made the line diverge from that stream to follow a tributary running conveniently parallel to the Essequibo. The Imataca Mountains, which formed a natural boundary separating the *Cuyuni *67 basin from the coast region and from the upper Orinoco valley, were ignored and crossed without apparent reason.

The Cuyuni, which itself formed a well-marked natural line was not followed, but was cut at a point where neither Dutch nor Spanish have ever claimed to have any settlements.

In his map of 1832, Arrowsmith ran the southern extremity of his line around a bend of the Mazaruni; yet in an 1840 reprint of a map of Aaron Arrowsmith of 1810, John Arrowsmith ran the line across the Caroni and across half a dozen of its tributaries, showing how little he was given to regarding natural boundaries.

Atlas to Case, map

47.

Atlas to Case, map

48.

All of these circumstances negative the theory that Arrowsmith had any intention of publishing a new line. Notwithstanding the fact that his boundary here and there follows streams and ridges, it is as a whole arbitrary. It closely resembles the lines of Bouchenroeder, Jefferys, Thompson and D'Anville: it is, in fact, a copy of those lines; and its appearance differs from theirs only because its author took advantage of the natural features which came in his way to invest it with a less arbitrary appearance. Of what other explanation is Arrowsmith's line susceptible? Sanson, Delisle, and the followers of these two had been the only ones to draw lines from or

*68 *near the Orinoco mouths down into the interior of Guiana.

We are thus forced to the conclusion that Arrowsmith's line is, after all, Bouchenroeder's line, Jefferys' line, Thompson's line, D'Anville's line, Delisle's line; and that as such it is entitled to such weight, and such only, as those lines may themselves possess. The modifications are merely modifications and nothing more: they can not avail to change the original meaning of the line itself.

SCHOMBURGK.

' From Arrowsmith we pass to Schomburgk, whose line has played such an important rôle in this controversy.

It is so essential, however, that we keep in mind the purpose of this particular paper that I venture to preface what I have to say by a few words of explanation.

The Schomburgk line has a *diplomatic* and it has a *geographical* importance. Its bearing upon the boundary question is, therefore, of two distinct and entirely separable kinds.

On the one hand, it has the distinction of having been proposed by Great Britain as the result of official surveys and explorations made under her direction, and of
 *69 having been made *the subject of diplomatic correspondence, in the course of which its tentative character was unequivocally recognized. These are important questions; but it is not the province of this paper to discuss them.

On the other hand, the Schomburgk line has a *geographical* importance. It behooves us to ascertain its origin, to know its meaning, and to weigh its merits, viewing it solely as the opinion of an expert witness, and ignoring, for the time being, its diplomatic and other relations.

A further word by way of introduction.

Various lines have been published which have, rightly or wrongly, been attributed to Schomburgk. I mention but two: one published in Parliamentary Papers for 1840, vol. 34; another published in the Colonial Office List for December, 1886. Both of these lines are reproduced in the Statesman's Year Book for 1896, the first being therein designated as "Schomburgk's Original Line," and the second as "Schomburgk's Modified Line." Here, again, the questions which are raised by the existence of

No. 6.

more than one line, are questions of importance from a *diplomatic standpoint*; but for the purposes of our present discussion they are immaterial. What we want to know is *not* the effect which the publication by Great Britain, *first of one line and then of another, may *70 have upon the present controversy; but, what is the intrinsic merit and worth of *any* line proposed by or attributed to Schomburgk?

Of the two lines which have been mentioned, the first is so like the Arrowsmith line that it seems hardly worth while to make it the subject of a separate study. The second is the line which Great Britain now publishes as the *only* "Schomburgk Line." On this account, and also because it apparently departs from the Arrowsmith line of 1832 more than any other of the lines attributed to Schomburgk, I shall, for the purposes of this examination, treat it as the *only* "**SCHOMBURGK LINE**."

Atlas to Case, map

49.

In order to estimate the merits and to ascertain the real significance of this line, it will first be necessary to investigate its origin, and to ascertain whether it expresses an independent opinion of Schomburgk himself respecting the boundary question, or whether it merely voices the modified opinion of another man. If Schomburgk was the originator of the line, it has a special significance of its own; if, on the other hand, the boundary which he proposed should turn out to be merely an old line modified, then its real significance must largely depend upon the significance of that other line. *For an answer *71 to these inquiries let us turn to Schomburgk's maps, memorial, reports, and letters, and to the authority and instructions which he received from the British Government.

On July 1, 1839, Schomburgk presented a "**MEMOIR AND MAP**" to Governor Light, setting forth therein, first, the importance of the boundary question; second, the grounds upon which he conceived that Great Britain was entitled to Barima Point; third, a detailed description of a boundary line which he presented, *not as his own*, but as one which had been considered *by others* as marking the western limits of the "Pomeroon Colony;" fourth, an unqualified approval of *that* line by himself, expressed in the following language:

Parliamentary
Papers, 1840, vol. 34
(288), pp. 13-15.

"My deductions from the different circumstances to which I have attempted to draw the attention of your Excellency are * * * that the *limits thus defined* are

No. 6.

Parliamentary in perfect unison with the title of Her Britannic Majesty
Papers above cited, to the full extent of that territory;"
p. 15.

and, fifth, a strong recommendation urging the necessity of determining the limits of British Guiana by *actual survey*.

In other words, Schomburgk described a particular line; he expressed his approval of *that* line; and, without a thought of entering into new investigations as to its merits or demerits, *he proposed that, what had theretofore existed on paper alone, should now be

Parliamentary laid down upon the ground by "*actual survey*."
Papers above cited, The following is Schomburgk's own language on the
pp. 14, 15. subject:

"Of equal importance is the determination of the western boundary (of British Guiana), the limits of which have never been completely settled. * * *

As the first (Colony of Pomeroon) was the most western possession, and formed the boundary between Spanish Guiana, its limits were considered to extend from Punta Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco (in latitude 8° 40' N., long. 60° 6' W.), S.W. by W. to the mouth of the river Amacuru, following the Cano Coyuni from its confluence with the Amacuru to its source, from whence it was supposed to stretch in a S. S. E. line towards the river Cuyuni (a tributary of the Essequibo), and from thence southwards towards the Mazaruni. * * *

My deductions from the different circumstances to which I have attempted to draw the attention of your Excellency are that it is practicable to run and mark the limits of British Guiana on the system of natural divisions, and that the limits thus defined are in perfect unison with the title of Her Britannic Majesty to the full extent of that territory. * * *

That a strong recommendation be forwarded to the Home Government, urging the paramount necessity of determining the limits of British Guiana by actual survey under a commission appointed for that object, and empowered to plant along the extent of that line, at

*73 *the most remarkable points, such monuments as are not likely to be quickly destroyed either by the influence of weather or violence."¹

This memoir and map, addressed to Governor Light, were forwarded to the Colonial Office. (On March 18th, 1840, the Foreign Office communicated its action upon them to the Colonial Office in the following terms:

¹ This quotation is from the original in Parliamentary Papers, 1840, vol. 34. The copy in British Blue Book, Venezuela, No. 1 (1896), page 184, contains some inaccuracies.

No. 6.

"With reference to that part of your letter in which you state that Lord J. Russell considers it to be important that the boundaries of British Guiana should be ascertained and agreed upon if possible, and that Mr. Schomburgk's researches in those parts have qualified him in a peculiar manner to be of use, should the services of any person acquainted with the geography of British Guiana be required for fixing the boundaries of the British territory, I am to state to you, that the course of proceeding which Lord Palmerston would suggest for the consideration of Lord John Russell is, that a map of British Guiana should be made out *according to the boundaries described by Mr. Schomburgk*, that the said map should be accompanied by a memoir describing in detail the natural features which define and constitute *the boundaries in question*; and that copies of that map and memoir should be delivered to the governments of Venezuela, of Brazil, and of the Netherlands as a statement of the British claim."

Parliamentary Papers, 1840, vol. 34 (298), p. 17; also reprinted in Blue Book Venezuela, No. 1 (1896), p. 185.

*We thus see that what the British Government *74 did was to authorize the survey of the particular "*boundaries described by Mr. Schomburgk.*" There was no suggestion that he be empowered to survey and lay out new boundaries of his own invention. So far as original investigation on his part was concerned, it was, by the express terms of the letter above quoted, limited to making a new map, and to preparing a "memoir describing in detail the natural features which define and constitute"—not new boundaries to be discovered—but "*the boundaries in question*;" that is to say, the boundaries which Schomburgk had described in his memoir.

The declared intentions of both Schomburgk and the British Foreign Office in this regard were undoubtedly adhered to in the surveys subsequently made. If Schomburgk's work did not, on its face, bear evidence of this fact, the recent statement of Lord Salisbury in his dispatch No. 190, of November 26, 1895, to Sir Julian Pauncefote that "*It is important to notice that Sir R. Schomburgk did not discover or invent any new boundaries*" would be quite sufficient to establish the fact.

Senate Doc. No. 31, 54th Cong., 1st sess., p. 29 (reprint).

It appears, therefore, by Schomburgk's own statements, and by the recent declaration of the British Government, that the Schomburgk line *was not *75 an original line; but that it was a mere adjustment to newly discovered features of an old line already well known before Schomburgk began his surveys.

Having arrived at this conclusion, it is next important

No. 6.

to ascertain what line it was which Schomburgk thus modified; for, naturally, his own line being but a modified form of another, the significance of that other must be ascertained, in order to get at the real significance of Schomburgk's modification of it. The particular modifications introduced by Schomburgk may have merits of their own, not possessed by the original line. To pass upon these points, however, would require a critical study of many historical facts whose examination is beyond the province of this paper. As mere modifications, however, it is difficult to see how they can avail to change the character of the line *as a whole*. Whatever principle may have determined the location of the original line, that same principle necessarily permeated the Schomburgk modification of it; whatever significance the original line may at bottom have had, that same significance necessarily attached to the new form of the same line presented by Schomburgk.

In the memorial of July 1st, 1839, the line which
 *76 Schomburgk took as his model is *described, though the author is not mentioned. If, however, that memorial be read in connection with **JOHN ARROWSMITH'S** map of 1832, it will be found that the description in the first tallies exactly with the westernmost of the two boundary lines appearing in the second.

Atlas to Case, map
 47.

British Blue Book
 Venezuela, No. 5
 (1896), pp. 22-23.

If, furthermore, we refer to Schomburgk's "Special Report" to Governor Light, dated October 23d, 1841, we shall find the following express references to Jefferys, Arrowsmith, and Faden, or, what is the same thing, Thompson.

"I have consulted two maps, likewise published in England during the last century, which may therefore be trusted, as Great Britain was not at that time interested in the question.

The first is the coast of Guayana from the Orinoco to the River Amazons, &c., London, published in 1783 by W. Faden, Geographer to the King, in which the Barima is stated as the western boundary of the Dutch according to their claim.

The second is a chart of Guayana from the West India Pilot by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the King, and published in London, 1798, in which the Barima River is stated to divide the Dutch and Spanish lands. * * *

Modern English geographers assume the Amacura as the boundary from whence the line of limit extends to the sources of the Canno Coyunni, and from thence to the River Cuyunni.

No. 6.

I refer Your Excellency to the maps published by Mr. Arrowsmith and others in the course of the last ten years."

*In view of this direct reference to Arrowsmith, *77 and of the agreement between his line and that described by Schomburgk, there can be no doubt that Arrowsmith's line was the line which Schomburgk had in mind when he wrote his memorial: it was the line which the British Government authorized Schomburgk to survey: it was the line which Schomburgk did survey; and it was the line which, in its modified form, has come to be known as the "Schomburgk Line." *As a whole*, therefore, and ignoring the merits or demerits of the particular modifications introduced by Schomburgk, his line stands exactly where the Arrowsmith line stood; the meaning which it thus derived is the same meaning which the Arrowsmith line had itself derived from Bouchenroeder's line; which Bouchenroeder's had derived from Jefferys' and Thompson's; which Jefferys' and Thompson's had derived from D'Anville's; and, finally, which D'Anville's had derived from Delisle's. It is hardly too much to say that the Schomburgk line would in all probability never have been proposed at all had it not been that Delisle, more than a hundred years before, had marked the eastern limits of Spanish encroachment upon savage Guiana; and that the error of D'Anville, in misinterpreting Delisle, had been perpetuated *down to Schomburgk's own time by a multitude *78 of geographers and map makers who, without examination, accepted the authority of D'Anville's great name.

CRUZ CANO Y OLMEDILLA.

The maps heretofore examined, notwithstanding their apparent divergencies, may all be classed under the two heads of "Sanson" and "Delisle." The *Sanson* series reached its climax with Popple, and its end with Pownall. The *Delisle* line, passing successively through the hands of D'Anville, Thompson, Bouchenroeder, and Arrowsmith, came to find its final expression in the Schomburgk line. Passing, for the moment, by a number of independent authorities, who, after Delisle, published lines of their own, we come to the next group, represented by **JUAN DE LA CRUZ CANO Y OLMEDILLA.**

No. 6.

Atlas to Case, map
50.

In 1775 this geographer published a large and detailed map of South America whereon he engraved a boundary, which, beginning at the mouth of the River Moruga, followed that river to its source, ran thence westerly to the source of the Pomeroon, thence southeasterly along the water parting separating the Pomeroon basin from
*79 the heads of small streams flowing *southward to the Cuyuni River; continuing thence, the line ran to the junction of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers; and from that point followed the west bank of the Essequibo River to the south.

In the case of the early map makers, as also of Sanson and of Delisle, it has been necessary to point out that they had no intention of making *any* political division.

In the cases of Cruz Cano and of the other geographers who remain to be examined, there are no standards given by which their work may be judged, and all that the writer can do will be to point out as far as possible the principles which guided them. To go beyond this and to discuss the correctness or the applicability of the principles themselves would be to usurp the functions of the Commission itself.

Cruz Cano has left no written works to throw light upon his intentions. We know, however, in a general way, the means of knowledge which he had at command and the views which at that time were prevalent among Spanish local authorities.

Various Spanish documents published in the course of this investigation show that the Spaniards of the Orinoco recognized the Dutch as holding a post on the Moruca
*80 and occupying the *Cuyuni below its lowest cataracts, but denied both Dutch occupation and Dutch right beyond. Cruz Cano gave the Dutch up to the Moruca, and ran his line so as to give them the entire Pomeroon basin; struck the Sierra Imataca, and followed that; and cut across so as to give them a large island at the confluence of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni (perhaps his crude and much exaggerated notion of Kykoveral Island).

Within the region so marked off his map shows, on the Pomeroon, a Dutch settlement, "Nueva Middelburgh," and a fort, "F. de la Nueva Zelandia," and, on the Essequibo, "the Essequibo Fort," probably meant for Kykoveral. The boundary line which he drew around these settlements or posts would seem to indicate that his intention was to mark the limits of actual Dutch possession.

No. 6.

Whether or not this was the true principle to apply is not within the province of this paper to discuss. All that the writer is called upon to do is to ascertain, if possible, what principle of division he followed.

Viewing his line as a definition of Dutch rights, various theories are conceivable as having been present in his mind. He may have regarded the settlements as dating from 1648, and as therefore having been confirmed by the Treaty of Munster: he may have considered *that they came into existence subsequent to that *81 treaty, but that their long continuance conferred a title by prescription: or, again, he may have looked upon them as mere *de facto* settlements, established and maintained without warrant, and his line may have been nothing more than a tacit recognition of that fact. Whatever theory be adopted, one thing is very probable, and that is that, as a Spaniard, he looked upon Spain as the original discoverer of Guiana, and hence regarded the Dutch as intruders in that region. Any rights, therefore, which the Dutch might have acquired would, in Cruz Cano's eyes, have been in derogation of Spain's paramount title.

BONNE.

From Cruz Cano, who was followed by a host of map makers, we pass to another group represented by **BONNE**, Russell, Reid, Poirson, Myers, and others. These map makers denied to the Dutch any rights whatever west of the Essequibo, and some went so far as to carry Spanish jurisdiction to the east of that river.

Atlas to Case, map

51.

That the boundaries thus laid down were intended to mark political divisions there can be no doubt. To discuss their merit, however, would be to go beyond the limits of this report.

***BELLIN.**

*82

In going through the various groups of maps which have been discussed, we have passed by a number of geographers whose work shows independent thought, but who, for the most part, have had few, if any followers. Their lines differ considerably from each other; all seem, consciously or unconsciously, to have been guided, at least in part, by the principle of drainage basins. Without attempting to exhaust the list of these authorities, we find among them such men as **BELLIN**, Delamarche, **GÜSSE-**

No. 6.

Atlas to Case, map 52. **FELDT, HARTSINCK**, Canzler, **MANNERT**, D'Orbigny, Van Heuvel, and others.

Same, map 53.

Same, map 54.

Same, map 55.

Some of these, as, for instance, Bellin, made the Pomeroon the boundary at the coast, but carried their lines inland so as to mark the division between the Orinoco and Essequibo basins. In the case of Bellin, the Pomeroon is so drawn on his map that it might not have been unreasonably regarded by him as an independent stream, belonging neither to the Essequibo nor to the Orinoco, and very appropriately marking the natural limits of those basins along a comparatively flat coast.

Bellin, in his "Description de la Guiane" (1763), *83 in connection with which the map here *referred to was published, disclaimed any intention of fixing the *true* boundaries. Yet those which he thus drew, however imperfect they may be, serve to illustrate the principle which evidently guided him, at least so far as the interior region was concerned.

La Rouge's Atlas, Ameriquain Septentrional, etc., Library of Congress.

DELAMARCHE'S map of 1792, differing from that which he had published for Robert de Vaugondy about 1767, shows an abandonment of the Sanson line which had there appeared, and though rude and extremely faulty in its geography, is nevertheless an obvious effort to separate the Orinoco and Essequibo valleys along the water parting of the two basins, from the coast as far as the Caroni.

Hartsinck, Mannert, D'Orbigny, and Van Heuvel, all illustrate the principle to which reference has been made. Several of them, possibly under the influence of D'Anville, made their lines cross the Cuyuni River, leaving its head waters to the Spanish. With the exception of this feature of their maps, their lines show an evident desire to indicate the water parting between the Orinoco and Essequibo basins; and as explanatory of the reason why the head waters of the Cuyuni were by them given to the Spanish, it may be well to remember that at the time when

*84 their maps were published (all of *them after 1770), the undisturbed Spanish missions in the upper Cuyuni valley had long been established.

GUMILLA.

Before bringing this examination to a close, it may be well to refer briefly to a map published in 1741 by Father **GUMILLA**, in connection with his work on the Orinoco. The line there shown has sometimes been mistakenly re-

Atlas to Case, map 56.

No. 6.

ferred to as a Spanish-Dutch boundary. It is, on its face, a boundary of the Province of the Catalonian Capuchin missions. There is nothing to show that in the mind of Gunilla this boundary coincided with the Spanish-Dutch frontier. For this reason, the line so drawn is without significance so far as this particular paper is concerned.

CONCLUSION.

This completes the study which I have made of the "Cartographical Testimony of Geographers." I have not continued beyond the time of Schomburgk, because what has since been published with the exception of General Netscher's map of 1887, and possibly of one or two others, has been a mere repetition of earlier maps. As a result, we have seen what it was which led the various geographers to lay down the *particular lines appearing upon their maps; and it is apparent from this that they possess neither probative value nor even such authority as might belong to the result of a careful examination of historical and geographical facts, and the application of the rules of law to them. Upon *that* the determination of the true line of right must depend, and for that the Commission has now at its command a collection of materials far more important than any geographer had or than any one person knew of at former times.

Respectfully submitted.

S. MALLET-PREVOST.

VENEZUELA-BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARY ARBITRATION

cf

THE COUNTER-CASE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA

BEFORE THE

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

To Convene at Paris

UNDER THE

Provisions of the Treaty between the United States of Venezuela and
Her Britannic Majesty Signed at Washington February 2, 1897

VOLUME 3

APPENDIX

PARTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7

0

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME 3.

APPENDIX.

Part 2. Documents from Spanish Sources.....	1
Part 3. Documents from British Sources.....	167
Part 4. Extracts from various authors	219
Part 5. Documents from Diplomatic Sources.....	257
Part 6. Miscellaneous Documents.....	295
Part 7. Documents, whose originals were requested by Great Britain.....	329

TABLE OF CONTENTS.—PART 2.

DOCUMENTS FROM SPANISH SOURCES.*

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1602, August 10.	Don Diego Suarez de Amaya, Governor of New Andalucia.	1	Report on the discovery and conquest of El Dorado	1
1615, July 29.	Council of the Indies.	2	Recommends appointment of a Governor of Trinidad, with instructions to drive the enemy therefrom.	5
1665, March 16.	Case of Clemente Gunter.	3	Entering Orinoco without permission from Spain.	9
1680, February 15.	Governor of Guiana.	4	Order to take depositions of Dutch prisoners arrested on the Orinoco.	13
1680, February 15.	Pitri Dirguian, a Dutch prisoner.	5	His deposition regarding capture of Dutch prisoners on the Orinoco.	13
1680, February 15.	Jan Endriguez, a Dutch prisoner.	6	His deposition regarding capture of Dutch prisoners on the Orinoco.	14
1680, February 15.	Guaray, an Arawak Indian prisoner.	7	His deposition regarding capture of Dutch prisoners on the Orinoco.	15
1680, February 15.	Governor of Guiana.	8	Order, to the Dutchmen arrested on the Orinoco, to depart.	15
1711, July 7.	Governor of Guiana.	9	Instructions to Lieutenant of Santo Thomé in case of invasion.	16
1711, September 18. ...	Certain officers of Trinidad.	10	Certificate of certain acts done by the Governor of Guiana.	17
1723, May 5.	Don Antonio de la Pedrosa y Guerrero.	11	Report on the state of Guiana, with certain recommendations.	18
1725, November 24.	Governor of Venezuela.	12	Report on the condition of the Capuchin missions.	23
1729, May 18.	Governor of Trinidad.	13	Regarding the expulsion from Guiana of a French Bishop.	24
1729, November 16.	Bishop of Porto Rico.	14	Regarding the expulsion from Guiana of a French Bishop.	26
1730, January 13.	Bishop of Porto Rico.	15	Regarding the expulsion from Guiana of a French Bishop.	28
1730, April 26.	Governor of Trinidad.	16	Regarding the expulsion from Guiana of a French Bishop.	29
1730.	Bishop of Porto Rico <i>et al.</i>	17	Correspondence regarding the expulsion from Guiana of a French Bishop.	31
1732, October 31.	Acting Governor of Guiana.	18	Instructions to prepare a ship to reconnoitre the alleged Swedish settlement at Barima.	37
1731, January 17.	King of Spain.	19	Regarding the expulsion from Guiana of a French Bishop.	39
1735, February 8.	Don Pablo Diaz Faxardo.	20	Plans and estimates for Padrasto castle, and location of gold and silver mines.	41
1735, March 23.	Governor of Guiana.	21	Information as to the Caribs, the missions and the mines of Guiana.	42

* These documents include not only those found in the archives in Spain but also such Spanish documents as are to be found in Venezuela itself and in the archives at Rome.

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1748.....	Governor of Guiana.	22	Report on gold and silver mines.	47
1755, April 20.....	Don Eugenio de Albarado.	23	Detailed description of life at the missions.	51
1756, January 29.....	Don José de Iturriaga.	24	Notice of projected <i>entrada</i> .	63
1758, April 11.....	Don José de Iturriaga.	25	Asks for supplies.	63
1758.....	Don José Solano.	26	Iturriaga's comments on the Dutch boundary.	64
1758, December 12	Don José de Iturriaga.	27	As to boundary and new missions.	67
1761, February 26.	Fidel de Santo, Prefect of Missions.	28	History of the Catalanian Capuchin Missions.	68
1761.....	Joseph Diguja Villagomez.	29	Lists of towns, missions, etc., in [? Nueva Andalucia].	74
1764, May 4.....	Joachin Moreno Mendoza.	30	Friendly relations with Indians to be cultivated, etc.	77
1765, February 2.....	Joachin Moreno Mendoza.	31	Asks for 100 Indians for work on new settlement.	78
1765, April 17.....	Joachin Moreno Mendoza.	32	Asks for help and that road be built from Caroni to Angostura.	79
1769, July 6.....	Prefect of Catalanian Capuchin Missions.	33	As to visit to Barima in quest of Indian fugitives, etc.	79
1769, August 31.....	Fray Jayme de Puigcerda.	34	As to teaching Indians boys, etc.	81
1769, September 21	Fray Joachin Maria.	35	<i>Same</i> .	81
1770, January 21.....	Fray Joachin Maria.	36	Letter for religious encouragement.	82
1770, February 26.....	Fray Bruno de Barcelona.	37	As to where and what supplies may be had.	83
1770, April 16	Fray Joachin Maria de Martorel.	38	Washing feet of <i>savage</i> Indians.	83
1770, April 28.....	Fray Joachin Maria.	39	Holy week in Hupata.	84
1770, April 28.....	Fray Bruno de Barcelona.	40	Washing feet of <i>savage</i> Indians.	84
1770, September 17.....	Fray Bruno de Barcelona.	41	Praise of Centurian for his help to the missions.	84
1770, November 8.	Fray Bruno de Barcelona.	42	Conflict between civil and religious authorities.	85
1770, December 21.....	Fray Joachin Maria.	43	Progress of <i>Santa Rosa</i> Mission.	86
1770, December 22.....	Fray Joachin Maria.	44	Dispute between the Fathers.	86
1771, January 19.....	Fray Joachin Maria de Martorel.	45	Cattle in the Missions.	86
1771, February 20. . .	Fray Joachin Maria de Martorel.	46	<i>Same</i> and also as to fort on Fuxardo Island.	87
1771, August 8	Fidel de Santo, Prefect of Missions.	47	Relations of Jesuit and Capuchin Missions.	87
1772, February 6.....	Fray Bruno de Barcelona.	48	Father Garriga's zeal and work.	88
1773, January 9.....	Fray Fidel de Santo.	49	More missionaries asked for; bad state of Jesuit Missions.	89
1773, July 5.....	Fray Jayme de Puigcerda.	50	Movements of Missionaries; death of Fray Fidel de Santo.	89
1773, July 31.....	Fray Jayme de Puigcerda.	51	Urges that missionaries formerly asked for be sent.	90
1776, March 16.....	Fray Bernadino de San Felice.	52	Rumor of a destruction of a mission, etc.	90
1776, September 10....	King of Spain.	53	Foreigners forbidden to visit, or cut timber in, Guiana.	91
1777, May 7.....	Fray Mariano de Sebadel.	54	List of Capuchin Missions.	91
1777, July 13.....	Fray Felix de Villanueva.	55	The new Governor, Rio Negro expedition, etc.	92
1777, July 14.....	Fray Bernadino de Verdu.	56	Drunkenness of Diez, Commander of Guirior.	92
1778, August 14.....	Governor of Caracaa.	57	Relating to the uprising of the Indians of Guirior.	93
1779, February 1.....	Fray Benito de la Garriga.	58	As to Barcoleta and Upata; their founding, condition, etc.	94
1779, February 4	Don José de Avalos.	59	Regarding the appointment of Don José Felipe Inciarte to found towns in eastern Guiana.	95
1779, July 8.....	Fray Felix de Tarraga.	60	Mention of certain Spanish Missions.	97

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1780, March 9.....	Don José de Galvez.	61	Relating to the Commission entrusted to Don José Felipe Inciarte of founding towns in Eastern Guiana.	98
1782, January 8.....	Don José de Galvez.	62	As to permit to France to export mules.	98
1782, October 29.....	Fray Benito de la Garriga.	63	Extending Missions toward Cuyuni; to keep out the French; navigability of streams in the savannas.	99
1782, December 31.....	Governor of Guiana.	64	Arrivals and departures of vessels at Angostura.	99
1783, March 28.....	Treasurers of Guiana.	65	Acknowledging donation from the Indians.	104
1785, February 15.....	Capuchin Fathers and Associated Judges.	66	As to founding a new ranch in the savannas of Cura.	104
1785, February 21.	Intendant-General of Caracas.	67	Instructions as to the government of the missions.	105
1787, June 5	Fray Thomas de Olod.	68	As to the care of certain roads.	106
1787, December 9.....	Fray Mariano de Cervera.	69	As to an <i>entrada</i> at mouth of the Orinoco.	107
1788, July 10	Miguel Marmion, Governor of Guiana.	70	Report describing Guiana.	108
1788, July 10.....	Governor Miguel Marmion.	71	Fac-simile of a page of his report, showing original of the foot note in British Case, Appendix, vol. 5, p. 63.	146
1788, July 10.....	Governor Miguel Marmion.	72	Fac-simile of a page of his report, showing original of the foot note in British Case, Appendix, vol. 5, p. 67.	147
1788, November 9. . .	Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio.	73	As to forcible removal of certain Indian families.	148
1788, January 4. . . .	Governor Miguel Marmion.	74	Distrust of the Indians in the new settlement of Sacaupana.	148
1790, June 9	Governor Miguel Marmion.	75	Regarding inspection of lands at Cuyuni for construction of sentry box.	149
1791, June 4	Antonio de Ventura de Carauco.	76	As to conflict of civil and religious authority in founding missions.	149
1791, July 3.	Fray Luis de Barcelona.	77	<i>Same.</i>	150
1791, August 3	Captain-General of Caracas.	78	Mentioning incidentally the construction of the fort on the Curumo.	152
1792.....	Ledger of the Royal Treasury of Guiana.	79	Three accounts relating to Spanish expenditures in Cuyuni and Essequibo in 1792.	153
1794, June 10	Spanish Ambassador at the Hague.	80	Forwarding account for maintenance of Spanish prisoners escaped from the French.	154
1799.....	Cash book of the Royal Treasury of Guiana.	81	Statement of account of the Military Commandant of the Cuyuni.	155
1799.....	Second Day Book of the Royal Treasury of Guiana.	82	Statement of certain military accounts of the Cuyuni.	156
1800, September 4.....	Commandant of Sacaupana.	83	Regarding seizure of American Frigate <i>Defiance</i> in the lower Orinoco.	158
1801.....	Court records, Guayana.	84	Complaint of Canacunama, an Arawak Indian, of assault and robbery.	159
1802, February 10.....	Governor of Guiana.	85	Regarding the proceedings had upon complaint of the Arawak Indian, Canacunama.	162
1816.....	Documentos para la Historia-de la Vida Pública del Libertador.	86	Table of Missions of Guiana in the year 1816.	165
1842, May 11.....	Venezuelan Congress.	87	An act providing for a lighthouse at entrance to the Orinoco river.	165

TABLE OF CONTENTS.—PART 3.

DOCUMENTS FROM BRITISH SOURCES.

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1824, February 12.....	Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara and Essequibo.	88	Proclamation revising the militia laws and regulations.	169
1826, May 6.....	Court of Policy of Demerara and Essequibo.	89	Notice of division of the colony into parishes.	172
1830, June 5.....	Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara and Essequibo.	90	Appointment of Assistant Protectors of Slaves.	173
1830, June 26.....	Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara and Essequibo.	91	Appointment of Deputy Fiscal for the Capoey-Pomeroon District.	173
1834, January 23.....	Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara and Essequibo.	92	Notice of appointment of Justices of the Peace.	173
1834, November 6.....		93	Fees allowed for journeys and attendances at the Registrar's and Marshal's offices.	176
1838, September 1.....	Governor of British Guiana.	94	Description of British Guiana.	176
1844, March 27.....	Combined Court of British Guiana.	95	Extract from proceedings—debate on an estimate for the establishment of an Indian village.	178
1850, June 29.....	Combined Court of British Guiana.	96	Rearrangement of the Fiscal Districts of British Guiana.	185
1856, November 27.....	Governor of British Guiana.	97	Proclamation dividing the colony into districts and divisions.	186
1857, December 3.....	The Government of Venezuela.	98	Notice to the Governor of Demerara prohibiting entrance into Venezuela by the River Cuyuni.	188
1857, December 10.....	W. H. Holmes and W. H. Campbell.	99	Report as to an expedition to the Orinoco via the Waini, Barama and Cuyuni.	189
1857, December 26.....	James Shanks, Government Surveyor.	100	Report as to an expedition up the Mazaruni and Yuruari.	198
1857, December 31.....	Government of British Guiana.	101	List of wood cutting licenses and grants of occupancy.	200
1858, March 11.....	Government of British Guiana.	102	List of grantees in arrears of wood cutting licenses and grants of occupancy of Government land in Essequibo and Demerara.	202
1858, June 22.....	Governor of British Guiana.	103	Proclamation altering the boundaries of Essequibo and Demerara and creating new divisions of the Colony.	203
1868, December 31.....	Governor of British Guiana.	104	Proclamation dividing the Colony of British Guiana into Police and Fiscal Districts.	204
1873, July 11.....	Administrator of British Guiana.	105	Proclamation changing the Police and Fiscal Districts of British Guiana.	206
1883, December 31.....	Government of British Guiana.	106	List of grants of occupancy of Government Lands in existence in Demerara and Essequibo, Dec. 31, 1883.	207
1894, October 25.....	Combined Court of British Guiana.	107	Debate on a proposed road from the Barima river to the Cuyuni river.	209
1894-1895.....	Government of British Guiana.	108	Shipping statistics of British Guiana, 1894-95.	210
1894-1895.....	Governor of British Guiana.	109	Report on Construction of roads and railroads in the Northwest District and on the Cuyuni.	211
1897.....	Government of British Guiana.	110	Extracts from the Annual Report of the Government Land Department.	211

TABLE OF CONTENTS.—PART 4.

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS.

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1590..	Father Joseph de Acosta.	111	Origin of domestic animals in America.	221
1806.....	George Pinckard, M.D.	112	Notes on the West Indies.	224
1809.....	Henry Bollingbroke.	113	Description of the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, Pomeroon and Berbice.	230
1834.....	Lt. Col. Thomas S. St. Clair.	114	The Boundaries of Essequibo.	233
1836..	Royal Geographical Society.	115	Instructions for Schomburgk as to his proposed expedition, with brief report thereon.	241
1862.....	Sir W. H. Holmes.	116	Short description of British Guiana, 1862.	246
1882	Michael McTurk.	117	A journey up the Cuyuni in 1880.	247
1895.....	Robert Tennant.	118	The gold industry of British Guiana, 1895.	251

TABLE OF CONTENTS.—PART 5.

DOCUMENTS FROM DIPLOMATIC SOURCES.

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1895, February 23.....	Earl of Kimberley to Sir Julian Pauncefote.	119	Enclosing memorandum read to the Ambassador of the United States dated February 20, 1895, as to what Great Britain is willing to submit to arbitration.	259
1895, March 20	Earl of Kimberley to Sir Julian Pauncefote.	120	Giving the further information desired by the United States as to the differences between Great Britain and Venezuela.	260
1895, July 20	Mr. Olney to Mr. Bayard.	121	Urging upon Great Britain full arbitration, and offering the good offices of the United States.	262
1895, August 8.....	Mr. Bayard to the Marquis of Salisbury.	122	Calling attention to statement in "The Statesman's Year Book" showing increase of 38,000 square miles of territory claimed for British Guiana between 1884 and 1886.	273
1895, November 26.....	The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote.	123	Answering Mr. Olney's despatch of July 20, and setting forth Great Britain's position with regard to arbitration.	274
1896, February 3.....	Mr. Bayard to the Marquis of Salisbury.	124	Announcing the appointment by the President of the United States of a Commission to determine the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana.	284

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1896, February 7.	The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Bayard.	125	Acknowledging receipt of the above and offering to place at the disposal of said Commission any evidence at the command of the British Government, and stating that same is being collected.	285
1896, May 8.	Mr. Olney to Mr. Bayard.	126	Enclosing letter from the President of the U. S. Commission on Venezuela-British Guiana boundary, asking for citations of authority for certain statements in the British Blue Book.	286
1896, May 16.	Mr. Bayard to the Marquis of Salisbury.	127	Proposes to call upon his Lordship and communicate the above instruction in person.	288
1896, May 30.	The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Bayard.	128	Enclosing memorandum of certain authorities and stating that a new Blue Book on this subject is soon to be issued. Will be glad to assist Prof. Burr in his researches.	288
1896, November 12.	Richard Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote.	129	Heads of proposed Treaty between Venezuela and Great Britain.	293

TABLE OF CONTENTS.—PART 6.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1777, June 20.	West India Company (Zealand Chamber).	180	Directs that, for security of the Colony, friendly relations with the Indians be cultivated.	297
1845, March 30.	Venezuela and Spain.	181	Extract from Treaty of Peace and Recognition between Venezuela and Spain, signed at Madrid, March 30, 1845.	297
1859, May 5.	Venezuela and Brazil.	182	Treaty as to Boundaries and River navigation, between Venezuela and Brazil, signed at Caracas, May 5, 1859.	298
1896, September 14. ...	Prof. George L. Burr.	183	As to Schomburgk's physical map and the Curumu post.	303
1897.	Prof. George L. Burr.	184	As to the charter proposed for Essequibo and Demerara, by G. A. W. Ruysch, June 22, 1803.	304
1898, May 23.	Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs.	185	As to the Venezuelan, Brazilian and Guianan frontier.	304
1898, June 7.	Venezuelan Minister of Public Works.	186	As to the Venezuelan, Brazilian and Guianan frontier.	306
1898, June 20.	Dr. Rafael Seijas.	187	Notes and comments on the British Case.	309
1898, June 20.	Dr. Rafael Seijas.	188	Notes and comments on the British Case.	317
1897, April 16.	Davis Francis Turnbull.	189	Geographical description of the lower Orinoco.	323
1896, June 27.	Eugenio J. Monge.	140	Limits of the Cuyuni savannas.	327

TABLE OF CONTENTS.—PART 7.

**DOCUMENTS, THE PRODUCTION OF WHOSE ORIGINALS WAS REQUESTED BY GREAT
BRITAIN UNDER ARTICLE VII OF THE TREATY OF ARBITRATION.***

DATE.	SOURCE.	No.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1785, June-July.....	Matheo Beltran, Commander of Revenue Boat.	438	Diary of journey from Santo Thomé to the Amacura, Barima, Waini, etc., and return.	331
1792, March 10.....	Luis Antonio Gil, Governor of Guayana.	463	As to trouble with the Indians in Cuyuni.	336
1792, April 11.....	Don Pedro de Lerena.	464	Regarding flight of Indians from Cura and advising that Euro- peans or creoles be persuaded to settle in Indian towns.	338
1796, October 8.....	Intendent-General of the Army and Royal Treasury.	467	As to establishment of a Spanish town at junction of the Cuyuni and Curumo.	339
1796, October 14.	President-Governor and Cap- tain-General of Caracas.	468	As to establishment of a Spanish town at junction of Cuyuni and Curumo.	348
1800, October 14.....	Don José Felipe Inciarte.	471	A table showing the number of Spanish troops under arms in Guayana and where stationed.	349

* These documents here bear the same numbers as in the Case of Venezuela.

APPENDIX

PART 2

DOCUMENTS FROM SPANISH SOURCES

No. 1.

Letter from Don Diego Suarez de Amaya, Governor of Nueva Andalucia, to the King of Spain, dated August 10, 1602, enclosing copy of letter from Don Fernando de Oruña, Governor of El Dorado, to Suarez, as to the condition of the conquest of El Dorado, November 8, 1601.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 54, Case 4, Bundle 9.]

SEÑOR:

Upon sending me to serve this Government, Your Majesty gave me instructions to report on the condition of the conquest of El Dorado, by the Governor Don Fernando de Oruña y de la Hoz. In compliance with Your Majesty's orders I gathered information from many persons who were acquainted with it and sent Your Majesty an exhaustive and accurate report of everything, sending in duplicate, first, second, third and fourth copies, so that one at least should not fail to reach the hands of Your Majesty. I ended by saying that, from the journey said Don Fernando was intending to undertake the summer following the date of my said letter, (which was last summer), the truth in regard to said conquest would be brought to light, as well as the deception, and that I should inform Your Majesty of the fact. This I now do, not only stating what I have heard from persons coming from the place, but also sending Your Majesty certain paragraphs, which I send enclosed, from the letters which said Don Fernando has written me.

He started last summer to continue his conquest and in search of the Dorado River, (which, it seems, can never be found,) leaving the city of the Arias depopulated, the reason why, I shall explain further on; and three times he attempted to cross some wild mountain ranges, beyond which, according to the information which he has received, lies the land so eagerly desired by him. Said ranges are rough, precipitous and lengthy, the lack of food there being the greatest impediment to any attempts to cross them, and the Indians who dwell in those regions being obliged to subsist on roots. Not being able to cross this mountain he travelled to other provinces, retreating to the city of Santo Thomé, there being no other in said provinces. From there he went to the Island of Trinidad, where he is at present, collecting a supply of certain things in order to return next summer in search of his conquest. As I am his nearest neighbor, (there being no other Government any nearer, as both this and the other formed one single government formerly), I have aided him as far as in my power, sending to him the strangers and adventurers who have come here. All this I have done to serve Your Majesty as is my duty.

From his own soldiers who have come here in search of necessities for their subsistence, it has been learned that although they intend to undertake the journey in the coming summer, they are convinced beforehand they will only meet anew a disappointment in trying to find El Do-

No. 1.

rado and attempting a conquest. I shall report to Your Majesty on the matter.

The City of the Arias is one of the two that Don Fernando had settled; it is farther inland than Santo Thomé and according to all reports it is very fertile and suitable for cattle breeding and tillage and thickly populated by Indians who, being barbarians, conceived such a hatred towards the Spaniards that they preferred to leave their native country rather than to have intercourse with them, and they retreated so far that, in a radius of thirty leagues from that city, not one single Indian was to be found. The soldiers, being unable to support themselves without the aid of the Indians, were compelled to leave said site and to search for another, where they could rebuild said city, which has not been done as yet. May our Lord keep Your Majesty's life for as many long and happy years as may be needful for Christianity. From this Province of Nueva Andalucia in the City of Cumaná, on the tenth day of August, in the year one thousand six hundred and two.

Kissing Your Majesty's Royal feet, Your Majesty's loyal vassal and servant.

NOTE: There is on the back of this an order of the Council reading as follows:

"Examined on the tenth of March, six hundred and four. No action required. File with the papers of El Dorado." Here follows His Majesty's flourish.

I enclose copy of the letter of D. Fernando de Oruña to Don Diego Suarez de Amaya.

[Copy of letter enclosed with above.]

I have received two letters of Your Honor on my arrival in this city of Santo Thomé, one bearing date of October eighth and the other of July twelfth of this year, one thousand six hundred and one. I shall not fail to give Your Honor a complete and truthful report of all my actions up to this date.

From the city of the Arias I sent Captain Martin Gomez, with more than one hundred men and more than two hundred horses (the men armed and sufficiently supplied with amunitions and stores to fit out double their number), to go to and enter the provinces nearest the Rocks (*Peñoles*) where, according to accurate information which we possessed, he was to enter in order to discover the land that has given us so much trouble. Having left the Arias, at our command, at a distance of about fourteen leagues from it and at about twenty leagues off the Rocks, he arrived at the Province of the Panacayas, where there may be from five to six thousand Indians, and which is situated a short distance inland. Upon his arrival he had some skirmishes with the natives, notwithstanding their seeming overtures of peace. He was successful, but although he tried to gather information, he never was able to find out how to cross the rocks and mountains. I had instructed

No. 1.

him to camp wherever he might find food until my arrival with the rest of the army and the apparatus of war which was large.

Now, in reference to not having clearer information concerning the advices we received, and lack of food, although he informed me of the fact, and sent thereupon a request that I should be there in four days, he ordered the camp raised, which, in a body, passed near the Arias. After I had left, at about one and a half leagues from Santo Thomé, I was informed of his retreat, which greatly displeased me. Seeing that I could not help the harm done, I determined to send the same Captain to the Chimera Indians, where I had been during the past summer, (they being well settled and having plenty of food) to see whether he might be able, through their territory, to cross the mountains which have always been impassable notwithstanding all our attempts. There were several mutinies and uprisings in the camp, as well as in this city, although some were punished. God was pleased to quell them all. Upon entering we found that the Chimeras Indians had left for the woods, having laid waste the country, the demon having ordered them to do so because we were to return through that place. On this account it was resolved to leave the horses and cows and to enter the mountains on foot to find out the path. While travelling through the ridges they were found to be well peopled for eight or ten miles with very belligerent Indians, who were given a good drubbing, wounding many and killing one man. Being unable to cross the ridge, they left well tired out, their horses being lean and exhausted, and there being twelve or fourteen wounded men. Notwithstanding all these disasters, and although the winter was coming on and more hardships would ensue, I followed on with the army and determined to leave the horses and go personally on this journey of discovery, following the mountain line closely by land and water, doing all that I could possibly do and bearing the brunt of the winter. I leave to your Honor, whose experience in the Indies is so great, the consideration of my plight. I went from this city of Santo Thomé for a distance of two hundred and thirty leagues without being able to find either a pass or juncture by which to cross, (the wealth and riches of the place being ever present in my mind) and I came out at the River Guanaima Cuchivero, where I found the land and ridge free from obstacles and so much information and news as I have never had before; but the land was so uneven and barren as not to afford the barest means of supporting life, which made it impossible for me to continue the journey unless at the cost of men's lives. Having been informed of another province where gold was plentiful, I went there, and found there, in short, throngs of native Indians, numbering about three thousand without counting those from the ridge; and opposite to them lies the River Barraguan, which, from this point on, opposite the hills, takes the name of Orinoco. It is said that they all have gold and that the land is rich in mines. Seeing the condition of the men, the samples of gold the natives wore and considering the information they imparted, I determined to stay with them

No. 1.

and to go to the city of Santo Thomé to obtain a supply of ammunition and order some clothing and equipment for the soldiers; I communicated with the Kingdom and with these provinces (?). I shall leave inside of four days for the place where the army was left, to see whether there are mines in that province, according to the information given us by the natives, and to settle (or rebuild) there the city of the Arias; because there is no doubt that from this place the soldiers may be readily equipped, and that if God has made this place and there is in it what has been always promised, I shall discover it. May God grant it for his holy service, as I cannot do any more than I am doing. I shall communicate to your Honor whatever may take place, and have instructed Captain Alejandro de Castilla, whom I leave in my stead, to report to Your Honor.

In reference to Your Honor's request to report on the depopulation of the Arias, what I have to say is that it was and is the best piece of land that I have ever seen in these Indies for cattle breeding and tillage (pasturage). In the first uprising they killed the Spanish *chapetonés* (Spaniards who come without passports to America), as Your Honor must be aware. Being so fertile, here the city of the Arias was founded. There was an uprising of the natives, who killed the Major; their punishment and seizure was seriously undertaken. By reason of the control exercised over them and the war made against them, the natives refused to sow the land or to come to the town, and by this means the Spanish were ejected from this province, famine being used as the worst kind of weapon, there being no remedy against it. And in view of the discovery, it seemed natural that people should be attracted there and to the City of Santo Thomé, as, should the discovery be made, everything could be restored, rebuilding said city of the Arias.

In reference to Captain Gerónimo de Campo, having noted what Your Honor wrote me in former letters, I was grieved to learn that Your Honor was offended. Upon his arrival from the Palisades I scolded and reprimanded him severely for it, and ever since I have felt that he was resentful and he does not respond as requested. I have told him many times to do his duty by sending his son-in-law to that Government and also to send another man to straighten up the things which he left there and so to win Your Honor's good graces. I think that his desire is to go home on account of the difference we had, as stated, by reason of his having displeased Your Honor. He even tries to induce some of my men to leave which would be against Your Honor's interest and cause me great inconvenience to maintain quiet in these provinces. I inform Your Honor of these facts so that, by reason of Your Honor's position, whatever may be deemed most convenient for His Majesty's service may be so ordered by Your Honor, who may also send me a helping hand, if so convenient, as I leave everything to Your Honor's will, asking Your Honor to employ all the means at Your Honor's command in regard to the aforesaid. May our Lord preserve Your Honor's life and my Lady's, Doña Catalina Bellata, whose hand I kiss.

No. 2.

Report of the Council of the Indies to the King of Spain, recommending the appointment of a person to govern the Island of Trinidad, with instructions to drive the enemy therefrom, dated July 29, 1615.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Yndias" (Seville),
Stand 141, Case 2, Bundle 12.]

The Audiencia of the New Kingdom of Granada made a contract and agreement with Captain Antonio de Berrio respecting the exploration and settlement of the district called El Dorado. Among other things they gave him the government of those provinces for two lives, and his late Majesty was pleased to approve, and ordered the arrangement to be sanctioned in 1586; thereupon the said Berrio entered on the work and founded in the Island of Trinidad the town of San Joseph de Oruña, and inland that of Santo Thomé. He died in 1597, and was succeeded by Don Fernando de Berrio, his son, who made some attempts at settlement of little permanence or importance. After that the Council heard that he and all the settlers there lived in such license that they gave free entry at the ports to the enemy's warships of different nations with whom they openly traded, thus contravening the strict prohibition laid down by your Majesty. The result was serious loss and inconveniences, which may be imagined, besides many other excesses which they committed. And although the Audiencias of the Indies have been ordered by cédulas to send every five years to call for an account from the Governors who held their offices for life, this had not been done in the case of Don Fernando de Berrio; it was therefore thought right not to defer it any longer, and a commission was sent on the 23rd March, 1611, to Sancho de Alquiza instructing him to proceed thence to Trinidad in order to investigate the conduct of said Don Fernando de Berrio, his ministers and officers and find out all the faults and excesses of which they were accused and to prosecute any other parties who had been involved in said trade and other delinquencies. Having done so, said Don Fernando, on account of the charges brought against him was condemned to be deprived for life of the office of Governor and Captain General, according to the sentence given by the Council on twentieth of November of sixteen hundred and fourteen, whereby he was also condemned to other penalties; although, later on, taking into consideration certain just causes, which were submitted to Your Majesty for advice, while imploring Your Majesty's grace, Your Majesty was pleased to suspend the privation, at the same time forbidding him to enter into said Province without Your Majesty's consent, and thereupon he came to continue his case in this Court and remains here in Spain. In the meanwhile the Governor of Margarita, the Corporation of Trinidad, the Vicar thereof and Don Juan Tostado, who is governing the island on the nomination of Sancho de Alquiza and Antonio de Mexica, in whose charge he left that part of the Government called Guayana, write to your Majesty, in letters dated 1613 and 1614, that all those coasts are visited by great numbers of Flemish

No. 2.

and English ships who with the help of the Carib Indians, with whom they have made friends, are making some settlements, and that in particular they have three or four from the River Marañon to the Orinoco, where they are engaged in considerable tobacco plantations, and that, with the mouths of the two rivers which they have already taken, they are making themselves masters of the positions and products of the natives, and rob the friendly Indians, and do much other damage, to such an extent that if careful measures are taken to endeavour to stop all this, it may be feared that they will shortly make themselves masters of the whole of that territory which is better adapted for their tobacco farms and other plantations and undertakings than others in the Indies.

All these matters were considered and discussed very carefully at the Council, as well as the anxiety which must be caused by the fact that these enemies are making every effort to extend their possessions and strike root throughout the Indies wherever they can, in order to have farms and other trade, and while deriving great profit and advantage therefrom, do your Majesty and your vassals all the injury possible; and that from their presence there, further and greater evils might result, if they are aided by the Carib Indians, as they now are, and they be to windward of all the Indies, so that with quite a small fleet they could do very great damage, besides the fact that by allowing foreign nations so ill-affected to Spain to have settlements in territory which belongs to your Majesty, we suffer in reputation, and we are obliged to consider the remedy and the great need of some one to defend the Island of Trinidad, as there is only one Spanish settlement there, and that so small that there are not more than sixty men who can bear arms, so that it can be easily taken; and should the enemy fortify themselves in it, they would thereby cause great damage to the neighboring islands and to the mainland of Guayana and the New Kingdom; and that by different reports sent to your Majesty who ordered them to be sent to the Board it is seen how careful they are in carrying this into effect knowing how much they may profit by it. In consideration of all the foregoing and other reasons stated, the Council is of the opinion that, in the interest of Y. M.'s service there should be no delay in ejecting them from thence, depriving them of their towns and plantations, and punishing both them and the Carib Indians who aid them; and in order to accomplish this without considerable outlay of the Royal Treasury, without noise and without the trouble of sending at the present time, ships and soldiers to accomplish it, and in order that the Spaniards now residing there and the Christian Indians subjects of Y. M. may have a head to defend and govern them in peace and justice, as it is meet, it has been deemed convenient to appoint a person of satisfactory conditions, a soldier, having great experience and knowledge of the affairs of the Indies, to govern over said province in the service of Y. M. under the title of Governor and Captain-General, charging him particularly to place everything

No. 2.

in the convenient and desirable good order, using for the same the greatest possible care and diligence. It is believed that a person of such qualities may accomplish this by the aid of his intelligence, the Spaniards that may be found at the place and the Christian Indians; and if, in view of this situation, he should inform that he needs the aid of a few soldiers he may then have them sent to him. Said person to go for the period of four years with a salary of three thousand ducats a year, two thousand to be paid by the Royal Treasury of Cartagena and the other thousand from the products of the land, it being understood that should there be none (products) this amount is not to be paid by your Majesty's Treasury. This is the most moderate salary that can be assigned to whomsoever may take charge of this service, and a promise could be made him that further compensation will be granted in accordance with the results and benefits derived from his acceptance and good government. The persons most appropriate to discharge this duty are the following:

Alonzo de Miranda, who, for the last twenty-eight years has done service on land and sea, and at the beginning of his career in the Kingdom of Sicily as a valiant soldier, sergeant and ensign. Upon the death of his captain he was placed in charge of the company and shipped with them in the galleys, and, when that of the King of Algiers was captured, he was the first man to board her, where he was grievously wounded in the face and right hand; he assisted in the capture of three galleys and other vessels and in the sallies made by the *Adelantado Mayor*; at that time he was in charge of all the artillery and in the capture of another English vessel he was also the first man to board her, taking the captain prisoner, who served Your Majesty with him, his ransom having been set at two thousand ducats. After this he was sent to serve in Lisbon with additional pay and continued enjoying the same in the Galleys of Spain until he was sent to the Indies with thirty crowns pay. Upon his return he met his father in this court in the year ninety-eight when he was the Attorney of the City of Soria before the Cortes. Upon the death of his father he, by virtue of the authority sent him, served that post until the adjournment of the Cortes, having received no compensation therefor. In the year six hundred and six he was appointed by Your Majesty, Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Jamaica for the term of six years: he only served a little over three years, having delivered said Island to the Duke of Veragua when he was put in possession of the State. Having disposed of his property in order to leave Spain and go in the discharge of his duties, believing it was to be for the six years mentioned in Your Majesty's appointment; as he did not serve more than half of the time he is very poor and in straightened circumstances awaiting Your Majesty's pleasure in this Court. In consideration of all this the Council has proposed him for several offices, finally for the one of Santa Marta which Y. M. was pleased to grant to Captain Francisco de Santander, ordering that that of Quijos should be given him and although he did not solicit it nor was he consulted on the

No. 2.

matter he has accepted it for obedience, notwithstanding that it is of less importance than those to which he is entitled. Now, he is proposed to Y. M. by the Council for this Government of Trinidad, his person being highly satisfactory and apparently the most suitable for the required work as it appears from his work in Jamaica where he armed at his own expense two vessels with which he ejected the enemies who went there to trade, devoting his care to this, making several public works for the benefit of said land, the report on his Government made by the competent judge having declared him to be an upright officer zealous in the service of Your Majesty.

Sancho de Alquiza has been in the service since the expedition of Phelipe Estroci to Terceiras (Azores). He went afterwards to England and upon his return he continued his services in the trade of the Indies where he was Captain of the Galleons in the Armada that set out in charge of Don Bernadino de Abellaneda and Marcos de Arámburu; he went as Admiral with the first assistance sent to Britain and subsequently conducted another to Havana, after which he was appointed by Y. M. Captain and Commander of Cartagena de los Indias, and returning to Spain on furlough after having discharged these and other duties satisfactorily, Y. M. was pleased to vouchsafe him the Government of the Province of Venezuela in the year six hundred and four where he discharged his duties until the year six hundred and eleven when his successor was appointed; then he was sent to the Island of Trinidad to inquire into the excesses and shortcomings of which Don Fernando de Berris and other residents were accused and having performed his duties and reported thereon he left for Cartagena where he is at present a resident.

Captain Diego Palomeque de Acuña has served during the last twenty years as a brave soldier on different occasions, particularly in Ireland where he commanded a company upon the death of Captain Soto. So satisfactory were his services and so zealous was he in the fulfilment of his duties that in the year six hundred and one he was duly appointed for the place and upon his dismissal he was assigned, with twenty-five crowns pay, near the person of General Don Luis Faxardo. In the year six hundred and five he went to raise a company of two hundred and fifty Infantry by commission of Y. M. The Duke of Lernza by a letter has been pleased to order that his aspirations should be heard in Council and that he should consult him if necessary. In compliance with this, the Council has proposed him on several occasions.

Out of the proposed persons or any others Y. M. will be pleased to make a selection—Madrid, July 29th, 615.

[*On the reverse is the following :*]

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES July 29th, 615.

Considering the importance of sending a person to govern and administer justice in the Island of Trinidad and to strive to eject the enemy from

No. 2.

it; and the persons adjudged more suitable for that Government and what is required of it.—Received on the 11th of August, 615.—J. Perez de Contrera.

I hereby appoint Captain Diego Palomeque de Acuña, the other particulars being found in order (the King's sign manual).

No. 3.

Writ of Summons, Deposition of Witnesses and Sentence in the Case instituted against Clemente Gunter, a Hollander, in Santo Thomé de la Guayana, March 16, 1665.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Indias " (Seville), *Escritania de Cámara*, Bundle 660.]

CASE AGAINST CLEMENTE GUNTER, HOLLANDER, IN SANTO THOMÉ DE LA GUAYANA.

Writ of Summons.—In the city of Santo Thomé del Santísimo Sacramento de Guayana, on the sixteenth of March of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty five, Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga, Captain of the mounted Spanish Cuirassiers in Flanders, His Majesty's Governor and Captain General of these Provinces of Guayana and Island of Trinidad, before me, the Notary, deposed and said that finding himself, on the eleventh of the present month, at the port called Arena, on the banks of this Orinoco River, while he was, in company with regular Magistrates and members of the Chapter and citizens of the Commonwealth, engaged in searching for a site within the jurisdiction of this city, appropriate for a settlement and for a fortification advantageous to His Majesty's service, there arrived at said port, where His Honor was at mess, a small vessel with two boys, mongrels of Flemish and Indian, who delivered a letter to His Honor from Clemente Gunter, a Hollander, stating that the aforesaid (Gunter) sent them with said letter to His Honor, and that shortly after, while reading the letter, another pirogue arrived, and, recognizing that they were foreigners, His Honor ordered them to anchor outside until morning, as it was night at the time, to which said Clemente Gunter answered that he had no grapnel with which to anchor, and His Honor ordered them to lay to near His Honor's vessels, and gave orders that they should be watched and not allowed to come ashore until so ordered by His Honor. That on the morning of the twelfth of said month the said Clemente Gunter came ashore where His Honor was, and that said Clemente Gunter was the same person who wrote the letter mentioned in this Writ of Summons, and thereupon His Honor ordered him to embark, and sent him to this city with said pirogue and two Flemish men who came in his company, and the two mongrels and a young negress and other belongings of the aforesaid, in charge of Gaspar de Aranda, Adjutant, and other soldiers His

No. 3.

Honor had in his company and guard, to Vicente de Urrestig, officer of the Royal Treasury, in whose charge the Government of this city was left, with instructions to keep them prisoners under watch and in custody until His Honor should come to inquire into and investigate the reason why the said Clemente Gunter had come where His Honor was; and finding that the instructions given to said Vicente de Urrestig had been faithfully complied with, His Honor ordered that for the trial of this cause an examination be held, according to the tenor of this Writ of Summons, of such witnesses as may be deemed expedient to prove the facts, that the necessary proceedings for the proper administration of justice be instituted, and that the letter be filed with this case for future evidence; and he signed the same Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga—before me, Don Juan de Novoa, Notary Public and of the Chapter.

Testimony.—In the City of Santo Thomé del Santísimo Sacramento de la Guayana, on the aforesaid day of March sixteenth, one thousand six hundred and sixty-five, His Honor Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga, His Majesty's Governor and Captain General of this Province, directed that, for the taking of testimony, Ensign Juan Moreno de Figueroa, a resident, discharging the duties of Treasurer of this city, appear before him, and having done so, His Honor administered the oath in the name of God and the sign of the cross, as required by law, and being sworn he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned, as set forth in the Writ of Summons, which was read to him, he stated: That having gone in company with his Honor, the Governor, in search of and to discover what is set forth in the Writ of Summons, he left this city on Tuesday, the tenth of March, and that on Wednesday, the eleventh, being in the place set forth in said Writ of Summons, at about eight o'clock in the evening, a vessel arrived with two Flemish mongrels on board, and the Guard having informed the Governor who they were, he ordered them to come up and they delivered a letter to His Honor which they brought from a Hollander named Clemente Gunter, who, they stated, had remained below. Shortly after, the guard commenced to shout, having ascertained that a pirogue was coming into said port, and on asking who they were, answer was made that it was Clemente Gunter; and the Governor being informed of the fact, His Honor gave orders to anchor outside, to which Clemente Gunter replied, that he had no grapnel to anchor with; to this, His Honor replied by ordering them to come on board of the pirogues that were in port, giving instructions to the guard not to permit them to come ashore; and that the deponent saw on the morning of the twelfth said Clemente on shore, and saw the Governor instruct Adjutant Gaspar de Aranda, with other soldiers of the guard, to bring said Clemente Gunter with the others of his suite to this city, and that in reference to the order of the Adjutant, brought for the Auditor, Vincent Urrestig, the deponent does not know of it, as the Governor sent it in writing. But he has seen, after coming to this city, that

No. 3.

said Clemente is in prison with the others, his companions. And that this is the truth and that he knows it to be so in obedience to his oath; and he declared that he was about sixty years of age, and signed the same, as did also His Honor --Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga--Juan Moreno de Figueroa--Before me, Don Juan de Noboa, Notary Public and of the Chapter.

Deposition of the aforesaid Gunter.--In the City of Santo Thomé del Santísimo Sacramento de Guayana, on the eighteenth day of March of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-five, His Honor Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga, His Majesty's Governor and Captain General of the Provinces, and Judge of this case, ordered Clemente Gunter, a native Hollander, mentioned in this trial, to appear before His Honor to make his deposition; and having appeared he was asked whether he was a Roman Apostolic Christian, to which the aforesaid replied that he was, and the oath was administered to him in the name of God and by the sign of the cross, as required by law, and being sworn he promised to tell the truth in answer to whatever questions should be put to him; and he was questioned, as set forth in the counts of this Writ of Summons, and he replied as follows:

Being asked to state and declare of what place he is a native, he answered that he was from Anburg.

Being asked to state where he resides, he stated that for two and a half years he had resided at Booruma, a Dutch settlement.

Being asked by whose leave and license he entered the Orinoco river, he answered, that with a permit from Theodoro Saes, Governor of said place, Booruma, dated on the third day of June, one thousand six hundred and sixty four, and that since the date on which he left Booruma, he has spent five or six days in reaching this place, and that a month thereafter he arrived in this town.

Being asked as to why he had come to this city, he answered, that to collect some few debts for clothing sold on credit to two of the inhabitants.

Being asked as to where he had been and how he had spent all his time since he came from Booruma, he answered, that for two months he was sick at the house of Don Miguel Francisco Carrera, of this city, the Governor of the same, Don Pedro de Viedma, being absent, and that he spent the rest of the time on this river Orinoco and its several creeks.

Being asked as to whether the Governor, Don Pedro de Viedma, had granted him a permit to come up to this city, he answered yes, to inform said Governor as to who were the debtors.

Being asked as to what site the Booruma settlement lies on, he answered, at about eight and a half degrees, a flat country, distant about thirty leagues from the main mouth of the river, called Amacuro; that said settlement may have about one hundred and fifty paid soldiers, and up to four

No. 3.

hundred inhabitants and about two thousand negro slaves, and that sugar was the staple product.

Being asked about the population of Essequibo, of the same nation, and its distance from Booruma, he said: It lies from ten to twelve leagues to the windward on the same coast of *terra firma*, and that it is governed by a lieutenant; that he did not know its population, but that he knows that there is a fortress with a garrison of soldiers.

Being asked as to whether he knows the population of the settlement of the Velvis river and how far it lies from that of Essequibo, he said he thought about forty leagues to the windward of that of Essequibo; but that he does not know the number of inhabitants and soldiers, he never having been there, but that he knows that said settlement belongs to his nation.

Being asked as to what he knew about the Island of Tobago and what nations occupy it, he said that Curlanders and Hollanders had divided it into two portions, but that he does not know the number of people in either the one or the other portion.

Being asked as to the amount that the inhabitants of this city still owe him, he said that he had given about one thousand eight hundred *pesos* of various goods on credit, and that this is what he knows in obedience to his oath, which he affirmed and ratified, stating that he was about thirty-six years of age, and he signed, as also did His Honor, the Governor, as attested by me. Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga Clemente Gunter. Before me, Don Juan de Noboa, Notary Public and of the Chapter.

Sentence.—I, Don Joseph de Axpe y Zúñiga, Captain of Mounted Spanish Curassiers, His Majesty's Governor and Captain General of these Provinces and Island of Trinidad, do hereby pass the following sentence: Clemente Gunter, a Hollander, having entered this river Orinoco in violation of His Majesty's orders that no foreigner be allowed on said river, ports and jurisdiction of said city, with any vessels, either large or small, on account of the many frauds resulting therefrom, and the great profits which can be made therein, all of which is to His Majesty's detriment and a usurpation of His Royal Rights and the rest of what is set forth in said Royal Orders, I hereby condemn him, Gunter, to lose all his effects seized and inventoried, of which I do dispose in the following manner, to wit: The pirogue with her tackle and rigging will be taken to be used for the trips made in the service of His Majesty and for communication between this city of Guayana and said Island of Trinidad, said pirogue to be delivered upon arrival at said Island to the Chief Lieutenant of Port of Spain, and when at this city of Santo Thomé, to the Captain of the Company of Infantry, or to the person in charge of same in his absence; and the arquebuse and the gun to be delivered with the other arms of His Majesty to soldiers for their service, and the other belongings to be sold at auction to defray the costs which the said Clemente Gunter and his four companions have caused to be incurred and the costs of this case, and the remainder to be applied to the purchase of munitions of war. In reference to the

No. 3.

persons of said Clemente Gunter and his four companions, I will examine the case, meting out justice, and I do warn them and do hereby command that, should the said Clemente Gunter and his four companions be found again in said river Orinoco, its ports and jurisdictions, if captured, they shall be condemned to death. Such being my final judgment, I hereby proclaim it and order it to be put into execution.

DON JOSEPH DE AXPE Y ZÚÑIGA.

No. 4.

Order given by Tiburcio Axpe y Zúñiga, Governor of Guiana, February 15, 1680, to take the deposition of the Dutch prisoners captured on the Orinoco.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville),
Stand 54, Case 4, Bundle 1.]

1680.—In the city of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, on the fifteenth day of February of the year one thousand six hundred and eighty, I, Don Tiburcio de Axpe y Zúñiga, His Majesty's Governor and Captain General, with the witnesses with whom I perform this act for lack of a notary; whereas, on this day, at about eleven o'clock, I noticed a vessel about two leagues to leeward of this city, in one of the rivers, and having entered said river for the purpose of searching her, there were found on board two Hollanders, one called Jan Cusin and the other Pitri, and two mulattoes of the same nationality, one called Pedro and the other Francisco, the boatmen being Araguaca Indians; there was also in this vessel a Dutch flag unfolded. Her capture was undertaken and accomplished; one three pounder piece was found in said vessel and the prisoners were brought to this city, and whereas it is expedient for the good of His Majesty's service on account of the frequency with which those of said nation come to this river to trade among the natives, and also on account of their perseverance in maintaining such trade and transactions with the inhabitants in violation of the agreements, and that as a result of these transactions this place has been lost several times; now, therefore, in order to obviate said difficulties, I have ordered the depositions of said prisoners to be taken, and this done, such action will be taken as may seem best for the good of His Majesty's service.

No. 5.

Deposition made February 15, 1680, by Pitri Dirguian, one of the Dutchmen captured on the Orinoco.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville),
Stand 54, Case 4, Bundle 1.]

On the same day, month and year aforesaid, I, Don Tiburcio Axpe y Zúñiga, caused Pitri Dirguian to appear before me; and he not being able

No. 5.

to speak Spanish, Pedro de Axpe acted as interpreter and was duly sworn by me to ask the questions and repeat the answers in their order, and he promised to perform this duty to the best of his knowledge and ability in obedience to his oath. The deponent was not sworn owing to his inability to take the oath. The interpreter being requested to ask him as to why he had come to this river, he stated that they had left Berbis in quest of some Caribs who had killed several Hollanders; that they found said Caribs at the mouth of the river Orinoco and killed them; that, being short of supplies, they went to the Guaraunos in search of them, and, not finding any, necessity compelled them to come to the Aruacas to obtain them; that the wares they carry are to obtain supplies and not to make transactions and that this is the reason why he offered no resistance when captured, knowing that no harm could befall him, being peaceable. Being asked as to what place he started from, he answered from Berbis by order of Lucas Caudti, Governor of said place (or post) and that nothing contrary to his deposition will be found. The aforesaid interpreter stated that he had performed his duty well and faithfully, in obedience to his oath, and did not sign because he did not know how to do so, one of the witnesses signing at his request before me and the witnesses with whom I perform this act for lack of a notary.

No. 6.

Deposition, made February 15, 1680, by Jan Endriguez, one of the Dutchmen captured on the Orinoco.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 54, Case 4, Bundle 1.]

On the same day, month and year, I, Don Tiburcio de Axpe y Zúñiga, caused Jan Endriguez, a native Hollander, to appear before me; and, being unable to speak Spanish, Pedro de Axpe acted as interpreter, and, being duly sworn that he would address the questions and repeat the answers in the order given, he promised to tell the truth to the best of his knowledge and ability in obedience to his oath. The said deponent was not sworn because of his inability to take the oath. The interpreter being requested to ask him as to why he had come to this river, he stated that they had left Berbis in quest of some Caribs who had killed several Hollanders, and that they had met said Caribs at the mouth of said Orinoco river and had killed them; that, being short of supplies, they went to the Guaraunos in search of them, and not finding any, necessity compelled them to come to the Aruacas for them; that the wares they carry are to obtain supplies and not to make transactions, and that for this reason he offered no resistance when captured, knowing that no harm would befall him, being peaceable. Being asked as to what place he started from, he

No. 6.

answered from Berbis by order of Lucas Caudt, governor of said place, and that nothing contrary to his deposition will be found. The aforesaid interpreter stated that he had performed his duty well and faithfully in obedience to his oath, and that he did not sign because he did not know how to do so, and one of the witnesses signed upon his request with me, and the witnesses with whom I perform this act for lack of a notary.

No. 7.

Deposition, made February 15, 1680, by Guaray, an Arawak Indian, captured with the Dutchmen on the Orinoco.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville),
Stand 54, Case 4, Bundle 1.]

On the said day, month and year, I, Don Tiburcio de Axpe y Zúñiga, caused Guaray, a native Aruacan, to appear before me; and, as he was unable to speak Spanish, Pedro de Axpe acted as interpreter, who, being duly sworn, said that he would address the questions and repeat the answers in the order given; he promised to tell the truth to the best of his knowledge and ability, in obedience to his oath. The said deponent was not sworn because of his inability to take the oath. The interpreter being requested to ask him as to why he had come to the Orinoco in company with the Flemish, he stated that the Governor of Berbis had sent for him to his dwelling and informed him that some Caribs had killed several Hollanders, and that he should come in company with Pitri Dirguian and Jan Endriguez, with as many Aruacans as he could muster, to look for and punish them; that he got ready as many pirogues as he could and set out in quest of said Caribs, whom they met at the mouth of the Amacuro, and killed them and captured eight vessels; that, having run short of supplies, they were compelled to come to the Guaraunos in search of them, they being the nearest; and that not finding anything, necessity compelled them to come to the Aruacas in quest of supplies; and he made no further statement. The interpreter stated that he had performed his duty faithfully and well, and did not sign because he did not know how to do so, and one of the witnesses signed at his request, with me and the witnesses with whom I perform this act for lack of a notary.

No. 8.

Order, made February 15, 1680, by Tiburcio Axpe y Zúñiga, Governor of Guiana, directing the captured Dutchmen to depart from the Orinoco and not to return under penalty of forfeiture.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville),
Stand 54, Case 4, Bundle 1.]

Thereupon, in view of the foregoing depositions in this document, I ordered that notice be given to the deposing Hollanders to wit: That they

No. 8.

must forthwith embark and leave this river, warning them that should they fail to comply with the orders and be captured a second time, they will forfeit all that is found with them and will be punished as transgressors of the orders and agreements; and this will not only apply to this (second) instance but to any other instance, when they may be found on this river. This act shall be made known to them for their instruction, and they shall be given letters of safe conduct, for to day, after which the foregoing shall be in force. Done on the said day, month and year.

No. 9.

Orders of Cristoval Felix de Guzman, Governor of Guiana, to Francisco de Venavides, his Lieutenant of War of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, July 7, 1711, in case of an invasion.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 56, Case 6, Bundle 15.]

Major Don Cristobal Felix de Guzman, Governor and Captain General of the City of San José de Oruña, Island of Trinidad and Provinces of El Dorado, Guayana, Naparimas, Aruacas, Pariagotos, Caribes, Guaraunos and their Royal Forces by the King our Master . . . etc.

By these presents I order and command Captain Don Francisco de Venavides, my Post Lieutenant, Chief Justice, and Captain of War of the City of Santo Thome del Sant° Sacramento of the Province of Guayana—

To be very careful and vigilant of the movements and intentions of the Hollanders of Surinam, Berbis and Essequibo, also of the Caribes and Aruacas Indians who are with the aforesaid people.

To take notes of their pretentions and their forces, and to give me notice of everything.

To hold the Royal Forces in regular defense with provisions and the Infantry well supplied with ammunition.

To the Cacique Don Lorenzo de Playas and his Lieutenant of Guayano and Pariagoto Indians, and Captain Don Antonio Baraba y Bustamente, who is with the Aruacas of that territory, keep them advised and in readiness, that, in case of hostilities they with their men may promptly come to the defense of this city and Royal forces.

At all events occupy the hill which serves as a rampart to said Royal forces, covering yourselves with regular trenches, with enough men to repulse whomsoever would attack said Post, and never to abandon it even if it should take the last drop of blood.

In case you are unable to resist the enemy and, should be forced to surrender, to capitulate honorably, with credit to the Arms of Our King and Master Don Felipe V., over whom God guard.

And you will retire with your men to the Place of Araguacay, where

No. 9.

the Cacique Magaracana lives, so as not to leave the Province helpless—procuring safe places for the security of the women and families—and particularly for the Indians so as not to let them be made slaves and heretics.

And of all the events in all circumstances and times you will give me notice so as to be able to help you promptly without delay.

Given in this City of Santisimo Sacramento of the Province of Guayana the seventh day of July in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven.

Signed by my hand and countersigned by my Secretary of War.

DON CRISTOVAL FELIX DE GUZMAN.
(a flourish)

FRANCISCO DE VENAVIDES—(a flourish)

By Command of the Governor and Captain General my Master. DON PEDRO DE LA GUERRA Y VEGA, his secretary—(a flourish).

No. 10.

Certificate given by Cristoval Guillen de Orvay and other officers of the Island of Trinidad in favor of Cristoval Felix de Guzman, Governor of Guiana, etc., September 13, 1711.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville),
Stand 56, Case 6, Bundle 14.]

Sergeant Major Don Christoval Guillen de Orvay, His Majesty's Regular Magistrate for this present year; and Captain Don Antonio Garcia de Cordova; and Ensign D. Martin de Mendoza, Magistrates, do hereby certify before our Lord the King in his Royal and Supreme Council and Chamber of the Indies, and before all other Courts to whom it may concern, that Sergeant Major Don Xptoval Felix de Guzman His Majesty's Governor and Captain General of these Provinces is known to us; that he took possession of said Provinces on the twenty first of April of the present year, and thereupon he passed muster and attended to the defenses of the Government in His Majesty's Service. He went to Guiana to reconnoitre the River Orinoco as far as Angostura, which no other governor has done since Don Pedro de Viedma went to punish the Carib Indians of Caura. We also testify to the truth of the attempt made by the Dutch enemy from Surinam to fall upon the Province of Guiana and Angostura, prompted thereto by their covetousness of the silver mine of Aracafua; and that the work of making six gun carriages for the artillery of Guiana was carefully watched over and supervised by him; that on this matter he issued decrees—to which we refer—by reason of several depositions justifying such act. That, at a general meeting held by order of said gentleman, we were informed of the worthless state of defense of the said Province of Guiana; and moreover that

No. 10.

he brought with him a Dutch prisoner from Surinama, whom he captured in the Orinoco and pressed into the fold of our Holy Roman Church, said gentleman, amid general rejoicing, standing as his god-father. And in order that the foregoing be rewarded, be it known that on the eleventh day of July, said gentleman arrived on this island and has been, since then, communicating with our Lord the King, the Royal Audiencia of the New Kingdom the Governments of Margareta, Cumaná and Caracas, requesting men and ammunitions up to this day the thirteenth of September of this year, when he sealed, in our presence, a dispatch addressed to our Lord the King, sent by way of Martinique having done so previously by way of Nueva España and last month by way of the Isles with Don Pedro Caviades with unceasing zeal; and in the testimony thereof we issue these presents in this city of San Joseph de Oruña Island of Trinidad, on the thirteenth day of the month of September in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven, this document not being attested by a notary public there being none here, and being drawn up on common paper for lack of stamped paper.

No. 11.

Report to the Council of the Indies by Don Antonio de la Pedrosa y Guerrero, dated Madrid, May 5, 1723.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Yndias" (Seville), Stand 56, Case 6, Bundle 19.]

1723.—Having gone to the Provinces of the Indies by order of His Majesty for the purpose of establishing the Vice-Royalty in the city of Santa Fé, capital of the new kingdom of Granada and in the discharge of other affairs related to His Royal Service, I endeavored to become acquainted with everything pertaining to the matter, and of all that could result in benefit of the service of the King. I found that through a vast extent of those lands there runs the mighty Orinoco whose rapid flow descends through the Province of Santiago de los Llanos and empties into the sea at the north off the Island of Trinidad of the Windward. On the mouth of said river emptying into the sea, the Castle of Guayana is built on the mainland and its garrison is paid from the Royal Treasury of Santa Fé where they have their funds and during my time I sent eighteen thousand four hundred pesos for that purpose.

Both on the shores of said rivers and inland there live countless heathen Caribs. They live without the true knowledge of our Holy Faith as there are no ministers of the gospel to instruct them, because, although the Fathers of the Sacred Religion of the Glorious Patriarch St. Ignatius of Loyola have undertaken the reduction and conversion of said heathen Carib Indians, nothing has been accomplished because said River is open and unprotected and they, the Religious Fathers, have recognized the fact

No. 11.

that the diligence of the Apostolic Missionaries would bear no fruit, they being only exposed to perish and die at the hands of said heathen Caribs, as has previously occurred. To the Company of Jesus was allotted, as their territory for the Missions and the reductions of Indians, the Province of Santiago de los Llanos and the Orinoco River, the Company and their Religious Fathers being intrusted with the reduction all along, up the Orinoco river from north to south. The Company of the Jesuits therefore undertook the reductions of the Llanos and founded six towns, went to the Orinoco and there entered into said river and its shores in the year of one thousand six hundred and eighty one, Fathers Ignacio Fiol, Gasper Bech, Christoval Riedel, Ignacio Toebast, Julian de Bergara and Agustin de Campo, who founded five towns, and while they were peacefully teaching the Indians, the Caribs living on the sea shore and the mouths of the Orinoco came upon them in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty four and, attacking the towns, killed Fathers Ignacio Fiol, Gaspar Bech and Ignacio Toebast; on this account the towns were deserted, the Indians leaving and the surviving Fathers went to the Mission of the Llanos. Later in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety one, other fathers went to the Orinoco taking an escort whose corporal and captain was Tiburcio de Medina. Again the Caribs attacked them in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety three, treacherously killing the captain and causing great suffering to Father Vicente Lobero; and the other Fathers, who had gone there, left for the Missions of the Llanos. After such experiences and the river being undefended, (the fort which His Majesty ordered to be built for its defense has not been erected), the reductions have not been continued, the fathers being unable to go there unless the invasions and hostilities of the Caribs are checked.

In addition to the foregoing it must be added that the river has neither garrison nor defense of any kind for preventing and hindering the incursions of the Hollanders and other foreign nations sailing on that sea, and having several settlements near said river Orinoco, this gives them a chance to freely introduce themselves daily and frequently by the river, going far into the interior and trading with said Indians, exporting from those lands and domains of His Majesty all the gold and other products of the territory in exchange for rattles, knives, cutlasses and other tools and implements of small value. It is not less to be regretted that said Hollanders take with them many Indians whom they make slaves, their souls thus being lost and also their liberty which is so valuable. Should these incursions and trade be continued the Royal Crown may suffer very heavy damage, injury and other troubles, because, should the Hollanders and other foreign nations take possession of said river Orinoco they may go into vast provinces of the new kingdom of Granada and Caracas, they being in the mainland; and His Majesty's principal object being the reduction and conversion of said heathen Indians to our Holy Catholic Faith, endeavoring by all possible means to free them from the utter darkness of their idolatry and to teach

No. 11.

them to know and profess our Holy Catholic Faith, it is most convenient to the service of God and the King, as well as to the benefits of the common cause, that all possible measures be taken that may lead to the purpose of his holy and Catholic zeal. Besides the benefits that those souls, in which Christianity takes such interest, derive therefrom, the Royal Crown will have the benefit of the immense number of Indians that can be reduced and converted to our Holy Faith, *great increase in the domains of His Majesty and considerable revenue for the Royal Exchequer from the effects, fruits and other products of those countries, taxes, that they may pay in time* and the contributions that the converted Indians must pay, should the occasion arise, and also the closing of the entrance to said river, preventing by these means the trade which the Indians carry on with the Hollanders. Thus, not only the matter of Religion, which is the principal point, because of the introduction of foreigners in the lands and towns of said Indians, will be dealt with, but also said domains will be insured and guarded from their incursions and hostilities, and besides, this remedy will result in the enjoyment of that which the enemy is so careful to take advantage of, which the provinces of the new Kingdom of Granada and Caracas will be free from the introduction of foreigners into their territory by said river.

In reference to the construction of a fort on the Orinoco river I find that His Majesty has already given the order. While I was examining the documents in reference to the pay in Guayana, to issue the proper instructions for their remittance, I found among them a Royal Cedula dated in Madrid on the twenty fourth of August, one thousand six hundred and ninety seven, addressed to the President and Judges of the Audiencia of Santa Fé, with enclosure of certain reports made in regard to the River Orinoco, by which His Majesty commands and instructs them that, after having been informed of his determination they should proceed to build the fort in the most convenient locality and form, placing in it men and artillery, and that upon the fulfilment of the order they should report, together with the advice of each officer and the attested copy of the acts. Although I made the most minute inquiries to find out how this Royal Decree of His Majesty was fulfilled, I failed to obtain any light on the matter. I have ordered authenticated copies to be made of said Royal Cédula and reports as shown by the original documents, which I enclose herewith to your Lordship.

Being aware of the foregoing and that the Holy Religious Fathers of the Company of Jesus and their Provincial Father Ignacio Maurio being desirous of the advancement of Our Holy Catholic Faith and to sacrifice themselves for the reduction of those souls, in order to carry this out, thus obtaining the ends of the holy and praiseworthy institution, he resolved with my assent to send the Missionary Fathers Juan Capuel and Juan Romeo, professed priests of said Company of Jesus, to explore and *reconnoitre* the shores of said river Orinoco and particularly the Island of Caroni or Faxardo, as, according to information from trustworthy persons having

No. 11.

a practical knowledge of said country, said Island of Caroni was a very appropriate site for the erecting of a fort to defend the Missionaries and Christians against the hostilities of the enemies of our Holy Faith and permit their free preaching to said idolators. To this end I issued letters to the Governor of Trinidad and other justices, requesting their assistance to facilitate the object of their trip. The trip being undertaken and the accurate reconnoitering being made, and the shores of said river Orinoco being explored, Father Juan Capuel, with the fullest knowledge of the matter, and in discharge of the duty assigned to him, reported that said Island of Caroni or Faxardo was the most appropriate site for the construction of a fort with two redoubts, one on each bank of said River Orinoco on the main land, about a gun shot distant from said island. He also stated most fully the fitting reasons concerning the matter, as shown by two reports of eye witnesses on the subject, and is furthermore shown in the chart where said river is indicated, as it all appears from the original acts which I do herewith enclose. Although the Castle of Guayana is at the mouth of said river, it cannot prevent entrance into the river as there is a long island, wooded and swampy, opposite said Castle, leaving a wide passage through which the enemy can sail up and down the river, without being seen by the guard or watch of the Castle, as shown in said chart. It will always be convenient, however, to keep it regularly manned to defend the mouth of the river, to cover that portion of the main land towards the Province of Caracas and to protect the Mission of the Holy Religious Capuchins, whose field for the reduction has been laid from the mouth of said River Orinoco, northward along the sea coast. It will also be of service in keeping that part of the country respected. It would also be convenient that whatever resolutions His Majesty should be pleased to adopt should be sent straight to Trinidad of the Windward, this being very close to the Orinoco river and the Castle of Guayana which belong to its jurisdiction, thus insuring the prompt execution of whatever be ordered. I must state here that by two Royal Cédulas dated in Madrid on May tenth, seventeen hundred and sixteen, His Majesty has issued several orders for the Orinoco River Missions in charge of the Sacred Religious Fathers of the Company of Jesus, appointing the number of thirty-six soldiers for the escort and directing how this is to be formed, the salary allotted to each soldier, the food to be furnished to the Religious Fathers, the effects that must be supplied, the chalices and ornaments to be given in relation to the number of Missionaries and the necessary arms and ammunition for the soldiers with the expenses and viaticum for the journey of both the fathers and the soldiers from the place which they set out from to the Orinoco river. I did fully comply with both Royal Cédulas which were presented before me, issuing several orders for the best execution of the different points therein contained as shown by the attestation of the acts which I beg to send enclosed to your Lordship. It appears that, in reference to the orders given by His Majesty in said two Royal Orders that most of the provisions therein are

No. 11.

already fulfilled and that there only remains the material work of building the fort and the two redoubts where the aforesaid soldiers may be quartered because by dividing [*original torn*]. His Majesty orders that fifteen of them go with their Corporal to the fort of Carichana, and the rest with their officers, some to go to the founded towns and some to go as far as the Missions of the Orinoco. His Majesty also gives instructions in His Royal Order to the effect that if, besides the thirty-six soldiers above mentioned, others should be needed they would be given to the Missionaries together with anything else deemed necessary to attain the happy end of bringing these souls to the fold of our Holy Faith; but, as the Fort of Carichana does not exist, having been destroyed, being useless on account of its situation, and it being His Majesty's Royal pleasure to build one on the Island of Caroni or Faxardo, the country and the Orinoco river thus being defended and covered and the Missionaries safely guarded, the aforesaid body of soldiers could be placed to garrison the Fort of said Island. Should the time arrive when the Missionaries effect their entries, which can only be done at certain seasons and not at all times during the year, they may withdraw from said fort the number of soldiers required for their escort, according to circumstances and to the advices they have upon the subject, and the work once ended, the soldiers will return to the garrison. By so doing the Royal Treasury will not have to incur double expense, particularly when this proceeding will cause no inconvenience, they (the escort), thus serving two ends without obstacle or hindrance of any description. It would also be expedient that some Spanish families should go there from the Kingdom of Galicia, as they are considered the most suitable people for that country (the males of the family can be made to serve in the Infantry at the fort), and they can inhabit those lands which are very good and fertile and are at present deserted and uninhabited. Mention must be made that in one of the two said Royal Cédulas, His Majesty states that the fort of Carichana will be of no use unless cannons of a longer range than guns and muskets are not placed in it, to prevent from a greater distance the approach of the enemy's ships; and in a communication of the same date orders the Governor and Officers Royal of Cartagena to buy four or six swivel guns, weighing not over three or three and a half quintals so as to be carried on mules to the Port of Casanare where they shall be shipped in pirogues. This has not been done because up to this date said Governors and Royal Officers have not taken any steps in the matter, nor is this order of easy fulfillment on account of the long distance from Cartagena to Casanare and [*words lacking in the original*] although it could be taken on mule back, and the cost and expense of conveyance being very large and out of proportion. It would be convenient therefore, that this order be entrusted to the Governor of the Island of Trinidad de Barlovento for its fulfillment; or that said swivel guns be sent in a registered ship or ships dispatched for said Island. It being His Royal Majesty's pleasure that the fort of the Island of Caroni or Faxardo be built, it would be more convenient that said

No. 11.

pieces of ordnance be in keeping with the situation of the Fort, so that, firing a ball of greater caliber, its range should be longer, thus preventing the enemy's approach from a greater distance, making the attack more effective, the better defending the fort.

In view of the foregoing and its import in the service of God and the King, as well as for the benefits which the common cause will derive therefrom; also taking into consideration the glorious harvest to be reaped from the aforesaid measures and that I am bound to make the foregoing report in view of the confidence placed in me by His Majesty, I have deemed it my duty to inform Your Lordship thereon so that this report being placed before the Council for their judgment [lacking in the original] should deem most expedient and more to His Royal pleasure and for His Royal service, and to this end I send the two enclosed dockets of the aforesaid acts, one in the original in thirty eight sheets, and the other in an attested copy of eighteen sheets, begging Your Lordship to acknowledge receipt thereof.

That Our Lord may keep Your Lordship's life many years are my wishes.

Madrid, on the fifth day of May of one thousand seven hundred and twenty three.

Antonio de la Pedrosa y Guerrero.
(flourish).

Señor Don Francisco de Arana.

No. 12.

Letter from Diego Portales Mense, Governor of Venezuela, to the King of Spain, November 24, 1725, as to the Capuchin Missions.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 57, Case 6, Docket 37.]

Your Majesty was pleased to direct by Royal Cédula of February twenty-eighth of last year that I report on the condition of the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers, by reason of Your Majesty having been informed that two nations of heathen Indians had left the borders of the Orinoco river on account of my having treated kindly three Indians whom I had caused to come to this city, and who assured me that ten nations would leave said river. The prefect of said Missions having reported on the same subject, Your Majesty, in a later "Royal Cédula" of August twentieth of said year, finds it strange that the report was not accompanied by any justification, which I send to your Majesty together with the reports on the condition of the Missions and their towns such as were presented by said Father Prefect who is, at present, in one of the aforesaid towns. The time spent in taking the depositions having prevented further progress in the removal of said nations, I am desirous that the

No. 12.

Fathers should rather go to the banks of said river, where numberless peoples and nations dwell, and where the Fathers' diligence will find more fruitful results than in removing the Indians from their native towns, where they may be catechized, thus furthering the interest of your Majesty's service.

From said Indians and from two others of different tongues and nations I have learned of other tribes between the Orinoco and the Amazon Rivers, distant three days journey by land from the other side of the river. These Amazons hold aloof, and at certain periods pay shells to men who enter their towns unarmed for a limited time; they defend themselves not by means of bows and arrows but by a kind of very long blow pipe or tube from which they blow small sharp poisoned tips, and so poisonous are these that the slightest wound made by them results in death more quickly than by an arrow sent with greater force.

I believe the foregoing to be true as I do not think the heathen Indians to be capable of inventing such an account, the interpreter giving me the assurance of this fact.

At present said Missions are in great need of monks, so that your Majesty may be pleased to provide for the fulfilment of an undertaking to the particular glory of God and service of your Majesty.

Through your Majesty's Secretary General, Don Andres de Pez, I informed your Majesty of the trade carried on by the Hollanders through the mouth of the Orinoco, buying little Indians from the victors for working on their plantations in the towns or fortresses of Surinam and Berbiz, which are on the coast far to the windward of the Orinoco. Said report, the date of which I do not recall, it having been lost with the seizure of papers, Your Majesty will be pleased to bear in mind and file with the records with a view to what may occur in future.

May God preserve the Royal Catholic Person of your Majesty as many years as Christianity needs. Caracas, November twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five.

No. 13.

Letter from Don Agustin de Arredondo, Governor of Trinidad, to the King of Spain regarding the expulsion of a French bishop who attempted to begin the conversion of Indians in Guiana; dated May 18, 1729.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original filed with a bundle of papers relating to this subject matter in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 56, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

SEÑOR:

I beg to inform Your Majesty that about the month of February of this year there arrived in the Province of Guayana of this Government the

No. 13.

Most Illustrious Lord the Bishop Don Nicolas Gervasio of French nationality Priest of the Holy Church of Turon in the Kingdom of France and present Bishop of Orrins, and that he informed me by letter of his intentions on entering said province, which were to establish there as Vicar and Apostolic Commissary Missions of the Indian natives within the territory of the coast of Paria, River Orinoco, Carib Islands of your domains to found a seminary and to gather in it Indians of all nations, by virtue of Apostolic Bull of His Holiness.

Having, Señor, considered the gravity of this matter I deemed it proper to call a meeting of the Chapter, the neighbors and Ecclesiastical Judge of this Jurisdiction, in which this unprecedented case was discussed at length; I made the appropriate remarks before the meeting and after hearing them they agreed unanimously that it was expedient for the benefit of Your Majesty's service that I should go to the aforesaid Province of Guayana to solve, in person, any difficulties that should occur and to issue the necessary and most expedient instructions for the benefit of Your Majesty's service. I carried into effect what had been resolved and, making a trip to said province of Guayano upon my arrival there I requested said Lord, the Bishop to show me his Dispatches (which he then did) and I noticed that said dispatches lacked the necessary assent of Your Majesty for the settlements which said Bishop intended to make, and who at times went among the native Guianian towns already reduced by the Missionary Capuchin Fathers of said Province and at other times went to the shores of the Orinoco with the object of having vessels from foreign Islands come with provisions for their maintenance, as he states in his letter. In view of all this I prayed said Lord, the Bishop to give me an authentic copy of said Apostolic Letters and other Dispatches which I am now sending to Your Majesty with the judicial writs on the matter; and also requested him to suspend his spiritual undertaking until I could report to Your Majesty. He thereupon wrote me a letter requesting men and ships to go to the Dutch colonies. After having paid him due respect, I loaned him the men and ships with what scarce means I had in these lands, and they took him, as he (the Bishop) had requested to the Colony of Essequibo. May Our Lord keep the Catholic and Royal Person of Your Majesty. Trinidad de la Guayana, eighteenth of May, seventeen hundred and twenty-nine. Dn. Agustin de Arredondo. (A flourish.)

NOTE: On the back of this Document the following appears:

Council of July the seventh, seventeen hundred and thirty. To the Attorneys (a flourish):

The Attorney, in view of the letter of Don Agustin Arredondo, Governor of the City of Trinidad de la Guayana, and of the accompanying affidavit wherein an account is given of the steps taken by him, in the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana on the occasion of the arrival there of Don

No. 13.

Nicolas Gervasio, Bishop of Orriens of French nationality, for the purpose of founding missions on those Islands and among Indian nations within the territory of the coast of Paria, River Orinoco, Carib Islands of said Domains, by virtue of the Apostolic Bull obtained by said Bishop, and to establish a seminary to gather therein all kinds of natives, does hereby state: That, whereas it appears on folio seven and reverse of said affidavit in the inquiry instituted by said Governor on the twenty first of April of the past year of seven hundred and twenty nine, that objections were made to the entrance of said Rev. Bishop in that jurisdiction land and country with the object of establishing said Missions, by reason of the lack of His Majesty's approval of the same, and that having prayed said Bishop to go with said Governor to the Island of Trinidad where the superior Government resides, which would support him as became his dignity pending inquiry, his Mercy, after deliberation, having declined to consent to such proposal, but deciding to travel to the Colony of the Essequibo, inhabited by Hollanders, which (journey) said Bishop undertook on the same day (the twenty first) in a ship provided by said Governor—be it resolved: that all the measures taken in that matter by said Governor be hereby approved, and that he be instructed as well as others to whom it may concern that in case that said Bishop, or any other, attempt to go inland or travel through those domains, this should be prevented unless the necessary dispatches and His Majesty's license as Lord and Master of said domains should be previously presented.

Madrid, September nineteenth, seventeen hundred and thirty. Council of the 22nd of September, 1730. Such is the Attorney's decision.

No. 14.

Letter from Sebastian, Bishop of Porto Rico, to the King of Spain, relating to the expulsion of a French bishop who attempted to begin the conversion of Indians in Guiana; dated Cumaná November 16, 1729.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original filed with a bundle of papers relating to this subject matter, in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 56, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

SEÑOR:

While on my ecclesiastical visit to Cumaná I was informed by a letter from Don Agustin de Arredondo, Governor of Trinidad of the windward, which letter I send herewith, to Your Majesty, together with enclosure of attested copies of two other letters, that a titular Bishop of French nationality bearing Apostolic letters of commission to undertake in this America the conversion of the Indians, entered by the Orinoco river to the Province of Guayana in order to carry out his religious desires and Apostolic Mission. Said Governor of Trinidad requested from him the dispatches bearing on his mission and in view thereof the entrance to said Province was forbidden him, it being contrary to Your Majesty's Royal orders. By rea-

No. 14.

son of this opposition said Bishop desisted from his intentions and having demanded aid to go to the Essequibo, a Dutch colony, this was granted him; and in return for this, feeling himself aggrieved for some wrongs which he states were done him by those in charge of his conveyance, he then addressed a letter to the Commissary Capuchin Father in charge of the Parish of Guiana instructing him to publicly denounce as excommunicated said Governor, Accountant Don Antonio Pinto and other officers co-operating to his ejection under the anathema reserved to the Holy See, because they had hindered him in his mission and in the fulfilment of the Apostolic orders, and had ejected him without any food and so violently that his life was endangered.

In view of the foregoing and pending my visit to said Province, which I expect to visit soon, I informed said Governor that he had fulfilled his duty, and I also charged him not to desist in his resolution, as it was part of his duties to preserve intact Your Majesty's Domains and rights in his Province, and that, should it be necessary, he should lend his aid to the Vicar of Trinidad and the Capuchin Missions of Guiana to oppose his entrance in those lands and to detain him until my arrival in said province, where I could decide what was most convenient to Your Majesty's service, and I ordered them to effectually fulfil the instructions to hinder and seize said Apostolic Commissary.

I also instructed said Capuchin Missionary to explain in regard to the prevention of the carrying into effect of the Apostolic Letters, the mistaken reason of that censure to which it gave rise and also cautioned him to give warning to all of the just Title and Right of Domain which Your Majesty has to the possession of these Indies and upon whom devolves the right to appoint Pastors and Missionaries to them by virtue of the concession and Mercy of the Holy See, and also of the Apostolic Letters upon which this is founded; and that without the recognizance and approval of the Council, such are not valid, and that whatever be contrary to them under these circumstances, cannot fall under censure. As regards having refused provisions with danger to life, troubles and vexations complained of, although said Governor states to the contrary, as it relates to the defense of the privilege vested by the Holy Cannons upon all Ecclesiastical persons, that he should absolve all *ad cantelam*, and to this end I transferred to them my authority, ordering them to explain the cause of the censure so that the limited intelligence of those natives should not also conceive ideas similar to that which the said Bishop had emitted and denounced.

Upon my arrival in said province I shall procure the Apostolic letters with which he proposed to enter there and I shall send Your Majesty a personal report of all that has happened and of whatever should occur in this connection. By so doing I shall have fulfilled my duty and satisfied my desires to better serve Your Majesty whose Royal Catholic Person may God keep many years as is needed in Christendom.

No. 14.

Cumaná—November sixteenth seventeen hundred and twenty-nine—
Sebastian, Bishop of Puerto Rico.

No. 15.

Letter from Sebastian, Bishop of Porto Rico, to the King of Spain, regarding the expulsion of a French bishop who attempted to begin the conversion of Indians in Guiana ; dated January 13, 1730.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original filed with a bundle of papers relating to this subject matter in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 58, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

SEÑOR:

After having reported to Your Majesty that a certain Titular Bishop of French nationality, under pretense of being an Apostolic commissary for the conversion of infidels, bearing no Royal Dispatch as provided by the laws of these Indies, did enter into the Province of Guayana of this Government of Trinidad, which in the spiritual government is annexed to my Bishopric, pretending to found missions therein, which he could not carry into effect—as the Governor of Trinidad prevented it, as was his duty, and having ejected him from his Province and sent him to Essequibo, a Dutch Colony, I now beg to submit for the consideration of Your Royal Majesty, the fact that after having been admitted by the Hollanders in their colonies he has insisted on returning to Guayana, stopping at the Colquire (Aguire?) river, one day distant from the Castle. The Governor having again made opposition to this, said Bishop has not condescended to heed him, but has advanced reasons and doctrines offensive to the Royal Domain and Rights of Your Majesty, and the peace and tranquillity of the subjects of these Provinces, as Your Majesty will see by the attested letters of the Governor and the Vicar of Trinidad enclosed herewith. Pending my arrival in said province whither I am about to proceed, I have entrusted them not to consent to said Bishop's carrying forward his designs and that he be detained with all the respect and consideration due to his Holy Dignity, and brought either to the town of Guayana or to Trinidad until my arrival, when, in full knowledge of the case, I shall determine whatever may be best for the benefit of Your Majesty's service and the peace of these provinces, this being the only means I have deemed efficient to prevent the serious injury that may result from this intrusion.

Because this Province of Guayana, being, as it is, the key to the new Kingdom of Granada, Province of Santa Fé de Bogotá and Kingdom of Peru, and having a very limited number of inhabitants wherewith to oppose any nation that should pretend to invade it, which if not prevented at its inception, will establish settlements, build forts and, becoming impregnable, will set up its rule over all the land and neighboring kingdoms and

No. 15.

continents, thus notably impairing Your Majesty's Royal Domains, which would be the case, notwithstanding the intrusion of said Bishop being under pretext of the conversion of the heathens. There are no other means to prevent evils so imminent and detrimental to the Kingdom than the detention and seizure of said Bishop until Your Majesty's Royal decision be announced; for his expulsion has not been sufficient, as shown by his return to said Province. Should he be allowed a footing there by reason of the trade with the French vessels that bring provisions to said Bishop and the current traffic which this and other foreign nations have established through the Narrows of the Orinoco, with the Caribs whom they have won over by supplying them with wine and liquors, to which they are much addicted, it would be well to fear some coalition that might disturb the towns and reductions of Indians, of whose education the Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Catalonia care for, by order of Your Majesty, with whom the Caribs have frequent commerce, and the whole Province would then arise. This cannot be prevented, owing to the scarcity of troops and arms in this province.

I have deemed it proper in the fulfilment of my duty to inform Your Majesty of all these particulars, as well as of anything else that might occur of equal importance, so that Your Majesty may decide whatever shall be His pleasure in this matter, giving such instructions as may seem more conducive to the peace and preservation of these Kingdoms, both for the service of God and for Your Majesty, whose Catholic Royal Person may He keep as is needed in Christendom.

San Balthasar de los Arias, January thirteenth, seventeen hundred and thirty. Sebastian, Bishop of Puerto Rico.

No. 16.

Letter from Don Agustín Arredondo, Governor of Trinidad, to the King of Spain, dated April 26, 1730, regarding the expulsion of a French bishop who attempted to begin the conversion of Indians in Guiana—of his subsequent return thereto and murder by the Carib Indians.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original filed with a bundle of papers relating to this subject matter in the "Archivo General de Yndias," (Seville), Stand 56, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

SEÑOR:

Having succeeded in politely expelling Don Nicolas Hervasio, Titular Bishop, of French nationality, from the City of Guayana, where he arrived and landed with the intent to found Missions, a college and other establishments, for which he was authorized by virtue of apostolic bulls, and having sent him to Berbiz, a Dutch colony, as I have already reported to your Majesty, together with said bulls and proceedings instituted in this case; he returned a second time to said Province of Guayana, entered and took up his residence on the coasts and shores of Aguire, which is one of the mouths of the Orinoco, in order to issue from there the command to con-

No. 16.

voke the Indians and realize the fulfilment of his Apostolic zeal. My Lieutenant having informed me of the facts, I was about to go again to said city to continue my objections and refusal to let him put in practice the authority with which he was invested by reason of said bulls, both because they have not the approval of the Royal Council of Your Majesty as provided in the Royal Laws of these Indies, and because I plainly saw the damage and injury resulting thereby to the lawful domain of Your Majesty over all the kingdoms of this America, as also to the peace, tranquility, and preservation of said city of Guayana. Had the Bishop established himself in this manner with those of his nation, they would have easily penetrated into the Kingdom of Santa Fé. But before effecting my embarkation to proceed on this errand I received a second report from my said Lieutenant stating that the Carib Indians in said river Orinoco had put to death the said Bishop Don Nicolas Hervasio and his household, taking away with them two negroes, servants of his, desecrating and tearing his sacred garments, and looting and carrying away everything. This news I have received from said Lieutenant and I hold it as true, particularly since the Most Illustrious Bishop of this Bishopric, who went to visit said Guayana, heard it from some Indians, friends to said French Bishop, and who brought some pieces of his garments or vestments which were identified as having been seen when he first came to Guayana, as well as the consecrated stone of his altar, although it had been in the fire. Said friendly Indians asserted that they had buried him on the shores of said river Aguire. I am trying to go to said province to make inquiries and to seize the treacherous perpetrators of such sacrilegious murders to punish them as they deserve, and to ascertain with certainty the spot where the bodies are interred, to have them taken to Guayana in due time where the obsequies and funeral rites corresponding to the dignity of said Most Illustrious Bishop shall be performed. I have deemed it proper to make this report to Your Majesty so that, in consideration that these Carib Indians are they who tyrannize over the other nations thus preventing their conversion to our Holy Faith and who are the perpetrators of the present murders and of the death of two soldiers of the castle of Guayana, crimes committed last year of seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, constantly keeping the Spaniards and the reduced Indians in a continuous state of fear and unrest on account of their threats and treacherous misdeeds, Your Majesty may permit and ordain that proceedings be instituted against such Carib Indians in order to subdue them and reduce them to some special state of submission, fear and obedience, to prevent so many ills as those experienced from them since the discovery of this province. This, I think, will be to the benefit of God and of Your Majesty and for the peace of Your Majesty's obedient and loyal subjects. May Our Lord keep the person of Your Royal Majesty as long as Christianity needs it.

Trinidad de la Guayana, the twenty sixth of April of the year seventeen hundred and thirty. Don Agustin de Arredondo.

No. 17.

Certified copies made in 1730 by order of the Bishop of Porto Rico, of correspondence between himself and the Governor of Guiana and the Governor and the Vicar of Trinidad, in 1729, regarding the expulsion of a French bishop who attempted to begin the conversion of Indians in Guiana.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the said certified copies filed with a bundle of papers relating to this subject matter in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 56, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

Letter from the Governor of Trinidad.

MY DEAR SIR:

The object of this is only to show your most Illustrious Lordship the one that I have just received, by which you will become acquainted with the orders I left in Guayana in case it happened that the French bishop should again return. By its contents it appears that said gentlemen will remain in the place called Aguire. This is a channel three days' sail by the River Grande from the Castle of Guayana and then one more day's sail through said channel in order to reach port. The houses of the natives, who belong to the Carib nation, are one day's journey from the port. This is a place where wood is plenty and vessels are built, as Father Rincon may inform your most Illustrious Lordship. I only wish to do right and receive your most Illustrious Lordship's commands. May Our Lord keep your most Illustrious Lordship many long years.

City of Orufia, November tenth, seventeen hundred and twenty-nine.
Kissing your most Illustrious Lordship's hand, Y. M. I. Lordship's most affectionate servant.

On the margin:

"I have detained the ship that came from Guayana, awaiting your most Illustrious Lordship's orders so that mine may be more effectual should your most Illustrious Lordship deem it proper to instruct me. Don Agustin de Arredondo."

Copy of letter from the Lieut^t. of Guayana to the Governor of Trinidad.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL DON AGUSTIN DE ARREDONDO.

SIR—In compliance with my duty I beg to inform your Excellency that the French Bishop has penetrated into the River called Aguire, as I have been told by some Aruaca Indians who came to this port from the sea and who were examined by me through Adriano. They stated that after having left Essequibo, the Lord Bishop went to Surinam, whose Governor would not admit him as he did not bear dispatches either from his King or from the King of Spain, and accordingly he ordered him to leave the territory within twenty-four hours, which he did after having taken provisions and repaired his ship, and despatched him to Essequibo in order that the Governor there might equip him for his colonies or for the Spanish territory. Upon his arrival at Essequibo the Lord Bishop requested said

No. 17.

Governor to provide him with oarsmen to take him to Guayana where-with he complied, sending them as far as the place called Guacopoa and from there he entered into Aguire, as I have stated, with two of his servants, as the other one left him at Essequibo to go to Barbados not wishing to go to Surinam. As soon as I was aware, Sir, that he was coming here, being informed that he would spend five or six days in reaching here, I got ready oarsmen, provisions and three men so as to send him in the same ship to this island to see your Excellency, in compliance with your Excellency's orders that I was to carry out in case he should return to this city, and I will do so should this occur, while this report reaches your Excellency so that your Excellency may determine what is deemed most proper to do. The same day of the date of this an Aruaca Indian, living in Aripo at the large mouth of this River Orinoco, left this port; I sent for him and told him through Adriano to inquire secretly from the other Indians about the Lord Bishop, whether he had already a house and any white men with him and the Indian agreed to do all that was ordered him. He gave by letter twenty days for the time of his arrival.

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Letter from the Governor of Trinidad, dated Nov. 15, 1729.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXCELLENT SIR:

In the one I wrote before to your most Illustrious Lordship I give a description of the place designated as Araturo wherein I made a mistake as the place named is called Aguire; it is only one day distant from below the Castle and from said Aguire communication is held with the native Pariagotas who are subject to the missions occupied by the Capuchin Missionaries. This Lord Bishop is very clever, highly educated and having great ideas; he is wedded to his opinion and contradicts every proposition, going so far as to say that the Holy See could not divest itself of such a great privilege as the one granted to Our Monarch, thus doing injury to the successors to the tiara; that for this reason his briefs must not go to the Council. Having come to discuss with him on these matters he asked me what I should do in case he should desire to remain at any point I replied that what I would do would be to request the Vicar or the Bishop to put him out of the domains of the King. His only reply to this was, "and if I do not wish to go?" * * * My zeal as a good subject compelled me to say that I should employ force. I have thought it convenient to inform your Most Illustrious Lordship of all this so that with a fuller knowledge of the matter the proper orders be issued most expedient to the service of both Majesties. At the same time I beg to inform Your Most Illustrious Lordship of the difficulties that may ensue, because if he should, under the title of Bishop, build a fort and collect a few foreigners, this once done the Province of Guayana is totally lost as

No. 17.

there are no means of defense. I expect to receive Your Most Illustrious Lordship's orders to enable me to have more wisdom in those given by me, and I will fulfil them most efficiently. May Our Lord be pleased to keep Your Most Illustrious Lordship for many years.

Trinidad, November fifteenth, seventeen hundred and twenty-nine. Kissing Your Most Illustrious Lordship's hands, your most affectionate servant, Don Agustin de Arredondo.

Letter from the Vicar of Trinidad; dated Nov. 10, 1729.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND SIR:

I never tire of admonishing and informing these parishioners of the purpose and expediency of the Pastoral visit and to give them assurance of the kindly yearnings of Your Most Illustrious Lordship to see the faces of Y. M. I. Lordship's children and fold, as I did from this pulpit on the first day of this November on the night of All Souls' Day, at a large gathering held in the Parish all being notified for the reception of Y. M. Ill. Lordship in February of the coming year. My Lord, the Most Illustrious Lord, the Titular Bishop of French nationality, who came to the Province of Guayana of this Government in February of this year, seems to have forgotten that Your M. Ill. Lordship had in this jurisdiction a Minister, Your M. Ill. Lordship's Vicar, to attend to all matters relating to the defense of the jurisdiction. This notwithstanding, as the Vicar of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, I have attended, as becomes my duty, to everything relating to this matter, so new in these lands, and whenever the Governor, desirous to reach a wise determination, has looked to me, he has always found me ready; particularly at a general meeting which he called to consult on the subject and ask for advice, he issued a judicial writ requesting Your Most Illustrious Lordship's Vicar to attend said meeting as I did giving first a judicial answer and then going to the said meeting, which in my belief gave results for the better service of God and the benefit of His Catholic Majesty and the defense of Your Most Illustrious Lordship's jurisdiction. All has been sent to the Council of the Indies. My Lord I have seen all the Bulls and Apostolic concessions of said Lord Bishop, and my limited intelligence cannot find in them the reason for his coming. I have also seen and keep in my possession some letters from said Lord Bishop, and I keep particularly the one which the Lord Nuncio of his Holiness, resident at the Catholic Court, wrote from Madrid to said titular Lord Bishop on this subject, which he received in the Island of Martinique, as attested by the Secretary to said Lord Bishop, wherein said Lord Nuncio informs him that the question was submitted to the Council of the Indies as a standard where, on account of the multiplicity of affairs, resolutions are slow, and that for this reason he shall speak to Our Lord the King and to His Majesty's confessor, informing him of the result; as also that his

No. 17.

apostolic undertaking, the establishment of missions, the founding of a college for priests, will all be hindered unless he can count upon the Royal sanction. Upon consideration of these and other reasons of which Your M. Ill. Lordship must be aware, we have come to the conclusion that only the great zeal for the salvation of the souls of the Indians of the Orinoco could have induced this Prince to such an arduous spiritual task in which he did not succeed, nor will he be able to succeed except with the approval of the Catholic King who is the legitimate patron of this America. This Bishop is not much pleased with the remedies applied and the measures, which, as I understand, have not been lacking in the respect due to his sacred dignity. He left Guayana, retired to Essequibo, a Dutch Colony, undergoing great hardships, especially on account of his advanced age. I do not believe, My Lord, that even if he should preserve his life, which would be most fortunate, he will return to his first undertaking, and should this happen I am aware of the instructions of Your Most Illustrious Lordship and I shall be on the alert. As regards the censure that, by letter, he issued against the Governor, his Lieutenant and others, I have already given said Governor my humble opinion and I understand that it tranquilized him. May God our Lord keep the Illustrious person of Your Most Illustrious Lordship to be my aid and consolation many years.

City of Oruña, on the tenth of November, seventeen hundred and twenty-nine. Kissing Y. M. I. Lordship's feet. Y. M. I. Lordship's humble servant, Juan Antonio Marcato.

Another Letter from the Vicar of Trinidad; dated Nov. 10, 1729.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR: On this same date, the tenth of November, orders have been issued to the effect that the ecclesiastical notary of this Court shall go to the Port of Spain, the principal port of this island, to deliver the documents and letter and attend to the embarkation of the Fathers Don Francisco de Rojas, and Don Juan Valentin de Mier. The Governor of this Island (has received?) a letter from his Lieutenant in Guayana reporting the second importunity of the titular French bishop. Said Governor has given me the assurance that he sends to Your Most Illustrious Lordship a copy of said letter, which relieves me from informing as to its contents. I remain awaiting Your Lordship's orders, in this delicate matter to obey and give them prompt attention. I always pray to God during the holy sacrifice for Y. M. Ill. Lordship's help for the benefit of the Bishopric. May His Majesty keep Your Illustrious person many years, such being the desires of Your Lordship's humble servants.

San Joseph de Oruña, tenth of November, of seventeen hundred and twenty-nine. Kissing Your M. Ill. Lordship's feet, your humblest servant, Juan Antonio Marcato.

No. 17.

The Bishop of Porto Rico to the Governor of Trinidad; Dec. 28, 1729.

DEAR SIR : I am in receipt of four [letters] from Your Lordship, and my high dignity and humble personality are once more extolled by the marks of high respect shown, and I yearn for the occasion your pleasure may give me to command my most willing gratitude. In reference to the contents of said letter, I must inform Your Lordship that I am by them aware that Your Lordship had not been at the Office of the Dean in the Church because the excesses of our Ministers and Ecclesiastical Judges must be checked by their superiors in the same calling and Father Rincon, by reason of his very obedience, had been guilty of being too dependent than otherwise, because although there be a right for defense this is never accepted as it is meet it should be, unless accompanied by the humble compliance of the subject. I have instructed him to go to that city where I am to give a hearing to the transgressions of which he is accused. The place where the guilt was committed is the place where the trial shall be held. By this, said Father will see that I am attentive to my duties and Your Lordship will see how attentive I am to serve in the meting out of the laws of justice. I take notice of the stubborn return of the Illustrious Lord French Bishop to the Province of Guayana in detriment of the peace and quiet of the same; this pacific possession in common consolation of the subjects which His Catholic Majesty has in these Indies and spiritual conquest of this province in which the Capuchin Missionaries are at present engaged, who for the holy work of the conversion of the infidels have been supported and maintained at heavy expense of this Royal Treasury. And all this done (by said Bishop) in usurpation of our pastoral jurisdiction. Such violence threatens still greater ruin which will be felt through all the kingdom, and which must be checked by Your Lordship in what it may concern and by me as far as lies in my power. Being aware of the scorn shown by him for the intimations made him and the arrogance of his behavior, so offensive to the highest considerations and in defiance of my jurisdiction and the rights of the Sovereign your Lordship will be pleased, in company with my ecclesiastical Vicar in this island, to go to the house where he stops in that province and with all the forbearance and respect due to his dignity and person, without seizing any of his belongings, and giving him the necessary assistance, will cause him to be brought to that city where he shall be confined in a decent house with guards until my arrival. In view of the whole matter I shall issue the appropriate instructions. This is the only efficient means I find to check the present ills, and the most grave, imminent and important dangers to the peace of the kingdom and province, and to the preservation of the domain and also the spiritual injuries resulting from this intolerable intrusion. I rely in this matter on the greatest activity on the part of Your Lordship, in whom I have placed my confidence on account of the zeal in the service of both Majesties, which I recognize in Your Lordship. By your last

No. 17.

letter I am informed of the obstinacy of said Lord Bishop in remaining in that province and of the doctrines alleged by him, which are greatly opposed to the quiet of these kingdoms and to the just and Christian rights of the Catholic Majesty, to examine and approve of the Apostolic Bulls whereof he is invested with the knowledge of the Holy See and common acceptation of his subjects. Such examination is neither assuming nor offensive to the Apostolic authority, but an act both of policy and defense of the rights and peace of his Kingdoms and of the authority of the Apostolic See itself. Anything in contrary would be boldness and temerity, it being against the consensus of opinion of all theologians and jurists of the kingdom. Our respective duties compel us to interfere against this. Under this impression I have given the foregoing order, in the compliance of which no doubt should arise nor any scruple, as it is justified by lawful defense against an unlawful invasion of the jurisdiction and Royal Domain, and in this case one force repels another. I have taken due notice of your recommendation imploring my kindness in reference to the repeated fault, the petulance and incorrigibility of Father Valentin de Anjeles, to whom, out of respect to your Lordship's recommendation, I shall be lenient in meting out the punishment that he deserves on account of his incorrigibility. My mind is not set so much upon avenging his guilt as upon his reformation, because my desire is that my clergy fulfil the holy duties of their state, and that as shepherds of the holy fold they should teach by their good example the road to virtue, which leads to triumphant Jerusalem. When I received Your Lordship's last letter informing me of the excesses and effrontery of Father Don Francisco Joseph de Roxas, which demand the most rigid attention, he had already left the city bearing my decree to be reinstated in the service of the Sacristy of that Parish, with my censure and a pecuniary fine because, owing to the inability of said Father, who was rejected in the last examination, no Curate has been provided. Upon my arrival in your city, where I am to meet him, as I have instructed him, I shall give a hearing to his case and he shall be punished according to his faults and I shall issue all the necessary orders so that the Royal Treasury may suffer no damage by reason of the mentioned priest; and in this Your Lordship shall see my earnestness in dealing with this and everything else relating to the Royal Service and to that of Your Lordship. On the seventh of January next I shall go from this city to San Balthasar de los Arias, and about the eighth of February, God willing, I shall be in the port of the Golfo Triste to set sail for your city, because I have resolved to defer the visit to some places in this Province until my return on account of the trouble given me by the pretensions of the Frenchman. By that date Your Lordship may have the necessary ships in readiness and command me as may be his wishes, the fulfilment of said commands being the best proof of my obedience. May God keep Your Lordship many years of well deserved promotions.

Cumaná, December the twenty-eighth, seventeen hundred and twenty-

No. 17.

nine. Kissing Your Lordship's hands Your humble servant and chaplain. Sebastian, Bishop of Puerto Rico.

The foregoing copy agrees with the letters of Don Agustin de Arredondo, Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Trinidad, and of Don Juan Antonio Marcano, Doctrinary Curate and Vicar of said Island, addressed to His Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my Lord, I having compared them with this copy, I vouch for the correctness and the originals were returned to His Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my Lord, and in witness thereof, as ordered by His Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my Lord, the Master, Don Sebastian Lorenzo Pizzaro of the Holy Order of the Lord Saint Basilius Magnus, most Holy Bishop of San Juan de Puerto Rico and its annexed territories, member of His Majesty's Council, etc., I do issue the present attestation in the City of Cumaná, on the fourth day of January, seventeen hundred and thirty, affixing thereto my customary signature. In witness thereof—a sign—Doctor Don Matias Bejar, Secretary.

Here follows the authentication of the foregoing signature by three ecclesiastical notaries, under the same date and in the same city.

No. 18.

Order of Juan Joseph de Orvay, Governor in Concordia, Guayana, to Antonio Pinto, Lieutenant of Accounts, to prepare a ship to reconnoitre the Swedish settlement at Barima, October 21, 1732.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Yndias" (Seville), Stand 56, Case 4, Docket 7.]

Edict. In this City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, on the 21st day of October, 1732—

I, Sergeant Major Don Juan Joseph de Orvay, Alcalde Ordinario, Acting Governor this present year, for His Majesty, in charge of these Provinces and its jurisdiction. In virtue of the edict proclaimed in the island of Trinidad on the fourth day of said month and year—

Say, that inasmuch as it is necessary and proper to send an expedition to the mouth of the Rio de Barima in the jurisdiction of this government, by reason of the information received, that the Swedes are settling at the mouth of this channel, and of the injury this may cause to the service of His Majesty. I, hereby order and command the Lieutenant of Accounts, Captain Don Antonio Pinto, to prepare a ship, with the necessary crew of oarsmen, provisions and munitions of war belonging to His Majesty, and of which he is in charge as such Royal Official, in order that Captain Juan Miguel Hernandez, to whom the corresponding orders for this undertaking will be given, shall proceed to reconnoitre the said settlement. All

No. 18.

this is to be made known to said Lieutenant of Accounts and to said Juan Miguel Hernandez, so that each one on his part may take such steps as may be proper for the service of His Majesty.

And the said edict shall be put as a heading to this in testimony thereof, and the same shall be made known to said Lieutenant of Accounts, to whom notice of this edict shall be given, in order that with the receipt which shall be given and provided by the said Juan Miguel Hernandez, he may incorporate the same into the accounts that he has to render.

And, by this my edict, I have so decreed, commanded and signed with the witnesses with whom I am performing this act, there being no notary here, which I certify—Juan Joseph de Orvay—Marcos Nicto de Sobrado—Juan Lorenzo Romero. . . .

Thereupon, I, Juan Lorenzo Romero, Adjutant of the Government, made known the foregoing Edict to Captain Juan Miguel Hernandez: and he heard and understood it, but did not sign, not being able to write, and for the purpose of preserving evidence thereof, I record it here and sign—

JUAN LORENZO ROMERO.

And thereupon, I, said Adjutant, made known the said decree and also the Edict, to said Captain Don Antonio Pinto, Lieutenant of Accounts; and he heard and understood it and signed with me—Antonio Pinto.

JUAN LORENZO ROMERO.

Affidavit.—In this City of Guayana, the twenty-first day of November of the year seventeen hundred and thirty two—I, Sergeant Major Don Juan Joseph de Orvay, Alcalde Ordinario this present Year, for His Majesty, Acting Governor by reason of the death of S    r Don Bartholome de Aldunate y Rada, who was Governor and Captain General of these Provinces, for the King, our Master (whom God preserve).

Appeared before me Captain Juan Miguel Hernandez, having returned to this City to-day, the date hereof from the reconnoissance which he was sent to make of the Swedish settlement.

Who said, that, having gone to sea by the principal River, Orinoco, entered through the channel called barima, where said people had been. according to information given to him by the Carib Indians who live on said channel, they had seen about three months before a great many white people in two ships and one sloop, looking around for some place to settle in, and pacifying the said Carib Indians with valuable presents of cloths, beads, knives in abundance, machetes, axes and lots of liquor, which the said Indians received with great pleasure.

And they are expected to return this spring, about the coming March, as they gave the said Caribs to understand, that, the said Swedish ships would return to renew the search for a place to found a settlement in said channel, which they did not do that time for want of pilots, because the

No. 18.

Hollanders of Berbis and Surinam did not wish to furnish them with any. The Carib Indians said also that the Hollanders had notified them (the Caribs) not to show those men any good places for settling, because they were bad men, and they (the Hollanders) would give them what they needed. . . .

The Caribs also informed him that two longboats, with some Frenchmen and Negro fugitives from Cayenne, had arrived in that creek, intending to proceed to this City of Guayana, but that said Indians had killed them all and taken their boats and luggage. . . .

And that in said channel there lives a so-called Carib Captain, the son of Captain Iaguaría, who is one of the fugitives of the Upper Orinoco river, and who, it seems, keeps over two hundred Indians in a large house, provided with arrows, guns and short swords. And said Indian told him that these precautions were taken against the whites of Guayana, who would not allow him to make prisoners of the other nations of the Orinoco, to sell them to the Hollanders. . . . And that all he has said here is the truth; and he swore by God our Lord and a sign of the Holy Cross in the form of law, that he knows nothing more than what he has said and declared, in virtue of the Oath he has taken, which he affirmed and ratified; and he said his age was about fifty years, more or less. He did not sign, as he could not write, and to make sure, I signed with the Witness with whom I am performing this act; there being no Notary, which I certify—Juan Joseph de Orvay—Juan Lorenzo Romero—Francisco Romero Lovaton. . . .

No. 19.

An attested copy, made in Gulana by the Magistrate Governors on June 6, 1733, of a Royal Cedula of the King of Spain dated January 17, 1731, regarding the expulsion of a French bishop who attempted to begin the conversion of Indians in Gulana—of his subsequent return and murder by the Caribs.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of said attested copy filed with a bundle of papers relating to this subject matter in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 56, Case 4, Bundle 7]

We, the undersigned, Magistrate Governors, in compliance with the orders contained in the foregoing decree caused the [following] certified copy to be made of the Royal Cedula to wit:—

The King—Don Agustin de Arredondo, Governor and Captain General of the Island of Trinidad de la Guayana: by letter of the twenty-sixth of April of last year, seventeen hundred and thirty, you report on the landing effected in that city by Don Nicolas Hervasio, a Bishop of French nationality, with the intent to found missions, a college and other establishments, by virtue of Apostolic Bulls, stating that as you deemed that said determination had certain inconvenient features, according to the opinion of the meeting which you had called to this end, you compelled him to leave—using the most courteous measures—for a colony

No. 19.

of Hollanders; having attained this object, a few days later he returned to that Island for a second time and established his residence on the shores of the River Aguire, one of the mouths of the river Orinoco, with the intention of convoking the Indians from said place and realizing the fulfilment of his Apostolic zeal. At this time you were informed that the Carib Indians, dwelling on the Orinoco aforesaid, had put him to death, a misfortune that also befell his household, said Indians carrying away with them two negroes, servants of his, and other circumstances in the matter. You also state that you were preparing to set out for said place in order to seize and punish those who committed such sacrilegious crimes, and you ask my leave to proceed against said Caribs in order to reduce them to some kind of submission and obedience, to check various ills of which they are the cause. And in view of the opinion of my Council of the Indies and the advice of my Attorney, I have resolved to command you (and do hereby command you) to proceed to the seizure of the Indians who have taken part in and committed the murders, continuing in the proceedings which you state you have commenced, and dealing with them as you may judge proper, displaying the greatest prudence in all things and employing such means as you deem most adequate and efficient to check such actions; and you shall report to me at the earliest opportunity all that you have done in this matter as well as the steps you judge more imperative and necessary to this end. At the same time I warn you that should another Bishop, or any other person, attempt to enter and travel in said domains, you shall not allow it unless they present the necessary dispatches and license given by me, stating the purpose of their journey. You are thus informed for the exact and accurate fulfilment of said order, communicating same to such persons as may seem convenient to you, for their guidance.

Done in Seville on the twenty-fourth of January, seventeen hundred and thirty-one—I, the King—By command of the King Our Lord—Don Francisco Diez Roman—

NOTE.—Underneath this there are three flourishes which appear to be of the gentlemen of the Council and below these two lines in writing saying :

To the Governor of Guayana relative to proceedings against some Carib Indians who killed a Bishop of French nationality.—This copy agrees with the original duplicate of the royal cédula kept on file and registered in the archives of this government from which we caused this copy to be made and compared—We, the Captains Don Antonio de Robles, and Don Joseph Phelipe Navarro, Magistrate Governors, this present year, do vouch for the correctness of this copy, made in compliance with the orders contained in our foregoing decree, to be joined to these proceedings, and in testimony thereof we append our signatures in the presence of the witnesses with whom we act, as there is no Notary in this Government. On the sixth day of June seventeen hundred and thirty-three—to which we certify—Don Antonio de Robles—Joseph Phelipe Navarro—Juan Lorenzo Romero—Salvador Marcelino de Espinosa Martel.

No. 20.

Letter from Don Pablo Diaz Fajardo, Lieutenant of Infantry, to the Governor and Captain General of Guiana, sending map showing location of gold and silver mines, February 8, 1735.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 56, Case 6, Bundle 19.]

Don Pablo Diaz Fajardo, Lieutenant of Infantry and Engineer Extraordinary of His Majesty's Army in actual service in this Province, before your Lordships does represent and state—that, being in said Province of Guayana, in the discharge of his post under the orders of your Lordships, he was instructed to make the necessary plans and estimates for the construction of a castle on an eminence called Padraсто, and also to draw a map of that portion of the province where the gold and silver mines, discovered up to the present time, are located. The cost of the former will be, according to the estimates, three hundred thousand *pesos*, because the volume of the walls of the magazines being eleven thousand, four hundred and twenty cubic *varas*, at the rate of twenty four *pesos* each, will make two hundred and sixty-four thousand *pesos*, which subtracted from the three hundred thousand leaves a remainder for the living quarters, draw-bridge, mortar and work for filling the ramparts of the bastions and digging the ditches. Your Honor will please bear in mind that in making this estimate I have confined myself to what I am certain will be the cost in this country, because, lime being one of the most expensive items in a work, it will be necessary to bring it from the Island of Trinidad, increasing the cost thereby at least three fold; at the same time the master workmen and laborers must necessarily command increased salaries in this country, the provisions being two and three times more expensive than in other places, by reason of the scarcity of the population in the Province. In regard to those coming from abroad, I am certain that, by reason of their expenses, not one of them will be willing to work unless he be paid a salary corresponding to the need of the country. The projected construction of the redoubt to be built on the height of Padraсто will cost five thousand *pesos*. The plans and drawings of the works mentioned are delivered to Your honor with the chart of a portion of the province, showing the places where the gold and silver mines are located. This is the purport of this representation.

No. 31.

**Letter from Governor Don Carlos de Sucre to Don José Patiño, dated
Cumaná, March 23, 1735.**

[Printed from translation of certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias (Seville),
Stand 56, Case 6, Bundle 19.]

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Sir,—Having left pacified all those provinces bathed by the Orinoco river from its mouths up to its junction with the Casanare river, which is reported to have over 400 leagues, and all the Indians dwelling upon the shores thereof ready to receive Missionary Fathers, not counting many other nations who live inland, and having likewise asked me for Missionary Fathers, without my having found any nation evincing the slightest indication of assuming the defensive, excepting the Carib nation, which is the most numerous and rules over all the other nations, having arrogated to itself the title of King of the Orinoco, and being constantly at war with the other nations, as it has no other occupation nor way of living, for they neither till nor cultivate their lands, but sustain themselves by waging war against the other Indians, whom they enslave and carry away to sell to the Dutch and other foreign nations; there being years in which the slaves sold by them are no less than from 600 to 700. Last year I deprived them wholly of this accursed traffic, and have consequently also done so this year, whereat they became desperate, as they owed the Indians of Surinam some 700 head of slaves. Said Indians, seeing that the Caribs failed to pay them, carried away all their wives and children in payment of what they owed them. In despair at being robbed of their wives and children, they decided to cross over and burn and kill the Missionary Fathers of the Company and the Indians, and take away with them those whom they could as slaves. Being advised of this determination, I forthwith dispatched a detachment to succor said Missions which assistance arrived so opportunely that had it delayed three days the Caribs would have accomplished their purpose. But as soon as they heard of the arrival of said detachment they restrained themselves to the point that it was necessary to cross over to seek them in their own lands, in their clearing which they call the Pumeyo, where they had three encounters with said Caribs, and in these three encounters they were always defeated with considerable losses, the number of which it is impossible to ascertain, owing to the custom they have of taking away their dead. They failed to conceal only the death of four captains, among these their General, who led them, and the bravery of this Indian has not been equalled by that of any Roman. All their houses and tilled lands were demolished. Of their nine boats, seven were taken away from them, the other two having been captured before in the slight engagement had with them on the Orinoco. They killed only one of our men, who died of a slight wound at the end of three days, owing to the balls being poisoned,

No. 21.

as are all of them, and also their arrows. Finding themselves thus punished, they all withdrew inland, suing for peace, which I have refused to grant them, as I have overpowered them so that they are perishing, for, being unable to go down to the Orinoco to fish, they must either perish or abandon the country. His Majesty has now under subjection all this Orinoco river up to Casanare, and as securely as the Sevilla river, whereas formerly it was necessary to pay a tax to every nation in order to be allowed to pass, and even then they were killed and countless Spaniards have lost their lives in crossing this river, as also Missionary Fathers. This nation is the only one that refuses to be subdued, all the others that have been discovered by us seek our friendship, and many nations send me their Caciques to swear obedience, recognizing His Majesty as King and Master, and asking for Missionary Fathers, so that if I now had five hundred Missionary Fathers I could employ them all, and my greatest sorrow is that I have not a single priest to give them; and it is the most pitiful thing in the world to see these poor wretches asking for fathers and not a father to give them. Guayana is at present without a parson, while being a parsonage, and as no priest wishes to come to Guayana, it has been necessary to take away a Capuchin father from his Mission, where he is needed. And having appeased and pacified all these provinces, I ordered here the Colonel of Militia, Don Francisco Figueras y Caceres, one of the foremost gentlemen of this province, a very judicious person who has filled various posts, in all of which he has given a good account of his operations—a clever man enjoying considerable popularity. I have left him to command in my place until I finish the residence of Don Juan de la Tornerra y Soto, my predecessor, who had begun it, having arrived in this city yesterday, March 22d, and to-day work upon said residence has been resumed and is diligently pushed, so that as soon as it is finished I may straightway return to Guayana in order to see how I can manage to go into the Province of Puneyo, where said Caribs have their clearing, which is on the other side of the Orinoco river, to fortify myself with a stockade and four swivel guns that I have, where I shall compel them to abandon the country or submit themselves. It is an arduous undertaking. I know it, and that we shall suffer greatly from lack of provisions, but I place all my hope in God who knows my good intention and zeal and devotion to the Royal service, and He will assist me in my undertaking. If we succeed in subduing them, or compelling them to abandon their lands, we shall in future meet with no further opposition, inasmuch as I have subdued and reduced to the obedience of His Majesty more land than is thrice contained in Spain, and if His Majesty were to send me twice as many people as are in Spain, we have enough land to distribute among all,—the best in the world, with the finest and most healthful climate that I have thus far seen; lands which grow everything that is sown in them; rivers teeming with fish; forests abounding in all sorts of game. But, Sir, it behooves me to notify Your Excellency that now it is impossible for me to further

No. 21.

contribute such excessive expenses. It is now thirteen months that I am called upon to wholly maintain, sometimes 200 men, at others 250, at others 150, sometimes 100, never less than 90, whom I supplied entirely with provisions, arms and munitions, even the Militia, of which I have sometimes maintained two hundred and five hundred men, during two or three months at my cost, and 25 men selected by me whom I supported for over eight months, who have ruined me, as I gave them half-pay and fed them at my expense, being sorely in need of men, because this garrison consists wholly of natives who are good for nothing, it being a pity that the Royal Treasury should pay for such worthless people. But for the people of the country—not the whites, who are also good for nothing, all, including their officers, being the most violent and worthless people that can be found—but for the mulattoes, *zambos* and negroes, I say, it would have been impossible for me to hold my own in Guayana, or to succeed in subduing all these provinces; and this by dint of regaling them and continually giving them rum; otherwise not one of them would have remained. No fortune would suffice for all the expenses caused by the smallest detachment; they are excessive, owing to the dearness of supplies for arms, powder, balls; no treasures would be enough. If it is fish it is killed with the gun; if deer or bear, powder and balls must be used; everything is consumed by the great rains; and as for the provisions, the implements, such as axes, cutlasses, pruning hooks, pickaxes, glass beads, knives, clasp knives, lancets for the Indians, where would there be money enough? Then what shall we say of the rum absorbed by the Indians, who drink it like water and after having had their full, must have their calabash replenished? They have consumed from me more than 4,200 flasks of rum, and without this, there is no Indian. He must be regaled whenever he seizes the tool. Of these I have given them over 3,800 pieces; knives without number; the loss of provisions that I have sustained at sea, and four or five vessels that I have lost, amount to more than 4,000 *pesos*, and countless other expenses, so that I find myself indebted in over twelve thousand *pesos*, and thus I am ruined, Sir, for up to the present moment I have not been provided with even a *real*; everything has been at my expense, with money lent me by my friends. I have done it, Sir, because it was necessary, and had I not come to Guayana with the celerity I did, it would have been irremediably lost. As it is pretty generally known, I found that all the residents and Missionary fathers wanted to leave, and remained only out of regard for me. 11,000 Caribs were coming, determined to kill them all, and 200 would have been enough for that. So great was the misery that even the residents had to be supported by me. Its garrison had sixty men on the books and for the sixty men there were only four guns that always remained in the Castle for those who came to relieve the guard, all old men and children. Now the garrison is complete and well supplied. Two days before I left I passed review and from two it had reached 102 men, and if there were a recruiting licence, I

No. 21.

could have raised 400 men. The place has had an increase of over 250 souls. From the province of Caracas there were more than 200, of these ten are owners of cattle ranches who with their cattle have the only means of maintaining Guayana; they send people everywhere, and there already would have been three or four towns begun by me, but they ask of me what it is not in my power to offer them; they wish me to promise not to forsake them and always to remain in Guayana, as if it depended upon my will to remain or not. It is all due to the great confidence they have in me. Had the Indians known of my leaving, I doubt much whether they would have permitted it. Sir, I can assure you that His Majesty has in those provinces the greatest treasures to be found in America. In all the ravines, rivulets and plains, nothing but mines are found which men who all their lives have worked in mines in the Kingdom of Santa Fé declare to be of gold and silver. This not being my profession, I do not understand it, but I called them and made them examine the samples they had brought me, and ordered them to tell me the truth, whether they were good mines or not, and if some specimens could be sent to His Majesty. To which they replied that with all confidence I could send them for they surely were gold and silver mines; that from the samples neither gold nor silver could be extracted because they had been picked up from the surface of the ground; that the lode had not been got at, but that by digging it would be found, and then gold would surely be reached. However, I wanted to satisfy myself. We placed some broken pieces into a rude crucible, and without any more implements made the experiment. The pieces would break, but we found some grains of gold as big as fowling shots and others smaller. Noticing that the crucible pieces would always break, I ordered a brick to be made four fingers (*dedos*) thick, dried only in the sun, concave in the middle, placing in the hollow $2\frac{1}{4}$ of those powders. At the moment of melting, the brick cracked; we took it out of the fire and after cooling it, we observed that in the fissure of the brick there was gold, and we found a small piece that weighed 17 *reales* gold of $22\frac{1}{4}$, almost 23, for 114 ounces of dust yields 17 *reales*. What would not a pound or an *arroba* (25 lbs.) yield! And this without any implement, or quick-silver, or knowledge of the thing. Eight samples of the smelting I forwarded to His Majesty in three boxes full of specimens of mines—some sixty and odd different specimens which were sent to His Majesty via Caracas together with various reports, and the chart of the Orinoco river and plan of a castle to be built in Guayana for the protection of that country, should it be the Royal pleasure of His Majesty to forward them in the month of November, and the Marquis of San Felipe and Santiago having sent them by a schooner to be forwarded to the Court on a vessel which was about to sail for Cadiz, belonging to the “Real Compañía Guspuzcoana;” said vessel was wrecked upon some shoals and all her cargo lost without it having been possible to save

No. 21.

anything. At the same time I sent a report to his majesty of my journey to Guayana, with the assistance I took with me, and full information regarding all those provinces, which I cannot make on this occasion as I have no time for it, having arrived at this city yesterday where I was obliged to detain this vessel to-day which proceeds to Caracas, in order to write these lines to Your Excellency and inform Your Excellency that I have already taken charge of the residence of my predecessor, Don Juan de la Tornerra y Soto, and that as soon as I have finished it I shall return to Guayana which absolutely needs my presence; otherwise we shall lose all that has been done; and nobody shall go to settle there. On the first occasion that may occur I shall repeat the reports to His Majesty which were lost, with the charts that are ready and other three boxes of specimens of new mines which were found afterwards. I assure Your Excellency that I am loth to tell Your Excellency the number of them, fearful lest Your Excellency may doubt my veracity. Their number reaches two hundred at the very least. All the shores of the Orinoco are full towards the other side, but not one on this side. Everybody there claims that towards the interior there are many more, and the greater part of them have been reported to me by the Indians, which is the more to be wondered at, as they have never shown any inclination to report them to Spaniards on account of their abuses; nor have I wished to allow any one to work them. The one that has been dug the most is barely one foot and a half deep.

The skipper is pressing me, so as to take advantage of the favorable wind. I must therefore close, praying Your Excellency to see to it that the necessary supplies are sent me, as also a reinforcement of at least one hundred men; or that Your Excellency will authorize me to raise two companies of fifty men each; send me the blank commissions, for I shall find people to raise them at their cost, uniformed and armed—men inured to this climate and food, which is not the case with those coming from Europe, and this is the reason why the greater part die. I need families to people these countries, and missionaries, especially fathers of the Company; arms, powder, cannon balls, and artillery, though they be of four or six, for the present they will serve for redoubts, which is all we can build now, as it is a year since we have been looking all in vain for stones wherewith to make lime; they are only to be found in the Island of Trinidad.

I remain with all obsequiousness at the feet of your excellency, praying that the Divine Majesty may vouchsafe Your Excellency many years, which I desire and need for my protection.

Cumaná, March twenty-three of the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five.

Your Excellency's most submissive and humble servant kisses your Excellency's hand.

DON CARLOS DE SUCRE.

HIS EXCELLENCY, DON JOSÉ PATIÑO.

No. 22.**Report by Don Gregorio Espinosa, governor of Guiana, as to certain gold and silver mines in Guiana, 1743.**

[Printed from a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Indias " (Seville), Stand 56, Case 6, Bundle 21.]

NOTE: This forms part of the *second piece* of " Several Documents taken from the records of the visit made to the province of Guayana by its governor, Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, sent in several pieces, with his letter dated September 30, 1743."

Royal Cedula of June ninth, seventeen hundred and forty.

The King—Brigadier, Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, my Governor and Captain of the Province of Cumaná, Don Carlos Sucre, your predecessor in that Government, reported by letter of February twentieth, seventeen hundred and thirty-eight, that, in compliance with my dispositions in my Cédula of November sixth, of seventeen hundred and thirty-six, referring to the failure of the arrival of the three boxes of ore which he informed me had been sent, sending in the meanwhile with letters dated March thirtieth and May seventeenth, seventeen hundred and thirty-five, samples of the assay made, that he should send other samples particularly from the same mines from which those he sent were taken, together with the aforesaid letters; he sent two specimens, one of silver, the other of gold from reductions made in Guayana from ores of the mines found in that territory, stating that he had information from the natives that there existed a large quantity of them further inland. These were surface ores and no work had been done nor diggings made over two feet deep. He added that there were no experts in said lands for the reduction of metals, and that the maintenance of Guayana was impossible owing to the lack of residents; he also sent different specimens of earth and ores discovered to be reduced in this Court. Said letter having been submitted to my Council for the Indies, together with the samples of reductions of gold and silver, and the aforesaid earth and ores from the discovered mines, forwarded by Don Carlos de Sucre, I was pleased to order them to be sent to the Chief Assayer of my Mint in this Court, who, after examination and having made the necessary reductions and assays, reported to me that all the specimens sent by the aforesaid Governor were out-croppings imbedded in a sandy clay and were accompanied by a kind of talc very thin and flaky, and so light that it floated upon being washed. That some iron was present, for which reason the specimens were somewhat dry and hard to reduce, notwithstanding having been washed and submitted to the quicksilver treatment, many experiments and treatments being necessary to discover their fineness, and that, lastly, they were submitted to the lead treatment in the cupel, which gave better results, as a larger quantity of metal was extracted by this means than by any other; that for the present it was sufficient to have found gold and silver, as these being superficial ore, and upon boring deeper and the earth being more moist, they

No. 22.

might give better results, yielding their metal more abundantly; that most of the mines could not be estimated by their surface product, and that this was the case with the samples of gold and silver sent by the aforesaid Sucre, except those from Pararayma, which, upon treatment by lead in cupel, yielded from one mark of earth two and a half ounces of fine silver; that is five ounces of silver per pound of earth and five hundred ounces per hundred weight; besides, each mark of the aforesaid silver contained twenty-four grains of fine gold, which was the minimum that said earth could yield, as did the little silver lump (pifia) from the Cabauro mine, submitted to the quicksilver treatment; that he did not send the gold one, as the assay had been lost, but that it corresponded to twelve grains by mark, the fineness being twenty-one carats, which was quite common in those countries where gold ore was found; that among these, many would be rich and abundant in this metal, and upon their discovery and development their yield would increase daily, as was the case in *terra firma*; that on this account the report of the aforesaid Governor was of no mean importance, the promise for the future being large, particularly since the gold contained in the above mentioned mines, according to the result of the assays he sent, although said assays were made without any art, was of such good quality that its fineness was more than twenty carats, and that, perhaps, there might be others of a higher number of carats and of a more abundant yield on account of the richness of the veins, the facilities and low cost of its development, which would yield a larger benefit to miners, as the gold mines being ordinarily of superficial character, their only expense would be the cost of excavation, extraction of the ore, its crushing and washing, the gold remaining in small grains. The mud or slime, which is the most useful part of the earth, would remain with the smaller particles of gold, which are allowed to settle, and then gathered and passed through very coarse sieves, submitting them to the quicksilver process as is ordinarily practiced. For this operation, intelligent and experienced men are needed both to work and to teach others, otherwise it would be a useless loss of time. To this end, well posted men from *Terra Firma* and other adjacent countries where mines are found, could be sent there. The place could be well supplied with quicksilver for the treatment of the metals, and of lead, clay and cupels for the smelting and refining processes; that it was also indispensable to furnish tools and other implements for the excavations and treatment of the metal, such as spades, crowbars, pickaxes, hammers, wedges, sieves and such, which would be ordered at the expense of those having an interest in the mines, should I consent to honor them with some concessions. Many would be encouraged and would settle in those lands to undertake the working and development of the mines; thus my Royal Treasury, without incurring in any expense, would, in time, derive the benefits already attained in other mining settlements of America. My aforesaid Council for the Indies having become acquainted with the aforesaid report of the Chief Assayer, as stated by

No. 22.

my Attorney, has deemed it expedient to inform you of the foregoing, so that upon your arrival at Cumaná you should proceed to inspect the mines which Don Carlos Sucre has been informed exist in Guayana, and find out what the possibilities are to put in practice the recommendations of the Chief Assayer; to this end I order you to communicate with the Viceroy of Santa Fé, who has been informed on this matter, so that you report to him, such being my pleasure.

Done at Aranjuez, June ninth, seventeen hundred and forty. I, the King.

By order of Our Lord the King. Fernando Triviño. Castle of Sn. Francisco de Asis de la Guayana, February thirteenth, seventeen hundred and forty-three.

NOTE: Here follows the order of the Governor, Don Gregorio de Espinosa, commanding that the Royal Cédula be complied with and the orders issued for the inspection of these mines in the Province of Guayana at the places called Pararaima, Cabauro and the town of Cupapuy.

INSPECTION OF THE TWO MINES AT CUPAPUY.

Thereupon his Lordship, the aforesaid Governor and Captain-General, in company with the Most Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchins, the Commander of this Province Don Francisco Montañez de la Cueva, and other experts, proceeded to inspect the two mines reported to exist in the vicinity of this town, which was done in my presence as a notary, and, having found that they existed, he asked and requested the aforesaid Reverend Father Prefect to have extracted and treated by washing and by baking, in the manner that it had been done by him, for their examination, one flask of the material from each mine, for the best service of the King, and in order to comply with the Royal Orders which his Lordship has received. Said Rev. Father Prefect accepted this commission, promising his Lordship to fulfil it, and appends his signature to which I hereby attest.

ESPINOSA,

FRAY AGUSTIN DE OLOT, *Prefect*,

DIEGO ANTONIO DE ALCALA, *Notary Royal and Public*.

INSPECTION OF THE MINES OF PARARAIMA AND CABAURO.

In the town of Santa Bárbara de Pararaima, on the twenty-fourth day of February, seventeen hundred and forty-three, where his Lordship has arrived on this visit, said town belonging to the Conversions of the Rev. Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, the visit being made in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Order, dated at Aranjuez on the ninth of June of seventeen hundred and forty, and orders issued for the fulfilment thereof in the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana on the fourteenth day of February of this current year, his Lordship caused a meeting of experts to be held and obtained information in reference to the existence and location of the

No. 22.

two mines of Cabauro (which is a running spring in the vicinity of this town) and of the Pararaima Mine, and in company with those persons who had given assurance of their existence and of the Rev. Father Joseph de Sarraél, Capuchin Missionary Monk, under whose charge this town is placed, his Lordship proceeded with me, the undersigned notary, to make the inspection and ocular verification of said mines, which, having been done, and having found them at only a short distance from said town, he requested and asked the Rev. Father, that, with the aid of the converted Indians, he should refine two flasks of the material produced by said mines, separating the contents of each for the benefit of the Royal Service. Said Rev. Father promised to effect it and signed with his Lordship, to which I hereby attest:

ESPINOSA,

FRAY JOSEPH DE SARRAEL, *Missionary,*

DIEGO ANTONIO DE ALCALA, *Notary Royal and Public.*

His Lordship, the Governor and Captain-General of these Provinces, in view of the foregoing orders, stated that, as to the four mines mentioned therein, one flask had been filled from the material produced by each, and that as two others were discovered, one on the road from the town of Pararaima, in the place where they take water in the burnt city, which place is still called *Usupamo*, said mine being reported by Joseph Hernandez, and another in the vicinity of the town of Caroni reported by the Very Rev. Father Benito de Moya, Capuchin Monk, the Captain and other Indians of said town, two other flasks had been filled with materials thereof, the six flasks stating on their label the places where the mines are found and the materials therein contained, and that Don Pedro Lopez de Brito is about to leave for the City of Santa Fé, commissioned and empowered to collect the funds of the two allotments due to the Company in charge of the Castle of S^a Francisco de Asis in this province; therefore, he (the Governor) did order and command that the Lieutenant of the Royal Officers pay, from the Royal Treasury in his charge, the expenses necessary to forward the materials from the aforesaid mines, and that he should suspend and stop the expenses of the small boxes that by order of the fourteenth of February last he was directed to pay, for the same purpose, as there is no further necessity for them, and that said flasks be delivered to the aforesaid collector of the funds, taking care that the labels upon each be plainly written, stating from what mine their contents are taken, the Notary here present to take the receipt therefor according to the foregoing; that said flasks be taken by him (the collector) to the City of Santa Fé de Bogota and be delivered to His Excellency the Viceroy of the New Kingdom of Granada; and in order to enable him to report to His Excellency for his consultation, as provided by His Majesty's Royal Cédula, the Notary here present shall draw up an attested copy of said acts and of the Royal Cédula which caused them to be made, which acts, together with the afore-

No. 22.

said Royal Cédula and consultation made with His Excellency the Viceroy, he shall file with the documents relative to the visit made by His Lordship to this Province, sending the originals to His Majesty. And by these presents it was thus ordered and signed in this city of Santo Thomé de la Guayana on the thirteenth day of March of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three.—Drawn up on common paper, the stamped paper of the fourth class being exhausted, as I hereby witness.

ESPINOSA.

Before me, Diego Antonio de Alcalá, Notary Royal and Public.

No. 23.

Report of Don Eugenio de Albarado, dated Divina Pastora, April 20, 1755, and entitled "Religious and Economical Life of the Fathers. Earnings of the Community of Missions, as also private earnings of the Fathers, Indians and other dependents thereof."

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Simancas," Secretaría de Estado, bundle 7890, folio 12.]

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE FATHERS.

Owing to the impossibility of observing the canonical hours in community with the accompanying Choir, Matins, Disciplines and other requirements prescribed by the admirable law of the Master St. Francis, they are exempt from many of these observances by Pope Leo X. in order that they may adapt themselves to the conditions of the country, as also by Adrian VI. in the Bull called *Omnimoda*; so that in their Prelate they have an Apostolic Subdelegate, and they perform the Divine office at such hours as may prove more convenient to them. The call for *Ave Maria* is rung at dawn, when they recite the Litany of the Virgin, pray a little, and say mass. Shortly after, they call for prayers, gathering in the church all the children, maidens and married women who have borne their first child, and recite together the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, Commandments, and Articles of Faith in Spanish, with the assistance of the Missionary Father or his coadjutor, should he have any. They spend the day in manual occupations, or in reading books, according to their individual inclination; dine between eleven and twelve, and sleep their *siesta*.

In the evening the call to prayers is again made, when the same persons meet and repeat the same orisons, in the presence of the Father. In some towns, both in the morning and evening services, prayers are said in the vernacular *Pariagoto*, in order that the congregation may make more rapid progress in the knowledge of the mysteries of our Holy Catholic Faith. This duty performed, they employ the evening in whatever may suit them best, attending to the material interests of the mission and watching over the Indian women who with entire freedom have attained true religion. At sunset they repair to their house, sup before nine

No. 23.

o'clock, toll the bell for evening prayers, and before retiring for the night, take a turn around the town to see that their Indians are gathered peacefully, and then go to bed until the next morning.

As they do not form a community, the penance, fasting and other mortifications pertaining to their religious character, remain in the spirit of each, for though they may constantly eat flesh, and the crack of the scourge be not heard, they can in the eye of God attain no less merit within their innermost heart. Their dress is fashioned after that worn in Europe; but as they live in a warm country, and enjoy the privilege of the aforesaid Bull, some of them are clad in light cloth, others in woollen stuff and many in unbleached linen, for which reason there is no uniformity in the color of their attire, but all grow the same beard.

Under the same papal rescript they wear underclothing called by them *enjadores* (sweaters), made of *crea* or striped linen, which they have in more or less quantity, according to the taste and means of each individual. They go about in bare legs, and on their feet wear slippers instead of sandals. This foot covering is not a novelty in the Indies, it being worn by the most observant monks. When obliged to travel from town to town, they go on horseback from sheer necessity, for the country being uninhabited, mountainous, full of wild beasts, and obstructed by many rivers and marshes, it would be impossible otherwise. On these occasions they take their *mono* with them on the horse, put on their buskin, spurs, pistols and sabre wherewith to protect their Breviary.

As regards the possession of worldly goods, a theologian of the Missionary Fathers explained to me that there was in America a medium between having and not having, this being the usufruct of property. Such is the case with the holders of hereditaments, entailed estates or trusts, but as they differ in the order of succession which should remain in the family, I take it that this missionary usufruct is in the nature of military commanderies, where the property reverts to the guild upon the death of the commander of the order. I suppose that this usufruct of the Missionary Fathers has its restriction, for it passes into the hands of a depositary, who is the Proctor of the Community of Missions, upon whom the latter has authority to draw on account of its property, as explained in the chapter devoted to their economical life.

I suppose, also, that this usufruct is employed for the benefit of the Church and of the Indians in the locality where it is acquired, so as to comply with the duties of Religion, and at the same time shield themselves against the charge of holding worldly possessions.

In the matter of continence they are exemplary in the highest degree, for to judge from what is reported in America of other missionaries and priests, they differ from all, and there is not a public instance of their having relaxed their vow of chastity. At the same time they are zealous in the spiritual care of the Indians, whom they educate with their example, and see to it that the Sacraments are administered to them,

No. 23.

in as far as their moral and intellectual advancement may warrant; and above all, that they do not neglect their daily prayers and other devotional exercises which the natives are apt to repeat mechanically rather than from conviction.

They are equally zealous in soliciting each a town for himself to reside in and preside over. But as there are more friars than towns, many of the new arrivals are obliged to serve under those who came over first, wherefore they are constantly urging the Prelate to allow them to go into the interior of the country with the view to founding a town and have the collation of the benefice attached thereto.

Out of the number of Fathers the Prelate selects one to assume spiritual charge of the town of Guayana and troops quartered there; he performs the duties of Curate of the former and Chaplain of the latter, and has the collation of the benefice by virtue of his presentation, without thereby being independent of his Prelate, for he is still considered a Missionary, and the town an appanage of the Missions of the Province.

For the election of a Superior they rigidly observe the laws governing their Community in the Province. Thus, at about the end of every three years they are called together at the Mission of Suay, where, after having implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost, they elect canonically, by unanimous votes, the individual designated as Prefect, to whom they pledge their obedience and the observances of the other formalities of their institute. This duty performed, they withdraw to the town of their residence to resume the exercises whereof an account has been given above.

ECONOMICAL LIFE OF THE FATHERS.

It is a well-known fact that up to the year seventeen hundred and twenty-four, Catalonian Capuchin Missionary Fathers who had come before were unable to maintain themselves in the Province of Guayana, owing to the great poverty of the country. The activity displayed, and measures taken by, the Reverend Fathers Fray Thomas de Santa Engracia, Fray Benito de Moya, Prefect Fray Augustin de Olot, Fray Bruno de Barcelona and two others who are dead (only Fray Benito de Moya and Fray Augustin de Olot being now alive), succeeded in overcoming the difficulty. They started a cattle farm, and the maintenance of human life once assured, went on with their work of converting souls. It was ordained that all the fathers should live upon the meat of the Mission, in towns that were successively founded, and as they were few at the time, the source of sustenance kept increasing every day.

According as the *Pariagoto* Indians, who inhabited the ramifications of the Imataka Mountains (one section of which, starting from Guayana, runs from north to south and the other from west to east), began to congregate in towns, to each of these was assigned a Friar with the designation of President, who in those days was the founder himself. Meat was the

No. 23.

only food available, and this not being enough for man's nourishment, they decided that inasmuch as the Indians raised *yuca* for their own consumption, they should at the same time raise a certain quantity especially destined for the Father, the latter thus supplying themselves with bread and meat.

The crop of *yuca* was followed in course of time, by those of rice, plantain, and sugar-cane, and out of the cattle farm and plantations arose the earnings and advantages mentioned elsewhere.

With the access of workingmen, coming from the Province of Barcelona, the towns began to grow, as shown by document No. 3; and being compelled to devise further means of subsistence, as the Royal Treasury failed to make good the assignments of the King in behalf of religious orders, and desirous, moreover, of adapting themselves in some measure to the institutions of their community, they decided to appoint a *syndic* and create a common fund to be managed by one of the Fathers in the capacity of *procurator*, as is done in Spain by the regiments of the army with the fund called *arbitrios*. To this common fund go whatever is collected from the assignments and all the proceeds of the industries whereof mention is made elsewhere. The Father procurator, with the approval of the Superior, has charge of the purchase and supply, by himself or through the syndic, of all the necessaries not produced by the Missions, for the sustenance of the Fathers, such as habits, underclothing, hats, cocoa, oats, flour for the sacramental wafers, wine for the Mass, salt and other items detailed under the head of expenses. The Father procurator likewise purchases for account of the Community, axes, knives, cutlasses, nankin, and other articles wherewith the Indians are paid for the days they have worked on the plantations for the benefit of the community, as shown further on. The surplus of this revenue remains, wholly or in part, in the hands of the syndic who resides in the town of Guayana. The afore-said expenses having been made in due time, the goods are stored in the mission of Suay, where the procurator resides, and there they are distributed in equal parts, among the Fathers, who come for their shares from their respective residences.

This fund has also another source of revenue, namely, the private property of each of the brethren, who, with the consent of his superior, can dispose, for his own benefit, of the amount belonging to him, applying for same to the Procurator or Syndic, who is the depositary, so to speak, of this castrensian property. These two species of revenue are explained in the chapters relating to earnings; and speaking in a worldly sense, there can be no doubt that this economical institution has been admirable and most beneficial to the King's subjects, inasmuch as the Province of Guayana owes to its agency the food supply whereof it lacked formerly; so much so, indeed, that the troops and residents receive from the Missions not only bread and meat, but also all the other necessaries of life.

Each Father, in the mission where he acts as President or coadjutor,

No. 23.

constitutes himself the guardian of his fold, as did the Commanders of Peru and New Spain with the towns committed to their protection. His economic zeal very often compels him to don his hood for the purpose of defending his neighbors from injury. This demands an explanation. All the residents of the town of Guayana, from the Commandant down to the last free negro or mulatto, have no other *peons* to build their houses, till their grounds, or row their boats, than the Indians, whom they apply for at the Missions, for a limited time, and to whom they must pay for their work in money or its equivalent in goods, according to the tariff established by the Governor Don Carlos de Sucre. In the latter form of settlement, mistakes are apt to be made, or injustice done, and to avoid these, the Missions have instructed the Indians to show the Father President what they bring in compensation for their work; and if the money falls short, or the merchandise is not worth it, redress is demanded, either within or outside the Church.

It is, moreover, their policy, and in the nature of an act of charity, to take charge of the money that comes into the hands of the Indians, and give them its equivalent in exchange; for the Indian, in fact, does not know how to appreciate money, having a preference for nankin, gaudy ornaments for girdles, axes and cutlasses for tilling their grounds. Did the Father omit to do this, the Indians would be left without money when they came to the towns, as the people of Guayana continually repair thither to barter said goods for casave, plantains, chickens and spun cotton.

Under these principles of economy, they give the most admirable interpretation of the law, by transforming into advantage for the Indians of their town, that pay which, according to tariff, they earned working in the plantations of the community and other industries of the P. (sic) for, from the proceeds of the traffic, they separate the fruits of the Indians' labor, which they invest in nankins, ornaments and other implements, such as axes and cutlasses, to be distributed at the end of the year among the people of the town.

In order to insure due subordination and civil habits among the individuals of the towns, they elect out of the smartest and most sensible of the Indians a certain number of officers and ministers of justice, consisting of captains, lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, *alcaldes*, attorneys and constables, all wearing their respective insignia, whom the Indians obey and are governed by while engaged in all the drudgeries of the town, such as carrying water, sweeping the church and the Father's house, making out the list of those who are to go to work as *peons* or rowers, as also of laborers for the plantations, and other personal duties to which they must attend. Thus the Father has but to give his orders to these persons who are obeyed and believed in more than the Gospel of the day.

Although the manner of making excursions into the forests for the care and conversion of the infidel souls was in accordance with the articles governing the religious mode of life of the Fathers, I include it in this

No. 23.

account; at least it will appear as a necessary digression, because, in truth, government is more necessary than the gospel, for the savages respect more the gun than the Holy Christ, and they are as ignorant of the Divine word as Europeans are of their vernacular.

Before, then, entering the forests, they prepare their stores of meat, salt beef, cassave and other things to subsist with their suite in those days of pilgrimage as well as some girdles of nankin and calico, hatchets, knives and cutlasses to present to the Indians, and beads for their wives. They select from the community of the Missions two or three trustworthy Indians of the tribe that inhabit the locality which they go to visit, and these serve as interpreters and witnesses of the good treatment given to the Indians who establish themselves in Missions. They also take one or two soldiers from the garrison of Guayana, who served as guard in the Missions and are well informed as to the road, and provided with swords and fire-arms. They then enter into the places where the Indian families are gathered in huts (according to their manner of living), and with these presents and kind words they endeavor to win them over and thus gain their good will. Some gather more fruit than others, but the first excursion serves only as a preliminary, and it is necessary to repeat the journey several times according to the character of the tribe, whether more or less barbarous.

In view of the great increase in the herd of cattle which since the year seventeen hundred and twenty-five were at the Mission of Suay, it was decided in seventeen hundred and thirty-four to remove them to the present farm, called the "Divina Pastora" (Divine Shepherdess). This town, which is one of those belonging to the Mission, consists of a sufficient number of cowherds, who with their wives and household, make a population of forty souls. The Father President and his coadjutor control the whole machinery, and they have an overseer (not an Indian) with his underling, who are directly in charge of, and expected to watch over, all the operations of the farm. The captain, lieutenant and other individuals representing the law, are entrusted with the mission of correcting and punishing the delinquencies of the Indians (that is to say, the cowherds) and of the *guarichas*, their women, wherewith are attained all the ends of a good administration. These cowherds, whose time is wholly taken up in looking after the cattle, are unable to attend to their *casave* plantations, or to hunt any fish for their maintenance. Consequently the Fathers have rightly considered it their duty to supply them with the necessaries of life. At the beat of a drum they gather to receive their ration of meat. As for the *casave*, when the proper time comes for preparing the ground, a work done exclusively by the men, the necessary hands are brought over from the other missions and paid according to local rates. This done, the women of the cowherds take charge of the sowing and other field work. These cowherds are likewise supplied by the Fathers with all other needful articles, such as girdles, knives and cutlasses, which they could

No. 23.

have acquired, as do the other Indians, if they worked for themselves all the year round.

The Fathers, realizing the importance of a good management, and mindful of the great need in which they were of acquiring horses and mules, both for the use of the cowherds and that of the brethren themselves—an item which figured largely in the annual expenses—conceived and carried out the project of another grazing farm, five leagues distant from the “Divina Pastora,” and to which they gave the name of the “Yegüera.” This they stocked with horses and she-asses, whereby the costly inconveniences were remedied, and soon they had mules for the droves, horses for the cowherds and brethren, besides a profitable industry, as is explained in the proper place. This breeding farm is tended by an overseer, his assistant, and six cowherds, and worked upon the same plan as the cattle farm, with the difference that no friars reside at the place, for it is considered a dependence, and thus maintained and managed by the Father.

Shortly after the establishment of this source of revenue, they began to discuss others, according to their needs. One of the most profitable in America is rum, both on account of the bad habit that has been introduced of “taking eleven o'clock” (as it is called) and because it is applied as a friction for bruises. Occasionally they give a little to the Indians whom they send on an errand. No less valuable is sugar, which is used in chocolate, lemonade, &c.; and as rum and molasses are the products of cane, they put up a mill in the territory, said mill being called by them the *Cacagual*, with extensive plantations of cane and plantain, of which that soil is prolific. With this industry, the needs of the Fathers were supplied in the matter of rum and molasses (the latter being a substitute for sugar), and a corresponding economy resulted in the disbursements. This *Cacagual* mill is situated at an equal distance from Caroni, Suay and Maruca, and thither come the Fathers from all the Missions, for their rations of both articles. This estate is in charge of an overseer (not Indian), who with four negro slaves take care of it, while to the Father Procurator of the community, who resides in Suay, belongs the duty of supplying it with all the necessities, such as agricultural implements, apparatus for distilling rum and pans for boiling cane juice; at the same time providing the workmen with meat and clothing. For spiritual matters, which are confined to a holiday Mass and the annual confession, the estate is attached to the Mission of Maruca, the road to it being the best, and, in my opinion, the shortest.

The Fathers having duly considered that the principal cattle farm, “Divina Pastora,” was badly situated for the Missions, and that the continual transportation of the necessary meat was too expensive, concluded to establish small farms in Caroni, Suay, Alta gracia, Capapui and Miamo, which could be managed by the Indians themselves, and from where they and the nearest towns in course of settlement could be supplied. This

No. 23.

proved to be a great boon, for aside from the attending economy in expenses and the saving of mules, on every slaughter day fresh meat could be eaten, and thenceforth there was no lack of milk for the Fathers.

INDUSTRIES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COMMON FUND OF THE FATHERS.

If account be taken of the increase in the stock of cattle occurring within the period embraced between the year 1725, when the large farm was started with 300 breeding cows, and that of 1734, when it was finally established under the designation of the "Divina Pastora," a simple arithmetical operation will suffice to ascertain what must be the number of head in existence at the present year.

One of the benefits and advantages derived from the principal cattle farm and its accessories, is the supply of all the fresh meat and jerked beef needed by the community of the Missions, not only for the Fathers, their servants, overseers and dependents, but also for the cowherds and their families, and any needy Indian who applies for it. Likewise profitable is the supplying of meat at the rate of six pesos per head to two-thirds of the people composing the town of Guayana, including the troops that garrison the castles; and at the rate of five, for the maintenance of journeymen, whenever there is any work going on for account of His Majesty. Though the latter is not continuous, the former brings in a goodly quantity of *reals*, paid out of the money of the *situado* (assignment) coming from Santa Fé every year. Add to this the profit derived from the exportation of large and small cattle to Trinidad, or sold to the first buyer that comes along, at double the price ruling in the country. With one thing and the other, the common fund or aggregation of gains, begins to increase.

Then there is the profit accruing from the sale of cheese, soap, tallow, butter and hides, which, after deducting the portion destined for the common consumption of the Fathers, the remainder is disposed of at sixteen *reals* per *arroba*, for hides, and eight, for cheese; though in fact, the greater part of these products, being consumed by the Fathers themselves, only a small quantity of cheese, tallow and hides is left over for the market. Indeed there are so many towns now, with a sufficient number of Fathers, that all the other commodities are needed for their sustenance, especially so the hides which are used for making halters, thongs for tying packs, trunks and other things. The same products supplied by the principal live stock farm are turned out by the smaller ones, wherewith some Missions assist one another, the remnant going to the common fund.

The "Yegüera" farm which to-day has a stock of 300 brood mares with the corresponding proportion of stallions, jacks and *garanes* (sic) affords the advantage of supplying each Father with a horse, while there is always available a certain number for the common use of the cowherds,

No. 23.

and a drove of fifty pack-mules, constantly engaged in the traffic between the Province and town of Guayana; with the further profit derived from the sale of these animals at fifty *pesos* apiece, outside of the province, whenever a chance is offered; for I learn that, although this trade is not continuous, it nevertheless yields many *pesos*, taking one year with another.

Then again there is the profit of one *peso* a head, charged for either mule or horse that is let out among the Missions to carry to Guayana whatever the neighbors purchase from, or barter with, the Indians of the towns, such as casave, plantains, and other products whereof they supply themselves. Neither the Fathers nor the Indians attached to the Missions are exempt from this contribution, for whenever they send out products of their own (as explained elsewhere) they must pay the same *peso* for the hire of the horse or mule employed therefor. So then, if in the course of a year there should be levied the corresponding tax upon the private property of the Fathers, Indians or other individuals belonging to the Missions, say upon 500 loads of casave, it will be so many *pesos* to the credit of the common fund.

The two sugar-mills (*cacagual*) turn out for the Fathers all the molasses and rum consumed in the Missions, as also the other things mentioned under the head of *Economical Life*. With these commodities a lucrative trade could be carried on by selling the rum in Guayana, where there is a great consumption of it; but I do not know, nor have I been able to find out, whether this is done. It is certain, however, that they derive no profit therefrom outside of the Missions; for the Commandants of Guayana take good care that it be sold only at the *estanco* (store for selling forestalled goods), which has been placed under the head of a third person, and is kept by them in constant supply of foreign rum or brandy.

The plantations of the community, described under "Economical Life," supply the Fathers with all the bread they need for themselves, their servants, overseers and other dependents, the surplus being sold for the benefit of the community and the proceeds thereof handed over to the Father Procurator, as has been said. The price of this *yuca* bread is six *reals* per *arroba* (25 lbs.) and the surplus from the plantations of the Fathers in all the towns, when taken together, averages a yearly profit for the community of a sum equivalent to 150 loads of casave, which, if sold in the Missions, are worth two *pesos* each, and if in Guayana, three, on account of the transportation, which costs eight *reals*, as stated in the chapter relating to the "Yegüera." Nor does that which is sold in the towns fail to yield its corresponding profit at the rate of three *pesos*, since the purchaser pays the carriage, if he has no horse or mule of his own.

Into the common fund go likewise the proceeds of the salary and perquisites of the Parish of Guayana, which is served by one of the Fathers, in the manner already set forth, who, in accordance with the economical laws of the order, is supplied by the community with all the necessities

No. 23.

apportioned among the rest of the Fathers. His salary as Chaplain, is the same as that paid to a private, namely, one hundred and ten *pesos* a year, but in hard money, as it comes out of the assignment sent from Santa Fe for the troops. The perquisites might exceed two hundred *pesos*, but as the country is poor, and the people needy, I think that barely one half is collected, the balance standing as uncollectable debts.

INDUSTRIES FOR THE PRIVATE BENEFIT OF THE FATHERS.

Aside from the fee paid for each Mass, which in this Province is four *reals*, the private earnings of the Fathers are limited to rice, indian corn, tobacco, poultry and some *casave*. After supplying their larder with the two first for the consumption of the year, the surplus is marketed with the rest for their private benefit, either by themselves in the Missions, or through the Procurator or Syndic, this being the property whereof they dispose for their own benefit, in the manner of that belonging to a camp, as mentioned in connection with the second source of income corresponding to the common fund, under the head of "Economical Life."

The price of seed-rice is three *pesos* per *fanega* (55.34 litres) and of maize or Indian corn, eight *reals*. No doubt these grains could be made to yield a greater profit by planting them; but the Fathers are contented with little, especially in the Missions inland, and only those of Suay, Maruca and Caroni, export corn to any extent. Tobacco they consume themselves, and as for poultry, they use the eggs, and one or two fowls, in case of sickness, making some little profit by selling a few chickens and hens at two *reals* apiece, current money, to people coming for them from Guayana or other towns.

Some of the Fathers residing inland, I reckon, do not neglect to get the Indians to extract the precious oils of *carapa* and *currucai*, which they pay for with mankin, or other objects held by them in high esteem. These are afterwards sold at six and eight *reals* per bottle, and fetch considerable more if taken out of the Province. In the pursuit of this industry they are equally indolent, and there is no doubt that much could be made of it, as it is in great demand, especially by foreigners.

Formerly, but not so much now, some of the missionaries reaped no little profit out of the traffic in hammocks, carried on with the Carib nation at the inlets of Paz, and which they used to make before they burned the towns in 1751. These hammocks were sold, and are still sold (though very rarely), at seven *pesos*, both inside and outside of the Missions.

No. 23.**INDUSTRIES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE INDIANS AND PERSONS UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE MISSIONS.**

Besides the soldiers kept on duty as guards at the different Missions, there are scattered among them quite a number of Spaniards from the Province of Catalonia, some of whom are deserters from ships, and others have come in search of gain. They get enough food to sustain life from the hands of the Fathers, who willingly give it for the sake of their company. They grow tobacco, rice and corn; barter for beads the spun cotton of the Indians, and raise chickens; all which they regularly sell to those who come from the town of Guayana for the purpose of buying them.

These men, with the permission of the Father President, graze their colts and mules in the pastures of the community, and then sell them when occasion offers either in or outside the Province, by which means they manage to scrape together a few *pesos*.

The Indians of both sexes who live in the towns not belonging to the cattle farm, carry on a small traffic wherewith they supply themselves with girdles, annatto and beads. They grow on their plantations some *casave* and corn, but being so gluttonous and improvident, most of it is eaten and drunk in *chicha*, and what little has been spared this fate, they sell to the whites who come from Guayana to trade with them.

They also raise some chickens on their premises, and these are so few, that should they sell four, they are left without any.

In some towns they make ropes and cords, adapted to various uses, with the fibres of *Curaguate*, a species of agave superior to the hemp of Spain, and as fine as flax. There is another kind called *Cuquida*, that has the same applications, but is not so fine. The Indians twist both, and sell them when they have a chance; but in most instances they must be ordered, and are charged for at from two to three *reals* each.

There being plenty of horse-hair available at the Mission of the *Hato* (live stock farm), the Indians weave it into a species of rope, which is highly valued as halters for horses. With this and what is left them of their crop, they trade with the whites whenever an opportunity is afforded them. Such, however, is the characteristic laziness of this tribe, that all the above articles come very dear, for they do not make them except when ordered, and even then after considerable trouble.

The Indians of Suay, Maruca, Caroni and some from other Missions, carry on a traffic in turtle-oil, for which they go to the Orinoco during the full moon of March. They return with an abundant supply of the stuff which is disposed of at four *reals* per bottle. The people living under the protection of the Missions are also in the habit of trading with the article and even some of the Fathers occasionally get it from the Indians, by purchase or barter, at the time of the yield, and when the season is over, hold it at eight *reals* per bottle.

No. 23.**EXPENSES DEFRAID BY THE COMMON FUND OF THE FATHERS.**

Owing to the defaults in the payment of the Royal assignment of one hundred and fifty *pesos* due the Fathers in the Province of Caracas, for each member, all the expenses of this community, now numbering twenty-two individuals, are paid out of the common earnings enumerated above. The most essential requirement for their maintenance, distributed in equal shares among all the Fathers, as described under "Economical Life," involve considerable expenditure. They must be purchased at high prices and brought from distant places, while most of them have to be supplied clandestinely from foreigners.

There being no commerce established between this province and others of the Royal domain, the Fathers are compelled to send an agent to the distant ports of Cumaná or La Guaira for their vesture and other necessities of life not produced in the Missions. Their cost is thereby increased and they must be paid for in ready money. In exchange for their mules and other products, they get from the foreigners flour for the sacramental wafer, some striped cloth, axes, cutlasses and beads, which come out cheaper than if purchased in Spain. As to wine for the mass or assistance to the sick, Castilian oil, ornaments for the church, cloth or serge for dresses, cocoa, and books, which are supplied in common, these must necessarily come either from Europe or from the above-mentioned ports of America, where such commodities are always more or less dear, while the Missions cannot do without them.

No less costly to the community, though an indispensable item, is the transportation of salt, especially at the missions, for by reason of the great quantity of meat that is salted there, the consumption thereof is enormous. They have to go for it to the salt pits of Araya, or to Trinidad in the Windward, which is the nearest point; though generally they supply themselves in Guayana. This expenditure does not fall short of 250 *fanegas* per year, on an average, which at the cost of three *pesos*, amounts to \$750. Cocoa is never worth less than sixteen *pesos* per load in Guayana, and for their consumption the Fathers need twenty loads, costing \$320, and so with the other articles. In addition to what is allotted from the common fund, the Fathers have to purchase for their private account the same commodities, either because the share assigned them is not sufficient, or because they like to see more ornaments on their altars. In this manner they spend what was acquired by their masses or private earnings, and draw for it, as a thing of their own, upon the Procurator or Syndic, against the second source of income of the common fund, spoken of in "Economic Life." Thus, had they not accumulated gains for their maintenance, they would not have been able to subsist from want of the necessities of life, nor to help their churches, as was the case before the coming of said Fathers, in 1724. There is no doubt that the good management of these men, especially the late Fray Thomas de Santa Engracia, and the

No. 23.

present Prefect, Fray Benito de Moya, has won many souls for Heaven, and to a certain extent fertilized the Province of Guayana. I shall not inquire whether their vows of eternal poverty have been legitimately suspended by the Apostolic Bulls, thus permitting the law of nature to prevail over that of God. But politically speaking, and having in mind their beautiful maxims of government, I find them deserving the renown of the most illustrious worthies, in the same manner as their religion in Catalonia has merited, among others, that of holy.

Province of Guayana, Mission of the "Hato" of "Divina Pastora," April the twentieth, seventeen hundred and fifty-five.

DON EUGENIO DE ALBARADO.

No. 24.

Letter from Don José de Iturriaga, to Fray Fidel de Santo, Prefect of the Missions, dated Murucuri, January 29, 1756.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

I presume that Sr. Don Joseph Solano will leave this place today in order to arrive by water to-morrow in Guiana. He is destined for the first sally and I so inform Your Reverence, so that Y. R. may consent to go to Guiana to confer with him in the matter of the particulars concerning the trip and in reference to the Mission. I would appreciate Y. R.'s acquiescence in this, and all your diligent activity so that this sally may take place at the earliest possible moment, as also the remaining sallies. I beg to offer again to Y. R. my obedience and pray to God to preserve Y. R. life for many years. Murucuri, Jan'y 29 1756— I beg to ask Y. R. to forward the enclosed and to request at once, for the journey one hundred Indians, forty or fifty of them knowing how to row. Kissing the hand of Your Paternity, Your most obedient servant—

No. 25.

Letter from Don José de Iturriaga, to Fray Benito de la Garriga, dated Ca-bruta, April 11, 1758.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

His Lordship the Bishop is going on this occasion to his visit to Guayana, and is well informed of the jealous care of that Venerable Community as was displayed in the exercise of its mission. I improve

No. 25.

this occasion to remind Your Reverence of the promised trip of Father Narciso, now that he can undertake it with the greatest comfort in the felucca transporting His Lordship. I ask the Commander for one hundred loads of cassave, and I shall thank your Reverence for its prompt remittance to Guayana, should the Commander ask them from Your Reverence. I have spoken with the Captain of Tapaquixi who is at present here, and he has expressed himself as if greatly offended by that sad event, and this question is settled with the reward he has demanded. Father Alexo has forgotten the promised canes and I would thank your Reverence to refresh his memory and ask him to send them to me at any time. Should there be any rice to spare, besides that needed until the crop, I would thank Your Reverence to have it sent to me. I renew my obedience to Your Reverence and pray God to preserve Your Reverence's life many years.

No. 26.

Extract from a report by Captain Don José Solano, upon the contents of certain letters from Don José de Iturriaga, 1758.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 130, Case 4, Bundle 9, No. 3.]

By way of the universal office of State have been forwarded to this of the Indies, with papers dated September 9th and October 31st, 1758, four letters which, from the town of Cabrute, writes Don José de Iturriaga, flag officer, attached to the boundary expedition in the Orinoco, the contents whereof are as follows:

FIRST LETTER, DATED JUNE 12, 1757.

States that Don Vincente Doz and Don Nicolas Guerrero, having recovered their health, were sent by him to inspect the Meta river up to the mouth of Sararc, and also to report to him about the Missions of Barinas, in charge of the Dominican fathers of Santa Fé. He encloses in the letter an instructive description of the observations made there regarding the depth of the river, and the condition of the Missions; also a chart of the river and the arms navigated by them, and Iturriaga adds that in order that the river may not remain bare on its margins, on the north side was added to it a work which he did formerly, and correct now with these observations, as shown by said chart.

That afterwards they had wanted to undertake some works, to which Iturriaga objected, being fearful lest they might lose their already precarious health, with the constant rains prevailing there; and notwithstanding all were doing tolerably well, they were still quite susceptible to any change of weather. For this reason it has also been impossible to inspect

No. 26.

other rivers whereof he was advised both by Don Eugenio Alvarado and Don Ignacio Milhau, who sent some bark called *canella* (cinnamon), their fruit and leaves; and he awaited an opportune time to go and inspect those trees and cure their bark as he understood those of the cinnamon tree were cured by the Dutch; and lastly, if this did not answer, he would make whatever other experiments he might deem suitable.

The aforesaid description gives a copious account of the depth and conditions of the river Apure, whose principal mouth is distant three leagues from Cabruta; that at its greatest ebb tide he found to be three and a half fathoms deep and eighty *varas* wide, the same as the Guarico: and he adds the other rivers of which this one is formed, and the places surrounding same, towns, inhabitants, &c., with an account of the Dominican fathers, priests assisting them, who founded those Missions forty-three years ago.

NOTE.—No antecedent is found in this private communication which might have led to this report of Iturriaga; and it probably was made in compliance with the instructions he mentions as having been given him by Don Joseph de Carvajal.

SECOND LETTER, DATED JUNE 16, 1757.

In this letter he replies to one of the Chapters of secret instructions given him by Don Joseph de Carvajal, which mainly deals with the question as to whether the Castle or stronghold of Araya should stand or be demolished: which subject, having been under discussion for a long time since, and there are various opinions thereon, is placed with a separate extract which follows this, regarding the necessity of examining the antecedents, it being the opinion of Iturriaga in this report that it should be demolished, as it answers no useful purpose in its present condition.

THIRD LETTER, DATED DECEMBER 15, 1757.

In this, written officially and not by request, he advises that having understood from the Capuchin Fathers of Guayana that the Dutch were building a new fort on the Maruca River, to the windward, and at a short distance from the "Boca de Navios" of the Orinoco, and convinced that the Commandant of Guayana would not of his own accord take any steps to discover the object thereof, he ordered that a barge be sent to inspect the condition of the works, size, artillery, &c.

The Governor of Guayana, Don Juan Valdes, replied thereto, in a letter dated the second of said month, that there was no such fortification at the place reported to him, nor at others near by, and that the only thing

No. 26.

that had occurred was that the Dutch of the Colony of Essequibo were trying to change the Guard which under the name of Post they maintain at said Channel of Moroca, bringing it down to the mouth which empties into the sea and is six leagues distant, having for that purpose made many clearings for planting at that place and the houses required for the accommodation of those Aruaca Indians and Hollanders; which occurrence he does not know for a certainty to whom it is due, and he had only heard say that its object is to prevent the negro slaves of the Company and residents of that Colony from passing over without hindrance into these Dominions.

Iturriaga understands from this report that the intention is to establish some sugar plantations, adding to their owners and slaves a certain number of Aruaca Indians, upon whom they rely the most, in order to prevent the passage of deserters, soldiers and slaves, Indians and negroes at that place, and that probably to protect these plantations against any uprising of slaves on either side, they had built some small fort with two or three cannon, served by four or six men.

In connection therewith, he says that some fourteen years ago he saw a Protection or Patent executed in Latin by the Governor of Essequibo in behalf of a Carab Captain, who lived within the Orinoco river; that this moved him to inquire upon what ground the Governor of Essequibo granted such Protection, and he ascertained that the States-General in their Patents to the Governors of Essequibo, add the title of Governors of Orinoco; and that it is a matter of fact that these Governors call themselves of Essequibo and the Orinoco in the licenses issued by them.

That being permitted to-day in Moruca, they will some other day pass into Barinas, and thereafter come to the Aguire river, whose mouth is in the Orinoco itself, a few leagues distant from the sea; that up this river the neighborhood of the Palmar Mission is reached, and by this means they will attain free communication with the other missions inland, as they had already done through the indifference of Father Friar Bruno of Barcelona; albeit for this reason he was removed therefrom by his Prefect and reduced to serve as a companion at another Mission, without any voice, active or passive, in their Chapters.

He adds that he does not quite approve the title of Governors of Essequibo and of Orinoco, but deems needful for their benefit the request that they make by writing, to the Commandant of Guayana, that their Aroacas who come to fish for turtles be allowed to pass higher up. The text of this letter is mainly confined to this subject.

FOURTH LETTER, DATED APRIL 19, 1758.

[This] takes up the subject of the previous one, and in response to fresh inquiries addressed by Iturriaga to the Governor of Guiana, the latter

No. 26.

informs him that the change of the Guard maintained by the Hollanders of the Colony of Essequibo, as above related, had not taken place, and they had only built a house fifteen *varas* long, at the mouth opening into the sea, which they say is intended for the use of people traveling to said Colony during the interruptions caused by the periodical flowing and ebbing of the river, and that consequently said guard is kept without any increase of men or artillery; and that said Aruaca Indians, located at this place for purposes of trade, form three town divisions, each consisting of from ten to twelve small houses, corresponding to a family of Indians, and lying a league or more apart from one another close upon the margins of said Moruca river.

And Iturriaga adds to this report that the people of Essequibo declared openly and maintained that the extent of the Dominion of the States-General reaches to the "Boca de Navios" or great mouth of the Orinoco, and they even go far into the interior to make the most of their fishery, impelled thereto by the total lack of flesh in their country and the great scarcity of fish in their river.

These four letters having been referred to the naval Commander, Don Joseph Solano, he agrees to the opinion that the fortification of Araya (which place has been evacuated), answers no useful purpose, and admits as correct the reports regarding the condition of the Indian towns of Barinas presented by the naval lieutenants Don Vicente Doz and Don Nicolas Guerrero.

As to the context of the third and fourth letters of Iturriaga, anent the claims of the Hollanders of Essequibo river to the Orinoco, he fails to find on what basis they make their claims, unless it be the passiveness wherewith the Commandants of Guiana have allowed them to fish in "Boca de Navios" and Barina and Aguire rivers, and extend their navigation up to Guayana. That they thereby stretch their dominion to the great mouth of Orinoco and penetrate into Barcelona, Caracas and Varinas, and but for the assistance of the Guard and Garrison of Guayana the Missionary Fathers would not have been able to hold their ground.

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No. 27.

Letter from Don José de Iturriaga, to Fray Benito de la Garriga, dated Cabruta, December 12, 1758.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

I have received two [letters] from Your Reverence dated the 13th and 21st of November, dictated by the love and charity that Your Reverence and

No. 27.

his Venerable Community have always shown me. I beg to thank Your Reverence for the 100 loads of casave and 26 bushels of rice which Your Reverence ordered to be delivered at the house of Don Felix Fereras, and I am certain that should the corn crop not have been so bad, Your Reverence would have helped me with some of this grain. Don Felix tells me that he has ordered a house to be built at the port of Cacagual, to facilitate getting Indian laborers, rowers and the loading of grain sent from that place to this, and avoid the risks of the bad summer at the port of Guiana. Your Reverence may order in this matter in the way you deem most expedient. It is well that the Caribs are leaving the Cuyuni, although it may be for fear of the Hollanders. Your Reverence may found with them new settlements; thus they might be few and large in order that they could be attended to by Missionaries, as the small number of these would not suffice but for one for each settlement. Those expected by Your Reverence will be employed in due time. May they arrive soon to see that land and water populated! Your Reverence must not be concerned about the Hollanders; they are not in a state to annoy us. The movement of the Governor of Essequibo was a flame of his passion. I cannot believe it will be approved by the States-General of Holland. I have written urgently to the Gov. in regard to the proposed settlement of Guaycas, with a fort and garrison; a favorable reply may be expected to the representations of Your Reverence. The need of Father Prospero and the absence of Father Fidel on account of sickness of the Father of the Hato, are to be regretted. May God grant that upon his improvement of health he (Father Fidel) may soon come to your aid. I know already that Father Guardia has founded in Carauaschi a large settlement of Caribs. I would like to see in the Angostura of Arimnarva one of good Guayanos, even if there were not over 15 or 20 families from Cupapuy, accompanied by some soldiers, to defend the passes with swivel or small guns placed at the sentry boxes. I renew my obedience to Your Rev. and pray God to preserve Y. R. life many years.

Cabruta, Dec. 12th, 1758.

Y. R. will please let me know if the women of the Caribs captured by the sloop that carried His Lordship to Guayana are in Murucuri and how many there are.

No. 28.

Report of Fray Fidel de Santo, Prefect of the Catalanian Capuchins of Guayana, as to the Missions, their times of founding, causes of their destruction, etc.; dated Purisima Concepcion de Suay, February 26, 1761.

Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Yndias," (Seville), Stand 133, Case 3, Bundle 16.]

If it is indeed true that since the year seventeen hundred and twenty-four the Indians in the Province of Guayana began to believe in the Cath-

No. 28.

olic faith preached to them by the Catalonian Capuchin Missionaries, and it could thus be stated that their true foundation began at that time, it is also true, however, that it was not in that year when the Holy Gospel was first preached in said province as it is inferred from an old book of Records of Baptisms that since the year sixteen hundred and sixty-four, several priests at various times undertook the pacification and reduction of the natives such as Father Joseph Sampayó, a Dominican Monk, Father Manuel de la Purificacion, Barefooted Monk of the Order of San Augustin, the Clergymen Don Francisco de Roxas, Don Miguel Buenaventura de Angulo, Don Joseph de Figueroa and the Prebendary Don Andres Fernandez; the Jesuit Fathers Juan de Vergara, Dionisio Mesland, Francisco de Mauri and Ignacio Cano; the Catalonian Capuchins Father Angel de Mataro and Father Pablo de Blanes. To these last named Capuchins and others, the Fathers of the Company made a solemn renunciation of said Missions in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-one, by authority of the Governor of Trinidad, Don Tiburcio Axpe y Zúñiga, who conveyed them to said Catalonian Fathers in compliance with the Instructions he held from the Royal *Audiencia* of Santa Fé to provide Missionaries for the Province of Guayana as it appears from the Records kept in the Government of Trinidad as well as from the Royal Cédulas of February seventh, sixteen hundred and eighty-six, and April twenty-ninth, sixteen hundred and eighty-seven, by which His Majesty grants and conveys the Missions of the Province of Guiana to the Catalonian Capuchin Monks who from that time took charge of the same; but the misery, sufferings and deaths of the monks were so frequent, as no aid could have been given them in their plight, especially as regards the filling of the places of those who had died, that long interruptions ensued in the work of the Apostolic Missionaries, thereby losing entirely all the work done for the good of the souls and pacification of the natives.

Such was the state of the Province of Guayana in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-three, without priests or missionaries and without the necessary means to afford an entrance of the missionaries on account of lack of food. God was pleased, however, to supply them with one hundred head of cattle, through some pious persons; these cattle have increased to a goodly number and are today the means of supply for the missions in the almost extreme necessity the Indians would suffer if this food were not given them and it was desired to hold in the towns. This is attained through the inducement held out to them that they shall have the means wherewith to satisfy their wants.

This was the beginning of the foundation of the missions, which to-day number sixteen, with four thousand four hundred and six souls, seven thousand three hundred and eighty-eight baptisms, one thousand one hundred and ninety-five marriages, according to the rites of the Holy Roman Church; out of the number of Indians three thousand three hundred and eighty-four died in the communion of the Faithful. Besides the said

No. 28.

existing missions, there were eight more which were lost through several accidents and one thousand six hundred and eighty-six souls took once more to the woods. All this has occurred since seventeen hundred and twenty-four, the year of its foundation.

Since that year said missions suffered several alterations which were a great drawback such as epidemics of small pox on two occasions, that is in the years seventeen hundred and twenty-eight, and seventeen hundred and forty-one. The measles, in seventeen hundred and forty-four; the invasions of the Caribs in seventeen hundred and thirty-five, and the hostilities of the English in seventeen hundred and forty, all of these misfortunes causing the death of nine hundred and seventeen Indians besides the loss of towns and valuables, all of which caused considerable backwardness.

THE SIXTEEN EXISTING MISSIONS.

The *first* mission founded was that of the Purisima Concepcion de Suay in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-four with Indians of the Pariagoto nation. It has, at present, two hundred and twenty-four souls and has had since its foundation nine hundred and sixty-one baptisms, two hundred and sixteen marriages and four hundred and ninety-three Indians died a Christian death. Their lands are most excellent for the cultivation of all the fruits that may be grown in these provinces, particularly for cocoa. This mission has been devastated twice, once by the small pox and the measles and another time by the English.

2nd. In the year seventeen hundred and twenty-five, the Caroni Mission was founded with Pariagoto Indians naming as its patron St. Anthony of Padua. It has to-day two hundred and twenty-four souls and since the year of its foundation, nine hundred and sixty-two baptisms have taken place, over two hundred and thirty-seven marriages celebrated by the Church, and five hundred and ninety-seven Christian deaths. Their lands are equally as fertile as those of the above mentioned mission. It has suffered from several invasions of Caribs in which thirty-seven Indians were killed, besides it also suffered from the epidemics of small pox and measles common to all the other missions founded up to seventeen hundred and forty-four. This town has been burnt three times.

3rd. The Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Amaruca was founded by Pariagotos in the year seventeen hundred and thirty in good lands for the production of cocoa and other fruits. It has to-day two hundred and twenty-eight souls. It was removed to another locality only suitable for cotton and cattle. Said missions suffered the same drawbacks as those mentioned above. In seventeen hundred and forty, it revolted through instigation in favor of the English. It has had six hundred and ninety-seven baptisms, one hundred and thirty-three marriages and six hundred and fourteen Christian deaths.

4th. The Mission of Cupapuy was founded in the year seventeen hun-

No. 28.

dred and thirty-three with indians of the Pariagoto nation and under the patronage of St. Joseph. It has, at present, six hundred and thirty-three souls. The mission has had twelve hundred and nineteen baptisms, two hundred and seventy-nine marriages and five hundred and eleven deaths. Its lands are most useful, especially for tobacco growing. It has not suffered as many mishaps as those before mentioned.

5th. The Mission of Our Father, San Francisco de Altagracia, was commenced in the year seventeen hundred and thirty-four, with Indians of the same Pariagoto nation and has, at present, four hundred and ninety-nine souls. There have been one thousand three hundred and fifty baptisms, three hundred and one marriages and eight hundred and sixty-eight deaths. Its situation offers great advantages for the cultivation of cocoa and cotton, but it is not as well suited for cattle as the extent of the land is not very large. It was removed once and revolted in seventeen hundred and forty.

6th. The Mission of the Divina Pastora de Huarimna, also composed of Pariagotos was founded in seventeen hundred and thirty-seven in another place called Yacuaria, and is located to-day in the aforesaid Huarimna. It is composed of two hundred and nineteen souls. It has had two hundred and thirty baptisms, fifty-eight marriages and one hundred and sixteen deaths. Its lands are admirable for grazing and it is here that the cattle, used for food for the Missions, are kept.

7th. In the year seventeen hundred and forty six the Mission of San Miguel del Palmar was founded in a locality excellent for all purposes where it still remains. Its Indians are partly Caribs and partly Pariagotos, numbering in all three hundred and fifty. It has had two hundred and sixty baptisms, forty six marriages and one hundred and twenty three deaths. Said Mission suffered no other alteration than that of the flight of many Indians who abandoned it on several occasions.

8th. The Mission of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate de Miamo, founded in the year seventeen hundred and forty eight, was completely lost in seventeen hundred and fifty by the uprising of the Indians who are Caribs and who burned the town, having killed a Spaniard previously. It was re-built two years after by incredible work on the part of the Missionary and has to-day five hundred and twenty-nine Caribs and has had three hundred and twenty six baptisms, twenty marriages and two hundred and twenty six Catholic deaths. The lands are very good for the cultivation of cotton, cocoa, tobacco and cattle raising.

9th. The Mission of the Anunciacion de Aguacava, being founded in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-three with about three hundred of them but they have had little perseverance and no increase because, in addition to not being able to keep them subjected for lack of a garrison their nature is particularly inconstant and they have always been running away, and are still, on account of the facilities afforded by the rivers Caroni and Orinoco, on which shores this mission is situated. For this reason it has to-day only eighty-seven souls, although endeavors are being

No. 28.

made to settle the "Cimarrones" (fugitives). Since its foundation it has had one hundred and one baptisms, five marriages, (the marriage by the Church in the Carib nation is very difficult; many of them have several wives which cannot be prevented until there is more help) and thirty-three Christian deaths. Good lands for all purposes.

10th. In the year seventeen hundred and fifty-four the mission of Santa Eulalia de Murucuri was founded with Carib Indians. It has to-day three hundred and twenty nine souls, exclusive of the seventy two that ran away with a captain named Tumatu in the year seventeen hundred and fifty nine. It has had two hundred and eighty baptisms, two marriages, and forty-one Christian deaths. The lands at a distance of one and a half leagues, are suitable for cocoa, but barely so for cattle.

11th. The Mission of Yuruari, under the patronage of St. Joseph of Leonisa, was founded in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-five, and is composed of Guayca Indians whose nation extends far into the South and is much inclined to settle. This would not be difficult if the missionaries had the means to accomplish it, as they are very mild indians, although somewhat fickle, and desertions frequently occur.

12th. The Mission of San Fidel de Carapiry was founded with Carib Indians in the year seventeen hundred and fifty six and has at the present time two hundred and eighty souls, with one hundred and sixty baptisms, six marriages and twenty five deaths. They have behaved well so far, but we fear their love of freedom, as Caribs in common with the others, on account of the lack of troops to command respect. Said mission lies in a most beautiful locality and its lands are most excellent for cattle grazing and of good quality for the raising of cotton and tobacco.

13th. The Mission of Abechica composed of Guayca Indians was commenced to settle and to develop in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-eight, and in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-nine was lost because the Carib Indians killed their captain in one of the wars so frequent between the Caribs and the Guaycas. The latter have been gathered this year to the number of one hundred and ninety one souls. From its inception it has had ninety six baptisms and about twenty deaths. Their lands are suitable for cotton and tobacco.

14th. The mission of Guaseypati was commenced in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-nine with Carib Indians. To-day it has two hundred and ten souls and has had one hundred and twenty one baptisms and ten deaths. The lands are fine for cattle.

15th. The Mission of Piacoa was founded in seventeen hundred and sixty with Arawaca Indians of whom there are seventy three to day; baptisms, twenty; marriages seven; deaths eight. It has lands admirably suited for the cultivation of cocoa, rice and corn.

16th. About the end of the same year of seventeen hundred and sixty the Cross was planted at a place called Arypuco with an invocation to Mount Calvary. This Mission has been commenced with Guarauno In-

No. 28.

dians who are a very extensive nation, although they are somewhat inconstant. At the present time there are only forty-two of them for lack of provisions, but there are hopes for an increase; fourteen have been baptised and there have been two deaths.

It must be remarked first: that almost all of the aforesaid sixteen missions are still being settled by new Indians attracted from the woods or the runaways that are caught and brought back.

It must be remarked second, that it is most difficult to gather many Indians in the same place, for two reasons: first, because as they are spread all over the land in small huts it is necessary to bring them from distant places in order to gather them together in one single place and they are not willing to leave their natural mode of living. The second reason is that in order to gather many of them it becomes necessary to bring together many captains, which is almost impossible, this being the reason why they and their followers desert when they quarrel among themselves which frequently happens. Besides this, it is very difficult for the present to subject many Indians, particularly those of the Carib nation.

THE EIGHT MISSIONS LOST SINCE THE YEAR 1724.

1st Mission. The first Mission lost was the Santa Maria de Yucuario in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-eight which was founded two years before. It was composed of one hundred and twenty souls of the Pariagoto nation. The cause of this loss was the small-pox.

2d. The second Mission lost was San Miguel de Unata, composed of Guarauno Indians, founded in seventeen hundred and thirty-five. It had one hundred and forty nine souls, and the cause of its destruction was the burning of it by the Caribs.

3d. In the year seventeen hundred and forty, the Payarayma Mission was lost on account of the invasion of the English. This mission was composed of Aruaca, Saliba and Guarauno Indians to the number of two hundred and ninety eight souls.

4th. In the year seventeen hundred and forty two, the Tipurua Mission was lost by reason of the uprising of its Indians who were of the Chayma nation and numbered one hundred and fifteen souls.

5th. In the year seventeen hundred and fifty the Cunuri Mission was lost, composed of Carib Indians who uprose, killed six Spaniards and shortly after their own Missionary. They numbered three hundred souls.

6th. On the same year and day the Tupuquen mission was lost, composed of two hundred and thirty Caribs, for the same cause as the last two mentioned: an uprising with the death of several Spaniards. The Missionary Father escaped death miraculously as at one time they had him tied for the purpose of killing him.

7th. The same misfortune befell, and in the same manner, the Curumo

No. 28.

Mission, also composed of Caribs to the number of one hundred and eighty souls. This happened in the same year of seventeen hundred and fifty.

8th. In the year seventeen hundred and fifty-eight, the Tarepi Mission was lost; its Indians, who were Caribs to the number of forty-eight, had in the previous year run away, were recaptured and gave evidence of constancy. They were placed in the same spot, but, impelled by their inconstancy, they ran away once more.

I hereby certify to the foregoing, and in witness thereof I have signed this in the Mission of the Purisima Concepcion de Suay on the twenty-sixth day of February, seventeen hundred and sixty-one. Fray Fidel de Santo, Prefect.

No. 29.**Report upon Missions by Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez, 1761.**

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias," Stand 131, Case 2, Bundle 2.]

A general statement showing the number of Spanish cities, towns and villages, Indian Curacies and Missions, of this Government, &c., all as found by Senor Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez, Colonel of H. M.'s Royal Armies, Governor and Captain-General of this Province, at the time he made his general visit to them, which began on the ninth day of January at the City of Nueva Barcelona and ended at this City of Cumaná on the fourth day of July of the current year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

Cities, towns and villages of Spaniards appertaining to this Government:

City of Barcelona.	
Town of Aragua.	
Settlement of the Pao.	
City and garrison of Guayana.	
Town of Carupano.	
Town of Rio Caribes.	
City of San Philipe de Austria.	
City of San Balthasar de los Arias.	
Garrison of Araya.	
City of Cumaná.....	Total 10.

Curacies and Missions of Piritu in charge of the Observant Fathers:

Curacy of Posuelos.
Curacy of San Diego.

No. 29.

Curacy of Araguaita.
 Curacy of Curateguiche.
 Curacy of San Matheo.
 Curacy of San Bernardino.
 Curacy of El Pilar.
 Curacy of Caigua.
 Curacy of San Miguel.
 Curacy of Piritu.
 Curacy of Tocuyo.
 Curacy of Purney.
 Curacy of Clarines.
 Curacy of San Francisco.
 Curacy of San Pablo.
 Curacy of San Lorenzo.
 Mission of Guiamare.
 Mission of La Margarita.
 Mission of Santa Bárbara.
 Mission of Santa Ana.
 Mission of Cachipo.
 Mission of El Cary.
 Mission of Chamariapa.
 Mission of Unate.
 Mission of Aribi.
 Mission of La Candelaria.
 Mission of Santa Clara.
 Mission of Santa Rosa.
 Mission of San Joachin.
 Mission of Mucuras.
 Mission of El Platanar.
 Mission of Atapiriri.
 Mission of Guaseiparo.....Total 33.

Missions in charge of the Catalanian Capuchin Fathers:

Mission of Cupapuy.
 Mission of Altagracia.
 Mission of Suay.
 Mission of Amaruca.
 Mission of Caroni.
 Mission of Aripuco.
 Mission of Aguacara.
 Mission of Murucuri.
 Mission of San Joseph de Leonisa.

No. 29.

Mission of Guarimna.
 Mission of Carapu.
 Mission of El Miamo.
 Mission of Guasipati.
 Mission of El Palmar.
 Mission of Avechica.
 Mission of Piacoa.

Missions in charge of the Jesuit Fathers:

Mission of Carichaua.
 Mission of El Randal.
 Mission of Urbana.
 Mission of La Encaramada. Total 20

Curacies and Missions in charge of the Aragonese Capuchin Fathers:

Curacy of Cocuisas.
 Curacy of Chacaracuar.
 Curacy of Santa Maria de los Angelss.
 Curacy of San Felix.
 Curacy of San Francisco.
 Curacy of San Antonio.
 Curacy of San Lorenzo.
 Mission of Coicuar.
 Mission of Caripe.
 Mission of Guanaguana.
 Mission of Terezen.
 Mission of Puniere.
 Mission of Guainta.
 Mission of Caicara.
 Mission of Tipirin.
 Mission of Soro.
 Mission of Amacuro.
 Mission of Yaguaraparo.
 Mission of Irapa.
 Mission of Unare. Total 20.

Curacies in charge of the Priests of this Province:

Curacy of El Pilar.
 Curacy of Rincon.

No. 29.

Curacy of San Joseph.	
Curacy of Casanay.	
Curacy of Guripauacuar.	
Curacy of Caruaro.	
Curacy of Santa Cruz.	
Curacy of Santa Ana.	
Curacy of San Juan.	
Curacy of Aricaguas.	
Curacy of Arenos.	
Curacy of San Fernando.	
Curacy of Macarapana.	
Curacy of Mariguitar.	
Curacy of Altagracia.	
Curacy of Socorro.....	Total 16.
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Grand total.....	99

No. 30.

**Letter from Fray Joachin Moreno Mendoza to Fray Benito de la Garriga;
dated Guiana, May 4, 1764.**

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

I have just received Your Reverence's letter of the 30th instant., and do not delay its prompt reply in order to enclose the certification I had forgotten, and because the best harmony and intelligence between us must exist in every thing. There is no doubt that if the displeasure of the Indians depends upon the high price of the articles given to them in payment, they are very right; but as I intend to go shortly to Angostura, I will investigate and remedy it in future, and in this supposition the Rev. Fathers may well give the Indians the assurance that I will do so, so that they go willingly. I will also endeavor to give directions to send ships to the port of Patacón as stated by Your Reverence and to send advice to Murucuri so that the Indians may embark without delay, and this will take place about the 20th or 22nd inst. But I call it to Your Reverence's attention that this gang must be of one hundred men. As I have stated to your Rev. 20 to 40 will follow close in November or December, in case that no greater number could be had and I shall leave, in regard to the good care and payment of the Indians, the strictest orders so that they may fear to neglect the least particular in my instructions. In regard to the price of the tools, I will also see that it is such as Your Reverence says, and the Royal officer will be in charge of it, and get everything as it is most convenient to the Indians. It is true that the church of Angostura is

No. 30.

not finished, but if there is no hindrance or impediment to prevent its consecration, even if it is not wholly finished, or by it something unbecoming may result, I would like to be present at the consecration, and for this reason I intend to have it done now while I am there, and in this case I shall esteem it greatly that Your Reverence should inform me without delay of his opinion in the matter, in the understanding that Rev. F. Fray Bruno is to return on the second day to his Mission of Monte Calvario. I remain at the command of Your Reverence with true affection, praying to God to preserve Your Reverence's life many years.

Guiana, May 4th 64. Kissing the hand of Your Reverence Your humblest and affectionate servant. Joachin Moreno Mendoza. M. R. F. P. Fray Benito de la Garriga.

Your Reverence may get ready the small trunk you said to keep the supply of holy oil, which I will take with pleasure and will either send or bring with me with due care and safety; in whatever else you may wish command me I am ready to serve. I have just received a letter from Angostura complaining that the pest of flies prevents salting the meat as it is soon lost. For this reason I will thank Your Reverence for your continuing to send some when possible, here to the R. officer and for sending some casave so as to succor those remaining here this winter as well as those of Angostura.

No. 31.

Letter from Fray Joachin Moreno Mendoza to Fray Joseph de Guardia, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions in Guiana, dated Guiana, February 2, 1765.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Being desirous that the Royal Commissions, as they have been intrusted to me, be fulfilled with the greatest accuracy, and having seen by a letter of the temporary Commander resident in Angostura that the people taken to that place, are in a large measure sheltered under the trees, because they have no houses wherein to dwell; and being sorry for this, as it is meet, I am compelled to take the most efficacious measures so that they may not suffer the hardships of which I am informed by the said Commander; taking this and what I have said into consideration, Your Reverence will be pleased to help me to bear these troubles which demand the most prompt attention. I promise Your Reverence that I shall report to the King how much your Reverend Community has protected me. I do not doubt that Your Reverence would be duly rewarded. I therefore expect Your Reverence's ability to send me 100 Indians, laborers, for the work on the new settlement. With them and with those I have requested from the Jesuit Fathers, I expect to be free from all my troubles, each one of the poor men having his hut, as in justice he should. May God preserve Your Reverence many years.

No. 32.

Letter from Fray Joachin Moreno Mendoza to Fray Joseph de Guardia, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions in Guiana, dated Angostura de Orinoco, April 17, 1765.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Reverend Father Fray Bruno has had the intention to return to his Mission, being worried about it, and I, seeing the necessity which exists here, with two very sick persons, have detained him here considering how much we should miss him, even if such reasons should not exist. I therefore pray Your Reverence to approve my determination and tell the Reverend Father to remain here while God remedies this with the arrival of the Reverend Fathers, who according to the news we have received arrived in Caracas last month, and for said arrival I present Your Reverence my cordial congratulations. Reverend Father, do not forget the bread and meat that it is necessary to store in abundance before winter, taking it either to Guayana or to Monte Calvario in order to bring it here. It is necessary that we open a good wide road from Caroni to this place, and from here to old Guayana and the Missions and should Your Reverence give his instructions in the matter to whoever it may concern, I would appreciate it much and help in whatever be necessary, paying its cost by account of His Majesty. I expect Your Reverence to inform me how this can be put in practice and whether Your Reverence will take care of it. I remain most affectionately at your command praying God to preserve Your Reverend's life many years.

No. 33.

Extract from letter of the Prefect of the Catalanian Capuchins to the Commissary General, dated at Altagracia, July 6, 1769, as to a visit to Barima in quest of Indian fugitives, etc.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 130, Case 4, Bundle 9 (10).]

Extract from a letter by the Prefect of the Catalanian Capuchins of Guiana informing of their having entered by the Barima in quest of some Indians, fugitive from Piacoa and San Joaquin, and of having ransomed from the Dutchman living in the port of Moruca three Indians taken from the river Masaruni; that the Governor of Essequibo complained of this fact to the Governor of Guiana, stating among other things that the same commander had taken away the men he had in Barima.

ALTAGRACIA, July 6, 1769.

ALTAGRACIA, July 6, 1769.

The Prefect of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Guiana, through the Commissary General, begs to inform Your Majesty that some (Indians) having run away from our towns of Piacoa and San Joaquin, he sent two missionary monks with an escort of soldiers to capture them, with other help sent by the Commander of Guiana; that they entered the Orinoco by Barima as far as the Savannah, which to his best knowledge is territory of the jurisdiction of said province, where one hundred and forty Indians were gathered, between the "Cimarrones" (runaways) of said towns and other heathens, and found that in possession of the Hollander living in the Port of Moruca there were three female Indians with their daughters whom he had enslaved and carried away from the mouth of the Orinoco, and from the river Masaruny, as they explained, and the monks carried them away with them, without any use of violence; also the other mentioned people, without harming the Hollanders.

That the Governor of Essequibo makes an issue of this to complain to the Commander of Guiana, of breach of the treaties, with insults and threats, feeling sore that said Commander should have carried away the men he surreptitiously had in Barima. The Commander has replied, among other things, that the monks did not go by his order but by the order of their Prefect, such being the truth; that the monks were not right in giving to the Hollander of the Post a paper stating that they went by order of the aforesaid Commander, when they went by order of the aforesaid Prefect.

The latter states the reasons he had to send the monks, with the object that his report be considered should the Hollanders, as he believes, complain to Your Majesty, and adds that they strive to extend their territories, etc., stating that the one allotted to said Mission, by Cedula of seven hundred and thirty six, for the reduction of the Indians, is from the narrows of the Orinoco as far as its large mouth in a straight line on both sides drawn to the river Amazon or Marañón. That this and the aforesaid complaint of the Governor of Essequibo lead him to doubt whether it is proper for him to go further in the interior henceforth to reduce the Indians of the mentioned places of Barima, Moruca, Cuyuni and even of the same coast; and that this being a point of great necessity in the practice of the reductions he has deemed proper to state his doubts before Your Majesty.

NOTE.

The Minister of Holland having complained of the aforesaid proceedings against the Colony of Essequibo, his communication having being submitted to the Council, in consultation under date of October twenty seventh of seventy nine, several documents were requested of this reserved channel, to solve the question, and by dispatch of the seventeenth of Novem-

No. 33.

ber following, several of them were requested, the Council being under the belief that they exist in that Ministry. No reply has been made yet.

Instructions have also been issued to the Commander of Guiana and to the Governor of Cumaná to have ready the matter in reference to the subject of the complaint of the Minister of Holland. This letter and documents to be sent to the Council. Done on the twenty second of September of one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

No. 34.

Letter from Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, to Fray Joachin Maria, dated Caroni, August 31, 1769.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguo Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting and peace in the Lord. I will be much pleased should our intentions be successful, as they are directed to the glory of God. That which I most wish at present is the return home of the boys; because the Indians are quite capable of understanding supernatural things, and their good or evil, their science or ignorance, depends largely upon the education received during youth, and of our diligence in the matter, and the rest. I intend to write you more fully on this point, and how they must be prepared for the holy state of matrimony and other sacraments. I pray you to send me at the earliest possible moment the book you have prepared, for confession in the Guayanan tongue, to practice it with some Guayanos whom I am catechising to marry. I send you the fish net, although it needs some mending. My things are never to go out of my hands in a perfect condition. The river begins to fall, thanks be to God, and the Caribs (who are very desirous to go) tell me that it will not be in good condition until next moon. But I shall not be so patient; I am only waiting a little longer so that no other rising of the waters may occur at the time of crossing these most risky streams. Father Domingo gathered two hundred and eleven souls (God be thanked), and on the 28th inst. he had already passed the Presidio towards Angostura. He has great need of your help.

No. 35.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Dolores, September 21, 1769.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antigua Archivo de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Timeamus ergo ne forte relicta pollicitatione introeundi in requie ejus existimetur aliquis ex (nobis) deesse. About four hours before leaving

No. 35.

Cupapuy, Father Mariano arrived, and being so busy with the last preparations we did not read the letters and resolutions of Your Reverence until yesterday, when we arrived at this place of *Urrutima*, happily, thanks to God, and all the people very united and in peace; and may the Lord preserve it until this work of His be perfected. All my cares in this expedition will tend to obtain that all the events be directed by the Lord of all that is good. My consolation shall be that the Wisest Artificer may make of this decayed clay and tainted vapors a vase to carry the holy oil of His Divine Word and to smother the fumes of my wrath, and I shall bear in mind that upon several occasions the Lord has made use of the Demons themselves for the conversion of many souls. I have not the time to answer you; I shall state what I feel in regard to your resolutions on another occasion (if God be pleased). I have already written you that I would do my best in its direction. This matter, however, gives me great concern. I now direct you to ask from the Superior the permit to keep the little boys at the house (but not to sleep) until another occasion; and the request must be made in these words. (Father Joachin Maria de Martorel directs me to ask Y. R. Paternity for a permit to keep in the house all the boys in order to teach them; they to sleep in their own houses.) We all send regards, and I to Father Joseph Antonio, who is a lazy fellow who never writes, and does not beat me yet. I commend you to God and to Maria.

No. 36.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Cupapuy, January 21, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Nos cum prole pia benedicat virgo Maria. Father Thomas de Mataró was here for a few days until he was cured, and wrote to me afterwards from Sta. Maria that I should not undertake the labors of teaching and others with so much fervor, because, if I should break down all would be lost. I replied to him that he should give me good encouragement and commend me to God, so that I might not fall back on account of my weakness. I have already written to the Commander of Guayana, and took some care with the style; I praise his accomplishments and endeavor to persuade him to polish off the roughness of their worldliness with the diamond of true virtue. May God grant this to be efficacious. My very dear Father Joseph Anthonio: Besides what I have said in the one to Father Jayme I cannot avoid stating to you. Tell Father Manuel many things, and encourage him to cultivate the vineyard he has under his charge. I

No. 36.

say the same to Father Felix, both of whom you will not fail to see frequently. Tell Father Felix that the neighborhood he has is more than equivalent to my answer. Above all that he must not fail to place as the patrons of the new settlement St. Joachin and Sta. Aña; if not the Divine Daughter will grieve.

No. 37.

Letter from Fray Bruno de Barcelona to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Caroni, February 26, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting. Constant occupations give me [only] a moment's leisure to reply to that of Your Reverence dated on the 9th inst. It is my will that Your Reverence should go to confession rather than to cross over to Angostura. Be patient, for the father from Piedad has further to go. I had to go for three years from Palmar to Sta. Maria or Miamo. Father Mariano de Ceva had to go for 8 years from Presidio to Trinidad, which is less than from Maruanta to Sta. Ana or Calvario. You can well ask for them (alms) at Maruanta, where vineyards and beehives abound; the weavers of Maruanta will present as alms handkerchiefs and under clothes; also the shoemakers of Tapinería will furnish sandals and the wax chandlers of Carréampla will give candles. May God grant us His final grace and preserve Your Reverence's life many years.

No. 38.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria de Martorel to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Cupapuy, April 16, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting in the Lord. I spent the three days of Holy Week in Hupata, where I went on Wednesday afternoon, after having washed the feet of 12 Indians and fed them in this [town] of Cupapuy. We assembled there the Rev. Father Felix, Father Franco de San Julian, Father Raymundo de Olod (but this latter left on Thursday afternoon on account of the distance to his mission) Father Pedro Martyr and I. I have just received a letter from the Rev. Father Mariano de Sebadel and he informs me that all the Caribs from *Carahuaxi* took flight; I have had nothing further from Father Mariano than that enclosed in mine. I will address the letters to Angostura

No. 38.

under cover to Doña Gabriela; they will perhaps go safer this way and in less time. I suppose you have received the one I wrote *via* Angostura, dated this month, I do not recollect the day with certainty. Always command me. I recommend you to God and to the Virgin.

No. 39.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Cupapuy, April 28, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

The peace and consolation of the Lord be with us. Amen. Your Reverence has enjoyed the company of our colleagues Father Jayme and Father Felix in the Holy Week; I lacked almost everything though we celebrated the services with several Fathers in Hupata. From the one to Father Joseph Antonio you may take the measures.

No. 40.

Letter from Fray Bruno de Barcelona to Fray Mariano de Cervera, dated Caroni, April 28, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting. It has been hinted to me that Your Reverence has washed the feet of the *Cimarrones* (savage Indians). It is something that has never been put in practice in these Missions.

No. 41.

Letter from the Prefect of the Missions of the Catalanian Capuchins of Guiana to the Commissary-General of the Indies, dated Caroni, September 17, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 131, Case 2, Bundle 17.]

My Right Reverend Father Commissary-General: After paying my respects and declaring my obedience to your most worshipful Reverence, as the humblest of subjects, I proceed in this duplicate to rectify what in my first letter I inadvertently forgot to mention, notwithstanding its being so just and deserving to be known amongst those nearest the Court until it reaches the ears of our Catholic Majesty, namely, the exalted merits of our

No. 41.

Commander-General, Don Manuel Centurion, who has perpetuated his name throughout all this vast Province, by reason of the ardent zeal wherewith he has labored and contributed, neglecting his own property, toward the conversion and reduction of the Indians within town limits; for despite the great extension of this Province, it had not attained such honor for God, such welfare for the souls and increase of the dominions of our Sovereign King, as during the period of the four years in which said nobleman has been ruling it; these Missions under my charge having reached the greatest lustre, thanks to the help and assistance rendered by the above-mentioned Chief; he having exposed his own life navigating the Orinoco river and consumed his fortune in the foundations of the two towns of Maruanta and Panapana, the former being wholly indebted to his assistance, while for said towns he has only asked of this his beloved Community the assignment of a Father for the administration of the spiritual nourishment; at the same time giving his assistance to all the foundations and towns that have been created: for the withdrawal of the Aruaca Indians from the Maruca river, with whom the town of Pudedpa was founded; he assisted with the large vessel which he had armed and fitted out for the removal of the towns of Piacoa, Tipurua, Casacoima and Unata; he furnished vessels and soldiers for transportation to the new settlements of San Felix, and San Joaquin, and Santa Aña; men, arms, ammunition and stores for the fort of Ipeogin; the families for the settlement of Nueva Barceloneta, with their arms and ammunition, horses for the transportation and other utensils, facilitating that important foundation which promises security, extension and increase to our Missions. Therefore, Right Reverend Father, it is not just that the merits of such a noble gentleman should remain in obscurity, and from my gratefulness I am bound to entreat your Very Reverend Paternity to help me give thanks to the Most High God for such a great benefactor of these Missions and of the subjects and children of your Very Reverend Paternity, while we pray Him to guard and prosper the important person of your Very Reverend Paternity for many years.

Caroni, September 17th, 1770. Your Very Reverend Paternity's affectionate servant and humble subject, FRAY BRUNO DE BARCELONA, Prefect.

No. 42.

Letter from Fray Bruno de Barcelona to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Caroni, November 8, 1770.

[Printed from translation of certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting and Peace. I have received advices from Señor Centurion informing me that Your Reverence will go to that of *Maruanta* to stay: If

No. 42.

this is a resolution of the General Commander, I have nothing to say against it; but if it be that of Your Reverence of your own will or through your solicitation, you will inform me that I may decide it with the Reverend Father's, my associate judges, as I am not an arbiter in this. May God grant us His final grace and preserve Your Reverence's life many years to command me.

No. 43.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Cupapuy, December 21, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

I am very glad of the progress of that settlement of *Sta. Rosa* and that Your Reverence has so much leisure for spiritual exercise.

No. 44.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Cupapuy, December 22, 1770.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

The Rev. Father Felix is in a dispute with the two reverend fathers because the very Reverend Father Prefect and Fathers associate judges having gone to reconnoitre the site of the Parahua to locate the settlement which Father Pedro intends to establish, they found that things had advanced so that Father Pedro had already built a regular house with doors and windows through Maricapana.

No. 45.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria de Martorel to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, Apostolic President of the Maruanta and Panapana Missions, dated Cupapuy, January 19, 1771.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Father Benito de la Garriga I believe is going to the Parahua as Curate of the Nueva Barceloneta where (as it is said) a herd of about 4,000 head of cattle will pass. The Arinagotos whom, under the Rev. Father Felix, we stationed at the mouth of the Parahua have increased a great deal and have plenty to eat there and ask for Father——.

No. 46.

Letter from Fray Joachin Maria de Martorel to the Fathers, dated Cupapuy, February 20, 1771.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

My Rev. Father Felix and other Fathers who may read this: To the aforesaid it is now added that, as it is necessary to supply meat and jerked beef in so many places, the Superiors have ordered that the Indians from the different Missions go with their own horses to collect large herds of cattle and to take them, some of them as far as Parahua, others as far as Alta Gracia, and the others as far as Caroni. Besides the aforesaid the Superiors have undertaken to build a provisional fort on the island of Faxardo at the cost and expense of the Mission.

No. 47.

Letter from Fray Fidel de Santo, Prefect of Missions in Guayana, to Fray Francisco Joseph de Barcelona, Provincial Minister, dated Tarragona, August 8, 1771.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

After greeting your most Reverend Paternity with all affection I answer the questions asked in yours by saying that 1st, I do not know that any Mission of the Jesuits after their expulsion, has been placed in our charge, other than that which has been advised from Madrid by the Commissioner of War, Don Victor de Comba, whose letter I delivered to your Reverence on the occasion of the visit to this convent wherein the latest news is contained that I have had of the Missions from Madrid.

2nd, I am of the opinion that in order to have our Missions well provided with men, 18 priests, with two lay nurses should go in the next reinforcement.

3rd, in case that the old Jesuit Missions of Orinoco, Meta and Casanare should be intrusted to us (which in all would be about 40 settlements), there would be no necessity to think of establishing them at another point, but they could remain on the borders of the said three rivers where they have been founded; but a good deal of work would be required to make them of use to Her Majesty through Catalanian economy.

And when such settlements shall be given us (which now possess several *religieuses* and a few clergymen) the increase of missionaries to be sent there will be already known, and then it would be necessary to create presidents appointed at several of the long distances where these bodies are established, but subordinate to the Reverend Father Prefect. The Governor of Caracas, Don Joseph Solano, was very desirous that we

No. 47.

should take charge of the Orinoco Missions left by the Jesuits, and which he put temporarily in charge of some clergymen; but as he did not offer them expressly but only made insinuations, and besides, considering that we have a large enough territory wherein to work for several years, in that which has been allotted to us, we did not want to identify ourselves with this matter while this Governor (at present of St. Domingo) was in Caracas, and especially the King our Lord having appointed Dⁿ Manuel Centurion as Commander General in representation of said Dⁿ Joseph Solano, who, as his godson, was permitted to carry out his devices against the progress of our Missions and the settlements we formed of Spaniards by royal decree and escorts of soldiers, on account of his resentment because His Majesty granted them to me when I went to Madrid with this object, without the advice or approbation or intervention of anyone. It is impossible in writing to give Your Reverence an accurate idea of these persecutions of this Minister against us daily, and he has still over a year to remain to complete the five years which they generally remain in the Government. Furthermore, his power being now absolute, not being in any way subordinate to the Government of Caracas, what will he not do? All under pretext of better serving the King, his idea is only to appear as deserving of greater credit before His Majesty at our expense and detriment. I send enclosed an accurate statement of what the King was accustomed to give the Missionaries in Cadiz, and also the conditions of the Missions when I was Prefect there, remarking that since they have increased by the following new settlements: 1st Caballapi, 2nd Caruaxi, 3rd Oratuyma, 4th Tipurua, 5th Casacoyma, 6th Curono, 7th Oumano, 8th Tauaxi, 9th St. Antonio, 10th Nuevo Tupuquen, 11th item two others that I do not recall; and which I think the Rev. Father Benito de la Garriga mentioned in the letter which I also delivered to Your Reverence, at the time of your visit. We also founded since then the Spanish town called St. Antonio de Hupata at great expense to the Missions, but said Commander Centurion has endeavored to ruin it under various pretexts and to annoy the neighbors in order to attract them to his apparently new settlements. Your Reverence may command my true obedience and affection by which I pray God to spare your person many years.

No. 48.

Letter from Fray Bruno de Barcelona, Prefect of the Missions in Guiana, to the Rev. Father Provincial, his Superior, dated Caroni, February 6, 1772.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

I send the state of these Missions that you deign to ask me for; I do not send the map* of these our Missions because I know that Fray Carlos

* For copy of this map see Venezuelan Case, Atlas, map 78.

No. 48.

de Barcelona is sending it. By this you will see, most Reverend Father, the gigantic enterprising spirit of our venerated old man the Most Rev. Father Benito de la Garriga who, after having discharged three prefectships and having upon him the weight of more than sixty years has voluntarily offered to set out upon a discovery in our territory accompanied by Father Thomas de Mataró with the necessary supplies. It is a long journey of more than three months, very risky navigation by the rivers, made more so by the Indians of the wilderness, but all is overcome by the vocation when the true missionary possesses it. May God spare Your most Reverend Paternity many years.

No. 49.

Letter from Fray Fidel de Santo, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions, to the Provincial of the Capuchin Missionaries of the Province of Catalonia in Barcelona, dated Madrid, January 9, 1773.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

The memorial presented to His Excellency relating to the sending of 12 religious Fathers by extraordinary providence is succeeding well, and with Father Jayme to guide them to Guayana as requested. The M. R. F. Provincial of Andaluzia has resigned in favor of your Reverence the Mission of the Upper Orinoco, which, including the old settlements of the Jesuits make about 16 Missions. They are very wretched settlements under the rule of despicable Mayors, which is the worst of it; for which reason I should judge it to be necessary to send there discreet, forbearing, meek religious Fathers, should we be put in charge of them, with other instructions that I should then give.

No. 50.

Letter from Fray Jayme de Puigcerda to the Provincial of the Missions, dated Cadiz, July 5, 1773.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

On Wednesday of last week the Missionary Fathers embarked on the Frigate Nuestra Señora de Monserrate and the winds being contrary they remained in the bay until Saturday afternoon. I have remained waiting for the departure of a felucca which sails under register to Angostura, Capital of our Guayana Missions, and the reason is because it was arranged that I should go as chaplain of said felucca. It is said that we are to sail on the 15th of this month but I should be happy if we were to leave about

No. 50.

the end of the month or the beginning of August. How much I have felt the death of the Reverend Father Fidel (*de Santó*), may he rest in glory, will not be easy to appreciate except for those who knew how much I thought of him on account of his many gifts, especially since he was elected Visiting Father of the Missions. I remain praying affectionately to Y. M. R. Paternity to condescend to command me whenever it may please you, and to pray to God to spare the affectionate servant of Y. M. R. Paternity.

No. 51.

Letter from Fray Jayme de Puigcerda to the Provincial of the Missions, dated Cadiz, July 31, 1773.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

I have already informed you that the Fiscal Agent told me when I was in Madrid that two months after the departure of the first Mission, which goes to Guayana as a temporary expedient, it is necessary to present a new memorial urging the sending of the one formerly asked for five years ago of eleven priests and one lay nurse; there will be no difficulty about it, said Fiscal Agent informs me, as while I was there the reports that arrived from the Superintendent of Cumaná were favorable, which was all that we were waiting for; therefore, I pray your Most Reverend Paternity to inform the Father Attorney for the court of this fact, and urge him to put it in practice at the proper time. It will also be expedient to remind him of the Memorial of the Guayana Mission still pending in Council against the Governor, so that he may urge on the officials; and when the dispatches are forwarded, to send us information in regard to the measures taken by the Council on the matter; it was thus promised by the Fiscal Agent to the Reverend Father Fidel de Santó and to me for the Government of those Missionaries - I close, praying you to command me in whatever may please you, as to serve you is the desire of yours.

No. 52.

Letter from Fray Bernadino de San Felice to the Prefect of the Missions, dated Barceloneta, March 16, 1776.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

(*Salus in D^{no}*) I inform your Reverend Paternity how the Sergeant came down from where he was detached in Caroni Chico and I have asked him how he was getting on there, to which he has answered as follows; that

No. 52.

for a time he has known nothing of Cadet Santos, nor of his people, nor where they were stopping; nor does he know whether they are alive or dead. I asked him what was known of Sergeant Cuello and he answered that: Don Vicente Diez had sent some persons to the place where they first lived, Indians with letters, who, not finding them, returned. He again sent some Indians with a trustworthy person, and they found the house burned down, and the receipts of the rations of the soldiers that were given monthly all torn up; by reason of which they infer that they have passed on to Essequibo, if they have not died on the way. This has been told to me not only by the Sergeant but also by his companion and the negroes of the place, who had gone there by rowboat, have all told the same thing. I know nothing more of affairs up there. Corporal Bommon has told me that on the Upper Orinoco some villages were in revolt, and that the Sergeant who was detached there is now in prison at the Capital, and the halberd has been taken away from him. There is a rumor here that the Indians who fled from the outbreaking had joined the rebels at Caroni Chico, and wish to come down here and upon the Mission of las Bocas, and that they wish to kill every one, Indians as well as Spaniards; I know not what truth there is in this. I have heard that Don Felix is ill, but know not whether it is anything serious. I remain praying God to save Your Paternal Reverence many years.

No. 53.

Article 13 of a secret instruction given to the Captain of Infantry, Don Antonio de Pereda, Commandant of the Province of Guiana, dated San Ildefonso, September 10, 1776.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 181, Case 2, Bundle 17.]

" You are not to allow the English, Dutch, or other inhabitants of the foreign provinces to put into and anchor in the ports, coves, or roadsteads of the Province under your command, much less to fell the trees of their forests, although they may have done so with the permission or through the criminal toleration of your predecessors."

No. 54.

Extract from letter from Fray Mariano de Sebadel, Prefect of the Missions, to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, dated Caroni, May 7, 1777.

[Printed from translation of a note of the archivist (among the copies certified by him) in charge of the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

In a letter from Caroni of May 7th of 1777 from " Fray Mariano de Sebadel, Prefect," addressed to " Father Jayme de Puigcerda at Murucuri " —a letter solely and entirely of administration, without any interest for

No. 54.

the history of new facts, there are the following names of several places as stations for Capuchin Missionaries: Murucuri or Morucuri (Carib village); Pueblo de Caroni; Pueblo de Panapana (Carib Indians); Carapo (alias Carap); Bozales Indians; Mission of Suay; Mission of Calvario; Pariagoto Indians; Mission of Tupuquen; Mission (of Observants) of Piritu; Indians of Astasio (island of); Indians of the Windward Islands; Piacoa (where a chapter of Missionaries was held for elections); Mission of Alta Gracia; "this Mission of Caroni is twelve leagues from Villa de Upata."

No. 55.

Letter from Fray Felix de Villanueva to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, dated Cupapuy, July 13, 1777.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Pax et salus. The new Governor has come and his name is Don Antonio de Pereda; he is very humane with every one, and appears to be a friend of peace, but he is in danger, because Oleaga and Velasco continually prompt him to evil. The Rio Negro expedition against the Portuguese still remains there, but we know nothing about its progress, and we are without a guard in our towns because all the soldiers of the Mission and of Angostura have been sent there and we have to do with some neighbors in place of soldiers. In regard to Guirior, every one says that it is lost and that Don Vicente Diez, its Commander, has become crazy, owing to the wounds he received in the revolt.

No. 56.

Letter from Fray Bernadino de Verdu to the Prefect of the Missions, dated Divina Pastora, July 14, 1777.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting and peace in the Lord: In the Mission of Ayma there was an Indian—a fugitive from Guirior. The Commandant of the Guard, Don Alonso Valdés, told me, while on a visit to this place, that the cause of the failure of his health was the hardships that he had undergone in Parime; and I asked him about the health of Don Vicente Diez (Commander of Guirior) and he told me that there was nothing the matter with him, because he received cask upon cask of brandy and wine from Angostura, and on this account he was drunk the better part of the time, and that this was the reason of all the disorder there, and the flight of the Indians, all of which is charged to the Missionary Fathers. For this reason, then, if Your Reverence should meet with the Governor there you could tell him of all these excoesses, that he may remedy them.

No. 57.

Letter from Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga, Governor of Caracas, to Don José de Galvez, August 14, 1778, relating to the uprising of the Indians of Guirior.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Yndias" (Seville), Stand 180, Case 7, Bundle 14.]

No. 159.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

I am informed of the contents of a letter from Don Antonio de Pereda, Governor of Guayana, to His Majesty, dated on the 22d of November of the past year, in reference to the uprising of the Indians of Guirior, who after having attempted to kill the officer in command of the expedition of the Parime, a resident there, took flight to the woods, from whence he strove to get them out, and to pacify and reduce them to the town, having sent twice to this end the infantry soldier Juan Marcos Zapata, who, with sixteen men, succeeded in collecting about two hundred souls of the Guadamura nation. The Indians upset the boats in which they were transported, causing the death of twelve men of said expedition, some by drowning and some by wounds. For this reason, and because the troop of that Presidio had been detached to Rio Negro and other places, and the detachment sent from Cumaná was doing service there, he concludes that he cannot give any assistance to the expedition of the Parime, nor aid in the reduction of the fugitive Indians of the City of Guirior, stating the poor condition which it is in, being reduced at present to eighty-two inhabitants of both sexes and all classes, and suffering for lack of provisions, and by reason of its unhealthy climate. Said letter is accompanied by the Royal Order, dated at Aranjuez on the tenth of May last, commanding me to report whatever I may deem proper and efficient in the matter.

I beg to inform Your Excellency that the differences between our Court and the Court of Portugal in reference to the boundaries of said territory having ceased to exist, by reason of the preliminaries of peace, I issued the proper orders under date of June twenty-fifth to its Governor to withdraw the troops detached in Rio Negro and the Parime, leaving at these points the ordinary garrison, and keeping the detachment sent as assistance from the province of Cumaná for said expedition to the Parime in order to defend said town until His Majesty may decide. By this means and the measures, a copy of which I send, taken in the matter of the disputes of said commandancy with the Catalonian Capuchin Missionary Fathers sent under date of June fourteenth through the Council in consequence of the Royal Cédula of October nineteenth last, ordering me to bring it to an end; and by the aid of fourteen monks of the same province of Catalonia, the maintainance of the City of Guirior may be in-

No. 57.

sured; also that of some towns abandoned by the Indians, the reduction of the latter and the conquest of others, all of which has my most careful and earnest attention, as so important a matter deserves.

May Our Lord keep your Excellency's important life as many years as it is needed.

Caracas, August fourteenth, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight—
Most Excellent Sir—Kissing your Excellency's hand; your humble servant.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

To His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

No. 58.

Letter from Fray Benito de la Garriga, Prefect of the Missions, to Fray Joseph Francisco de Barcelona, Commissary-General, dated Altagracia, February 1, 1779.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

REV. FATHER AND SIR: I inform you that I have finished the visit and that I have gone further on and have seen all the settlements in our charge. I have found all the Indians well. In order that Your Reverend Paternity may be well informed in regard to our Missions, I forward the registers of all the villages and those of the settlements of Spaniards which we have founded at the common expense, which are that of Barceloneta and that of Upata; though for the present they have few inhabitants, yet withal they greatly serve for the service of God and the King; Barceloneta is both harbor and port to up to Guirior by the Parana river and to the Parime and is respected by the Indians of those frontiers. That of Upata we founded, the Governor of Cumaná being Don Joseph de Diguja, and by his leave, as a security for the Missions on account of the Caribs being so prone to uprisings and in special cases of rumors of Indians the settlers keep us company; it is quite true that these villages cause us trouble enough, but we are obliged to bear with them, for there are few Spaniards in this large and miserable Province; all the fruit that this Province is able to produce could not fill a brig, and, were it not for those fruits which come down from Barinas, the Registers would go back empty to Spain. On another occasion I wrote to Your Most Reverend Paternity that in Parime, the Portuguese of Rio Negro and the Amazonas of the great Pará took a detachment of Spanish soldiers that came down from Guirior to Parime and the mouth of the River Maho to discover the El Dorado of Centurion, and that afterward the temporary Commandant of Guayana Don Joseph Linares sent an expedition to the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro to avenge the attack of the Portuguese, but he had little success on account of the lack of troops and the enemy being well armed; but afterward the Intendent of

No. 58.

Caracas, by order of the King, sent three hundred more men for the same purpose of retaliation; and this gentleman wrote to me charging me to provide rations of meat, cassave, all to be delivered in Barceloneta; curi-aras, Indians, pack and saddle horses, all that were necessary, and when said men had embarked in La Guayra to come on, the same Intendent sent word to me to suspend said order, because contrary orders had just been sent from the King and he thanked me on his part and on that of His Majesty for my fulfillment of the royal service; and at the present time we have advices and sure signs that the Spanish Commisaries are about to ascend the Upper Orinoco, and that together with others of the King of Portugal they will draw the dividing line on the land of the two Crowns of Spain and Portugal; the four Commisaries came from Spain on this errand in the year 54; they remained a long time at these Missions, and at the coming of our Monarch to Spain this Royal Expedition was ordered to retire. I pray Your Most Reverend Paternity to commend us to God whom I pray to preserve Your Reverence many years.

No. 59.

Letter from Don José de Avalos to Don Antonio de Pereda, Governor of Guiana, relating to the appointment of José Felipe Inciarte, to found towns in eastern Guiana, dated February 4, 1779.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville,) Stand 185, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

DEAR SIR: By the Royal orders I have received relative to the important matters of the development of population agriculture and commerce, in the Department of the Intendencia in my charge I am instructed, as regards the eastern section of the territory, to place in your charge and in charge of the person I may appoint to aid you, the duty of effecting the occupation of the respective territories under its jurisdiction, the instructions relative to this matter being already given you. I have issued several instructions on the same matter, relative to Trinidad and other places and the time has arrived to carry out those in reference to that province, and in view of this fact I have issued the instructions forwarded to you and have also appointed Don José Felipe de Inciarte to aid you Honor in this Commission, he being a man worthy of recommendation by reason of his acknowledged good conduct, his talent, instruction and ability. I do not know whether the urgent business of your office and your necessary presence in this capital will permit you to repair in person to the lands to be inspected, occupied and peopled. Should you be able to do so, said Inciarte will accompany you in the expedition to aid you in the fulfillment of the orders according to my instructions. But, should it not be possible for you to go in person, the aforesaid Inciarte will go as instructed by me,

No. 59.

under the terms and conditions set forth in the afore-mentioned instruction. I have therein endeavored to embrace and to specify what I have deemed most imperative and efficient in the matter, but as it is not possible to foresee everything from such a great distance, and in reference to an unknown land, I am aware that difficulties may occur which could only be determined upon in the presence of them, as it is natural that, in such cases, difficulties should be solved upon the same ground where they occur. Although the foundation of towns, the development and commerce and other matters pertaining to agriculture devolve upon my office as the Intendent of these Provinces, I must inform you that the first occupation of the territories in Guayana devolves upon you as the political and military commander of the same and as such, if you could not in person undertake the expedition, it is necessary that you issue the proper authority to Don José Felipe de Inciarte so that he may enter and exercise over all that territory, and over whatever territories be allotted to the new towns (as they will be situated in territories under your command), the proper and necessary jurisdiction. The most urgent thing at present is to find families to go and establish themselves in the new lands to be discovered and inhabited, and as, in my desire to gain time, I have not been able to give instructions to obtain them from other places it becomes necessary that the first settlers in the largest possible number be taken out and conducted from that province, employing to this end the most efficient means, as upon this depends that the success of the undertaking be not delayed nor its importance impaired. I will bend all my energies toward obtaining from other places as many settlers as possible and to send them to that province for their final settlement there. It is also necessary that the equipment of the vessels, the purchase and transportation of provisions and other necessities, which must be done at this port, be under your charge, with the assistance of the Royal Officers. Everything in relation to this matter and whatever be needed in future shall be defrayed by the Royal Treasury, and thus you may draw upon the Treasury for the amount spent to this end. In the Instructions which I have issued it is provided that the first exploration be accompanied with from twenty to thirty armed men, so that thus protected they may go into the interior of the country with more security or less risk; I think that this number will be sufficient for the purpose; however, if you think it necessary that a larger number should go, you may so order it, so that there may be no failure for lack of protection. I must state that I do not mean by this that they should be soldiers, although it will be useful that some few go, because the very presence (or name?) of soldiers is sufficient to impart a certain respect to this kind of aid. In the supposition that arms and ammunition are to be found in the King's arsenals in that city, I have not issued instructions to send any. But in case there should not be enough on hand, or that some may be lacking, Your Honor will inform me of that fact so as to forward the necessary arms, and notwithstanding this, I expect that

No. 59.

you will endeavor to equip the men in order that there may be no delay. As regards tools and implements for the first explorers and the new settlers that should go, I have been able to collect hastily, so far, those comprised in enclosed statement, and send them all by sloop Santa Lucia which sails from La Guayra to that port of Guayana, and hereafter I shall upon your request, forward all others that may be required. Out of the twelve thousand head of black cattle promised to His Majesty by the Capuchin Fathers, and that His Majesty condescended to order me to accept in his Royal name, I have provided in the instruction, that from four to six thousand be set aside and destined to be divided among the new settlers as I think these will be enough for the purpose. But, notwithstanding this, if you should deem a larger number to be necessary, you may increase it, the same being understood with regard to the twenty-five head I have allotted to every settler, which, should you deem it advisable, you may increase to thirty head each so that they may more willingly go to the new colony. I ask you to acknowledge receipt of this letter as well as of the enclosed Instructions, informing me of whatever is done, in compliance with these Instructions according as the work progresses so that I may be acquainted with the matter and be in a position to take the proper steps and issue the necessary orders. I rely upon Your Honor's zeal and efficiency in everything relating to the better service of His Majesty, and in consideration of the importance of this commission and the necessity of carrying it forward with despatch, you will endeavor to lose no time in its execution nor fail to employ whatever means may be conducive to render it effective in all its parts. May God keep Your Honor many years. Such are my wishes.

Caracas, February 4th, 1779. Kissing Your Honor's hands, your devoted servant.

JOSÉ DE AVALOS.

To Señor Don Antonio de Pereda.

No. 60.

Extract from letter from Fray Felix de Tarraga to the Prefect of the Missions, dated Caroni, July 8, 1779.

[Printed from translation of a note of the archivist (inserted among the certified copies) in charge of the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

In a letter from "Caroni July 8th of 1779" of Father Felix of Tarraga to the "Most Rev. Father Prefect," all on administration matters, mention is made of the settlements of Upata, of Las Bocas, of Barceloneta, of Santa Ana, of Caruaxi, of Aguri, of San Antonio, of Cupapuy, of Santa Maria, of San Pedro de Las Bocas, of the Divina Pastora, of Cumamo, of Caroni, as settlements subject to the King of Spain.

No. 61.

Royal order communicated by Don José de Galvez to the Governor of Guiana, relating to the Commission entrusted to Don José Felipe de Inciarte of founding towns in eastern Guiana, dated March 9, 1780.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Indias " (Seville), Stand 135, Case 4, Bundle 7.]

By your Honor's letter of the twenty-seventh of last May, the King has been informed of the arrival in that city, on the seventh of the same month, of Don José Felipe de Inciarte, commissioned by the Intendant of those Provinces, to carry out, under your orders, the occupation of lands and new towns to be built in the eastern portion of said Province in accordance with the instructions of February fourth of same year, given by said Intendant, which has been approved by his Majesty, together with your Honor's determination to wait until the proper time to undertake the exploration of the lands, stated in the above mentioned instructions, and to select the most appropriate site for the foundation of the first town which will serve as capital for the others which shall be founded in time. By Royal Command I beg to inform your Honor of this fact for your Honor's guidance. May God keep your Honor's life many years.

El Pardo, March ninth, seventeen hundred and eighty.

JOSÉ DE GALVEZ.

To Señor Governor of Guayana.

No. 62.

Letter from Don José de Galvez, to the Intendant of Caracas, as to permit to France to export mules, January 3, 1782.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the archives in charge of the " Registrador Principal interno del Distrito Federal," at Caracas].

On this date the Intendant, Don José de Avalos, is informed of the permit granted by His Majesty to the Court of France to export from that province and from the Province of Cumana, through the person who may be commissioned for the purpose, the number of two thousand mules for the work and transportation in her colonies. The aforesaid Intendant is charged with the enactment and the arrangement of the concession. It is His Majesty's will that you give him any help that he may need in the matter, and I, therefore, in compliance with His Royal Decree, beg to inform you of the fact for your own guidance and the strict fulfillment thereof. May God keep your life many years.

No. 63.

Letter from Fray Benito de la Garriga, to Fray Mariano de Sebadel, Prefect of the Missions, dated Altagracia, October 29, 1782.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting. Your favor received and the papers sent by the Governor read. In regard to the Pueblo de Cura I should say that its stream does not facilitate the journey to Essequibo; said stream is in the Juruario and has other streams; though this river dries up in summer, it enters into Cuyuni river, and this latter into the Essequibo River; according to information, no river of importance enters into the Cuyuni; it is well to tell all this to the Governor, and also that Don Santiago Bonaldes can better inform His Excellency as he has navigated the Juruario and Cuyuni, when he went to take the Dutch guard, and he knows how many days of navigation he spent, and that it took three days to go from the location of said guard to the Dutch Fort (Castillo) of the Governor. On account of the order that was given us, that we should acquire land ahead towards the south, with the purpose of preventing the French of Surinam from approaching I placed Indians in Cura; because no progress can be made towards the south unless there should be some settlements there, etc. The Governor may be told that to remove any suspicion he may have of Essequibo; also that it is necessary to place 15 of 20 thousand cows in those savanas of Cura in order to reduce the undomesticated cattle, because the ranch cannot be arranged by any other means; but by taking it and changing it to another place, according to the opinion of every one. That is what I judge should be said in regard to the papers mentioned, and I remain the servant of Your Very Reverend Paternity and praying God to preserve Your Reverence many years.

Altagracia, *October 29th of 82.* Kissing your hand the most useless of Your Reverend's subjects,

FRAY BENITO DE LA GARRIGA.

It agrees with the original, which is in the archives of this Mission of Guayana; which was taken out by order of the Very Rev. Father Prefect.

This is certain and true in accordance. And in proof whereof I sign in Caroni on the 30th day of January in the year 1789. By order of our Very Reverend Father Prefect.

No. 64.

Arrivals and departures of vessels at Angostura, September to December, 1782; being the report of Antonio de Pereda, Governor of Guiana, to the Intendant-General of Caracas, dated December 31, 1782.

[Printed from a certified copy of original in the " Archives in charge of the Registrador Principal interino del Distrito Federal " at Caracas.]

Statement showing the crafts leaving this port of Angostura for the friendly colonies, specifying their condition, class of vessels, their owners,

No. 64.

captains or masters commanding them, their crews, cargoes exported, their nature, weight and number, and their return to port; made to be forwarded to the Intendencia-General, in compliance with its order of October 18th of the last year of 81, including from the 23d of September, of the present year, to this date inclusive.

[September 23, 1782.]

On this date entered on her return trip from the Colony of Demerara, the launch N. S. del Carmen, the same which under command of her master Gomez sailed on the 23rd of July for Essequibo, bringing 13 pieces of Irish linen and a letter of exchange for 236 pesos and 6 reales. On the same day returned from the same Colony the Launch San Pedro; the same which under command of Pedro Sanchez left for that port on the 29th of July bringing 10 pieces of crash, 10 do. gray duck, 4 tierces of brandy and a letter of exchange for 456 pesos. . . .

[October, 1782.]

On this [2d] day returned from Tavaco the schooner N. S. del Carmen which on the 3d of September sailed for said island under command of Juan Beltran, and brings 180 blankets, 21 pieces of crash, 5 do. striped crash — and 666 pesos.

5th day.—On this date returned from Martinique the sloop N. S. de la Concepcion, under command of and belonging to Don Joseph Luis Basanta. who sailed for said island on the 27th of June and brings 100 pieces of Bretagnes — 3 do. Rouen Labal — 100 do. Bretagnes, medium width — 100 do. striped cotton, book shaped pieces — 24 dozen linen handkerchiefs — 8 pieces Rouen Labal — 49 pieces platillas — 48 do. do. — 62 do. Bretagne narrow — 1 do. black Serge — 1 do. blue Lisle — 1 do. do. red — 48 doz. steels and flints — 38 pieces Bretagne narrow — 3 do. platillas — 30 do, striped Brussels — 30 do. do. 4 pieces Rouen Belfallo — 1 piece blue Lisle — 1 do. ordinary goods for napkins — 6 pieces of gray platillas — 74 pieces striped cotton No. 2 — 4 pieces Russian ticking 3 do. sail canvass — 285 blankets — 14 pieces of crash — 12 pieces of blue linen Holland — 60 cutlasses — 84 hoes — 100 pieces cotton striped lengthwise — 900 sheets of tin — 100 pounds of beads — 5 pieces of gray twine — 2 pieces of rope — 3 pieces of fine cord — 2 small boxes with 50 pounds of candles — 88 hams — 2 jugs of linseed oil. . . .

8th Day.—On this day there left for Demerara the launches S. Franco Xavier and N. S. del Carmen, belonging to Rafael Velez and Gaspar Vidal, under command of their Masters Tiburcio Velez and Matheo Gomez, each with a crew of 4 men and a cargo of 20 calves between the two by account of Senor Mascais, Commissioner of the French Nation, sent to this Capital by the Quarter Master of said Colony with the view of soliciting provisions for the maintainance of the troops of said colony. . . .

No. 64.

9th Day.—On this day there left for said colony the Launch N. S. del Rosario, owned by Don Martin Joseph Lizardi under the command of Master Pedro Juan Roger with a crew of six men and a cargo of 7 mules and two horses. . . .

14th Day.—On this day there returned from Martinique the sloop N. S. del Rosario which left on the 1st of August, bound for that Island under command of Salvador Berenguel carrying 100 pieces striped cotton No. 2 = 50 do. do. = 50 do book shaped = 14 do crash = 4 do. blue Lisle = 10 do. flowered lawns = 12 pieces of ordinary linen handkerchiefs = 157 pounds of manufactured wax = 450 sheets of tin = 90 pounds of Castile pepper = 2 pieces of rigging = 20 dozen looking-glasses = 9 pieces of Bretagne, narrow = 9 do. striped No. 2 = 2 do. bookshaped = three do. of lawn = 2 pounds gall nuts = 2 do. Copperas = 8 ounces of gum = 4 bolts blue cloth = 3 dozen large silver buttons = 2 dozen small do. do. = 4 yds. of Taffetas = 2 and 5 eighth ounces of silver braid and 2,888 pesos, 1 real gold and silver coin. . . .

16th Day.—On this day there sailed the bilander N. S. del Carmen of 14½ tons, bound for the Island of Tavaco, said sloop belonging to Gaspar Vidal and commanded by Juan Beltran with a crew of 13 men and a cargo of 35 calves and 20 horses.

17th Day.—On this day there left bound for the Colony of Demerara the bilander San Antonio of 36 tons, owned by Don Manuel Terran under command of Joseph Domingo Nuñez with a crew of 15 men and a cargo of 62 mules, 20 hogs, 3 dozen chickens and 50 turtles.

21st Day.—On this day there left bound for Granada the launch N. S. de la Candelaria, owned by Don Francisco Duazan, under command of Francisco Diaz with a crew of 8 men and a cargo of 550 arrobas of salt beef, 45 do. do. tallow and 80 raw hides . . .

24th Day.—On this day there left, bound for the same Island of la Granada the launch N. S. de los Dolores, under command of Joseph Joaquin Isasa, owned by Don Patricio Albarez with a crew of six men and a cargo of 12 mules. . . .

On said day there returned from Martinique the sloop San Antonio, the same which left on the 31st of July bound for Martinique under command of Miguel Arrieta and carrying 3 pieces of blue lisle = 1 do. red = 4 do. black stripes = 4 do. platillas = 8 do. linen ticking = 6 do. platillas 4 do. wide crea (linen) 72 do. striped no. 2 = 80 do. wide Bretagne = 88 do. crashes = 90 kettles = 4 ells of silk serge = 16 pieces of narrow Bretagne = 5 do. striped No. 2 = 1 do. Carandali = and 564 pesos in silver coin and 3 Portuguese women.

30th Day.—On this day there left bound for Martinique the sloop N. S. del Rosario of 20½ tons owned by Don Juan Jaureguí, commanded by Juan Domingo Montañez with a crew of 13 men and a cargo of 52 calves = 12 hogs = 50 arrobas of cheese = 2 dozen chickens = and 20 turtle (morrocayes). . . .

No. 64.[*November, 1782.*]

On this [6th] day there left bound for Tavaco the launch N. S. del Carmen, owned and commanded by Pedro Montero, with a crew of 7 men and a cargo of 100 arrobas of suet and 18 calves. . . .

12th Day.—On this day there left for Demerari the launch N. S. de la Merced, owned by Don Juan Wanderrosen and under the command of Domingo Tadei with a crew of 8 men and a cargo of six loads of tobacco and 8 horses. . . .

13th Day.—On this day there left for Essequibo the launch Sta. Teresa, belonging to Don Carlos Langres and under the command of Joseph Patricio Caravan, with a crew of 5 men and a cargo of 325 arrobas of salt beef . . .

18th Day.—On this day there sailed bound for la Granada the coaster (guairo) Sta. Rita, owned by Don Patricio Albarez, of 16 tons, under command of Benito Orfila with a crew of 8 men and a cargo of 24 mules and 6 calves. . . .

23rd Day.—On this day there returned from the Colony of Demerari the launches Sn. Franco Xavier and N. S. del Carmen, the same which left bound for that port on the 8th of October under their respective masters, Tevurcie Velez and Matheo Gomez and return empty. . . .

27th Day.—On this day there left, bound for Martinique, the schooner N. S. de la Concepcion of 27 tons, owned by Don Joseph Luis Basanta and commanded by Don Franco Tarreras with a crew of 15 men and a load of 3,000 raw hides, 12 horses and 10 arrobas of cheese.

28th Day.—On this day entered from Demerari the bilander N. S. del Rosario and the schooner San Franco Xavier where they were bought by Don Manuel Terran and Don Martin Joseph Lizardi in virtue of permit given by the Intendencia General, said vessels having come in ballast, the former in charge of Pedro Juan Rojer, and the latter in charge of said Terran, each vessel with a crew of 9 men; the Launch, N. S. del Rosario, owned by the same parties, entered with them and in ballast; this is the same that sailed on the 9th of October for said colony in charge of the aforesaid Rojer.

30th Day.—On this day entered from Martinique the bilander San Antonio which on the 17th of October sailed for the colony of Demerari (which port she could not make owing to bad weather) bringing 8 negroes, male and female, and 1216 pesos [in coin].

[*December, 1782.*]

On this [2d] day sailed for Martinique the schooner N. S. del Carmen of 14½ tons, owned by Gasper Vidal, in charge of Juan Beltran with a crew of 13 men and cargo of 300 raw hides, — 40 mules, — 52 chickens, — 86 turtles and one hog. . . .

Day 3d.—On this day sailed for Demarari the launch N. S. de la Concepcion, chartered by Don Fermin de Sansinenea to Don Bartholome

No. 64.

Romero, in charge of Matheo Gomez with a crew of 6 men and cargo of 47 loads, 5 arrobas and 20 pounds of leaf tobacco. . . .

Day 10th.—On this day sailed bound for Martinique the coaster San Joseph 10 tons burden owned by Franco Capillas in charge of Maceo Beltran, crew of 6 men and a cargo of 17 calves. . . .

Day 13th.—On this day returned from Grenada the launch N. S. de los Dolores which on the 24th of October sailed for that place, under command of Joseph Joaquin Isasa bringing = 55 pieces Bretagne narrow = 26 do. striped cotton No. 2 = 2 do. platillas = 3 do. common linen handkerchiefs . . .

Day 17th.—On this day returned from Grenada the bilander N. S. del Rosario, which on the 3rd of October sailed for Martinique (which she could not make owing to bad weather) in charge of Juan Domingo Montañez bringing = 98 pieces book-shaped striped cloth = 24 do. Bretagne = and 442 pesos [in coin].

Day 19th.—On this day sailed for Grenada the launch N. S. de los Dolores, owned by Don Patricio Alvarez, in charge of Joseph Joaquin Isasa, with a crew of 7 men and a cargo of 12 mules. . . .

Day 23rd.—On this day sailed for Grenada the schooner N. S. de la Asuncion, 16 tons burden, owned by Salvador de los Rees, in charge of the same with a crew 16 men and a cargo of 81 cwt. and 65 pounds of cocoa = 1450 raw hides = 30 calves = 9 hogs = 8 turkeys and 4 dozen chickens. . . .

Day 30th.—On this day returned from Demerari the launch N. S. de la Merced, the same which on the 12th of November sailed to that destination under command of Domingo Tande; she only takes one letter of exchange amounting to 1039 pesos. . . .

On the same day returned from same place the launch Sta. Teresa, which on the 13th of November left for the same port, in charge of Jph. Patricio Garaban bringing = 12 pieces crash = 1 do. brin. = 10 do. striped cotton No. 2, and 1 do. double stripe. . . .

* * * * *

GUAYANA, December 31st, 1782.

(Signed) ANTONIO DE PEREDA.

Don Pedro de Echeverria, Treasurer, Comptroller General of the Royal Revenue in this Province, etc.:

I hereby certify in the best possible form that the foregoing statement is, in all its parts an accurate copy of the entries and sailings that have taken place during the time stated in the same.

GUAYANA, December 31st, 1782.

(Signed) PEDRO DE ECHEVERRIA.

No. 65.

Letter from Josef Tarriur and Pedro de Echeverria, Treasurer of Guiana, to Don José de Abalos, Intendant-General of Caracas, March 28, 1783.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of original in the archives in charge of the "Registrador Principal interino del Distrito Federal," at Caracas.]

SIR: We have received on this date three hundred and forty-four reals that the Assistant Director of the Royal Treasury of the Royal Crown has sent as the donation he received from the Indians of the town of Platanal, which donation we mentioned in the reported statement we addressed to you, embodying the other contributions made by those of this Province for the same purpose.

May our Lord keep your life many years.

No. 66.

Resolutions of the Reverend Fathers and Associated Judges, dated San Joseph de Cupapuy, February 15, 1785.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

On the fourteenth of May, 1784, as a result of the visit in the chapter celebrated on the 12th of the same month and year in the town of San Joseph de Cupapuy . . . the Reverend Fathers and associate judges decided upon the following points . . . On the 15th of February, 1785, in a meeting held by the Reverend Fathers Prefect and associated judges to take the last resolution for the founding of the new ranch in the savanas of Cura, and said Rev. Fathers Prefects having surveyed them in person and found them to be good and suitable for breeding, agreed that said new founding should be established (settled) under the name of Sta. Angel Custodio de Aycava, and this being so we sign it on this day, *ut supra*.

FRAY HERMENIGILDO DE VICH, *Prefect*.

FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO.

Fray Thomas de Mataró associate judges . . . In a meeting held by the Rev. Fathers Prefect and associate judges in order to determine and nominate for the presidencies the new Missionary Fathers, according to Our Royal Regulations, the following was agreed upon: President of *Altigracia*, Father Thomas de Olot; of *Murucuri*, Father Justo de Barcelona; of *Santa Ana*, Father Juan Bautista de Olot; of the *Divina Pastora*, Father Francisco de Darnius; of *San Miguel de Unata*, Father Luis de Castelltersol; of the *Angel Custodio* or Ato-nuevo, Father Henrique de Putuxes; of *Santa Clara*, Father Mathias de Olot; of *San Serafin*, Father Mariano de Perafita; of *Sta. Magdalena de Currucay*, Father Ignacio de Olot; of *Carachi*, Father José María de Mataró; of *Avechica*,

No. 66.

Father Juan Bautista de Tivia;—and this being so, we sign this day, February 15th, 85; FRAY HERMENEGILDO DE VICH, *Prefect.* . . . FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Associate judge.* . . . FRAY THOMAS DE MATARO, *Associate judge.*

[Translation of a note of the archivist (appearing among the certified copies) in charge of the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña" at Rome:—In another of *Allagracia*, 21st of July, 1784, mention is made of a road from *Aguacayma* through *Guayana la Vieja* (old Guiana) "which was wretched and bad", belonging to this Mission.]

No. 67.

Letter from Francisco de Saavedra, Intendant-General of Caracas, to Don Manuel Gonzalez, February 21, 1785.

[Printed from a certified copy of original in the archives in charge of the Registrador Principal interino del Distrito Federal," at Carácas.

SIR: With your dispatch of the 15th instant you are pleased to send me a copy of the duplicate of the Royal Decree which your predecessor sent to mine with another dispatch dated on September 12th, 1780, requesting his advice on the most expedient means to carry its provisions into effect; you also state that having received no reply thereto and the Capuchin monks of the Missions urging most strenuously the necessity for its fulfilment, you expect that I should inform you in regard to the most expedient means for the enactment of His Majesty's orders, so as to enable you to dictate the suitable measures for their fulfilment.

It is shown from the data and reports on the matter collected by my predecessor, that the escorts of the missionaries of Guiana, which as proposed by your predecessor, the King ordered by the aforesaid Royal Decree, should be made up of volunteers from the same countries, on half rations, established on this footing, will cost each year from ten thousand to twelve thousand pesos, amount which the Treasury of Guiana cannot pay at present nor can it be supplied by any of the Departments of the Intendencia, on account of their being so encumbered with other pensions.

Under these circumstances and after mature consideration of the matter no other more adequate means or measures can be taken to comply with the King's will than those I am about to lay before you:

Each town may cultivate every year a plantation of corn, rice and manioc to defray the cost of the escort and other expenses of the Missions; later on, and to the same end, some cocoa plantations could be established in suitable lands the same as done by the Governor of said Province, Don Manuel Centurion in several towns of Rio Negro, where he left these plantations already founded which must be yielding now unless they have been left to run to waste.

No. 67.

It would be advantageous that the command of the escort in each Mission be intrusted to persons of recognized honesty, sound judgment and activity, experience having shown the drawbacks and misfortunes that have occurred for the lack of these qualities in those persons formerly appointed; it would also be expedient to invest them with the ordinary jurisdiction under the title of Captains, Territorial Judges, or any other title that might seem more adequate, so that they may preside over the Primary Courts on the cases of the Indians and the Spaniards and also to attend to the management of the plantations belonging to the Indians in common, to pay from their products the escorts, the necessary expenses of the same towns and whatever expenses it may be necessary to incur for the reduction of the Indians of the wilds.

The Guiana Missions in charge of the Capuchins and Observants, each in its own territory (except in the Upper Orinoco and the Rio Negro) possess, as I am informed, enough cattle to pay the escort and, although by their being poorly managed, they would not produce at present enough for the purpose, proper measures could be adopted to this end and in benefit of the management of said farms.

These are the measures which I judge to be more expedient to the fulfilment of His Majesty's orders, and in view of them you may dictate whatever should seem most expedient on the subject.

May God keep your life many years.

[Note of the archivist (among the certified copies) in charge of the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome: In another from Caruachi, 5th of July, 1786, mention is made of Tauachi.]

No. 68.

**Letter from Fray Thomas de Olod to the Prefect of the Missions, dated
Altagracia, June 5, 1787**

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting: Though it is true that in Cupapuy we spoke of having the road repaired, and I said that I would gladly have it cleaned; provided that these Indians who heretofore and always at least, since I am here, should be relieved from the care of the road from Platanal to the Presidio, and Your Prefectship said yes, adding that you would write me later of it, as the Indians of Altagracia would clean the road from here to Aguacayma; remaining thereby relieved from cleaning the other; and as Your Reverence had not written me, I thought that things would remain as they were; that is to say that the Indians of Cupapuy would continue to repair it, so Your Reverence need not wonder that it should not be repaired; I shall send the Indians to repair it next Monday; meanwhile Your Reverence will please write me as to whether the Indians of Altagracia are relieved

No. 68.

from cleaning the old road and are bound to do the other; and I pray you to do it so that I may have proofs when necessary; meanwhile I pray God to preserve you many years as is the desire of your subject.

No. 69.

Letter from Fray Mariano de Cervera to Fray Jayme de Puigcerda, dated Dolores, December 9, 1787.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

Greeting, peace and grace in the Lord.—Last year I went to the mouth of the Orinoco to an "entrada" among the Guaraunos. I took but two soldiers and Guayanos from Caroni. The "entrada" was short and successful because in a few days I made my haul and returned with 149 souls and every one arrived here except eight who escaped from us in San Antonio, though afterwards they were caught. At the beginning of this year I made another "entrada" at the Cuyuni River and Father Antonio de Martorel accompanied me with his Caribs from Cumámu, and we could only get 81 Guaycas (souls) because the same day that we went out a Guayca escaped from the Cura Mission and warned those in the wilderness and we found all in the wildest excitement.

Your Reverence knows already that the Paraua being so far away it is looked upon almost as another province, and that I having been the first Father of the Mouths and having suffered and been through so much as I have all alone, I am called the Prefect of the Paraua and the highest Superiors approve of it. This being so, every year I go to pay them one or two visits, and to this end I always write to the Reverend Fathers and they always send me full authority. This year, two months after chapter, which was the feast of San Pedro de las Bocas, and I was invited as usual by Father Felix de Vique, we arrived at *San Serafin* which is two leagues from the mouths (Las Bocas), two days before the feast day. Half a quarter before arriving at the Mouth (Las Bocas) there is a wood of half a league, and all along the road there are patches of cultivated land. Here I made all the people take palms, and went along making all leave their plantations to follow us with palms which they did. Two months later the Reverend Father (Prefect) departed to pay his visit, and from San Antonio he wrote to me that on such a day I was to meet him half way from *Guri* and that I was to bring food along because the journey from *Guri* here is a long one, and that he was coming in company with Father Felix de Vique. I went on Thursday to *Orutuyma*, which is half way, and they were to arrive there on Friday. After having been two days there I accompanied him as far as *Barceloneta* which, as it is so long a road, it is very sad to travel alone, though true it is that we can go in a day from

No. 69.

Sta. Clara to San Serafin and there is no need to sleep there as in this past year I opened a new path there, in which I was accompanied a whole week by Father Hilarion de Tarragona who offered to go with me. Friend, the paper is coming to an end and I must close, praying you not to forget me in your prayers, and I shall not cease to pray to God and to the Virgin that they may preserve you many years in love and grace.

No. 70.

Report of Miguel Marmion, Governor of Guiana, to Don Antonio Valdes, Secretary of State for the Department of the Indies, July 10, 1788, containing description of the province.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Yndias" (Seville), Stand 181, Case 2, Bundle 17.]

Yndice General que comprende los tres particulares de sus respectivos Expedientes y Documentos que acompañan á la Relacion Corografico-mixta de la Provincia de Guayana, al Estado y Plan de defensa; y al informe acerca del reconocimiento de Montes que acava de practicarse en las Bocas y Caños del Orinoco, y sobre el establecimiento de los Cortes de Maderas de Construcccion que por el Gobierno se remiten en el dia de su fecha, al Exmo. Sr. Baylio Fray D. Antonio Valdes, Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Yndias.

Los que acompañan á la Relacion Corografico-mixta:

Un oficio de remision.

Plano del Rio Orinoco desde sus Bocas á la Mar, hasta la Ciudad Capital Nueva Guayana.

No. 1. Estado General de la Poblacion, y numero de Almas, con distincion de clases y Castas.

No. 2. Estado del Yngreso que producen las Rentas Reales, y Pensiones á que estan afectas las Caxas Reales.

General index, comprising the three divisions of the respective records and documents accompanying the mixed chorographic description of the Province of Guayana; the statement and plan of defence, and the report regarding the reconnaissance of forests which has just been concluded at the mouths and the channels of the Orinoco, and upon the establishment of lumber camps which, on the day of their date are, by the Government, transmitted to His Excellency Knight Commander Friar Don Antonio Valdes, Secretary of State and of the Department of the Indies.

Documents accompanying the Mixed chorographic description.

A letter of transmittal.

Chart of the Orinoco river from its mouth to the capital city, Nueva Guayana.

No. 1. General statement of the population and number of souls, divided into classes and castes.

No. 2. Statement of the revenues from the Royal taxes, and the pensions drawn upon the Royal Treasury.

No. 70.

Los que acompañan al Estado y Plan de Defensa.

Un oficio de remision.

No. 3. Estado de Fuerzas de las Milicias de Blancos y Pardos, de Ynfanteria y Caballeria, y noticias de servicios de los Oficiales Blancos.

No. 4. Plano y Perfil de las Fortalezas del Presidio de la antigua Guayana.

No. 5. Plano de una porcion, la mas principal de la Ysla de Faxardo.

No. 6. Plano de la Ciudad Capital de Guayana, y sus contornos, existencia de Artilleria, Armas, Municiones, y demas Pertrechos de Guerra.

Los que acompañan al Ynforme sobre reconocimiento de Montes, y Establecimiento de Cortes de Maderas de Construcccion.

Un Oficio de Remision.

No. 7. Estado General de las Maderas de Construcccion reconocidas y marcadas.

No. 8. Ynforme del Gobernador de Guayana, contextaciones del Yntendente de Caracas, del Gobernador de la Trinidad, y del Constructor destinado por el Rey, aprobando la bondad y abundancia de Maderas, con su opinion acerca de Artillero en el Orinoco.

No. 9. Carta en que se manifieste por facultativo el derrotero, disposicion local de la Costa del Orinoco, su Boca de Navios y lo demas que expresa.

No. 10. Noticia de la Resina Ylave, y del Chiquichiqui ó Piasan, producciones ambos del Alto Orinoco, la primera que suple por Brea y la

Documents accompanying the statement and plan of defence.

A letter of transmittal.

No. 3. Statement of the forces of the militia, white and colored, of infantry and cavalry, and record of the services of the white officers.

No. 4. Plans and profiles of the fortification of the Presidio of old Guayana.

No. 5. Plan of the principal part of the Island of Faxardo.

No. 6. Plan of the capital city of Guayana and its environs, stores of artillery, arms, ammunition and other war supplies.

Documents accompanying the report regarding the inspection of forests and establishment of lumber camps.

A letter of transmittal.

No. 7. General statement of the building lumber inspected and marked.

No. 8. Report of the Governor of Guayana, replies of the Intendant of Caracas, of the Governor of Trinidad, and of the Constructor appointed by the King, approving the good quality and abundance of timber, with his opinion regarding a shipyard on the Orinoco.

No. 9. Chart by an expert showing the course, the local disposition of the coast of the Orinoco, its Boca de Navios, and other matters appearing thereon.

No. 10. A notice of the Ytave resin and the Chiquichiqui or Piasan, both productions of the upper Orinoco, the first of which

No. 70.

segunda con que se hacen Cables de experimentada calidad.

Guayana, 7 de Agosto de 1788.

MIGUEL MARMIÓN,
[Rúbrica.]

NOTA.—Que los Planos expresados arriba, van por separado en un Estuche de Madera, rotulado: Al Exmo. Sr. Baylio, Fray D. Antonio Valdes, Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Yndias.

Fecha ut supra.

MARMIÓN,
[Rúbrica.]

Oficio de Remision.

EXMO. SENOR:

Por la adjunta Relacion Corografico mixta, de la Provincia de Guayana que dirijo á V. E. verá el deplorable Estado actual de la Poblacion, Agricultura, y Comercio, y las reflexiones que expongo sobre los medios que me parecen mas conducentes para su verificacion y mayor fomento: Si mis pensamientos tienen la fortuna de merecer en alguna parte la aprovacion de V. E. le suplico con la mas profunda veneracion y respeto se digne elevarlos á los Reales pies de S. M.

Por el conducto del Caballero Gobernador de la Provincia de Caracas, dirijo á V. E., el duplicado de la expresada Relacion, a fin de que su informe sirva de ilustracion del asunto de que trata.

Dios Guarda a V. E. muchos anos.
Guayana 6 de Agosto de 1788.
Exmo. Sor.

MIGUEL MARMIÓN [Rúbrica].
Exmo. Sr. Baylio, Fray D. Antonio Valdes.

serves for pitch, and with the second of which cables of tried quality are made.

Guayana, August 7, 1788. .

MIGUEL MARMIÓN—[a flourish.]

NOTE.—That the plans above mentioned go separately in a wooden case, marked: "To His Excellency, Sir Knight Commander Friar Don Antonio Valdes, Secretary of State and of the Department of the Indias."

Date, *ut supra*.

MARMIÓN—[a flourish.]

Letter of Transmittal.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: From the annexed Mixed chorographic description of the Province of Guiana, which I address to Y. E., you will see the present deplorable state of the population, agriculture, and trade, and the reflections I set forth as to the means which seem to me most conducive to their investigation and greater encouragement. Should my thoughts be fortunate enough to merit in any degree the approval of Y. E., I pray you with the most profound veneration and respect to be pleased to lay them at the Royal feet of His Majesty.

Through the Chevalier Governor of the Province of Caracas I send Y. E. the duplicate of the said description, in order that his report may serve to throw light upon the subject of which it treats.

God preserve Y. E. many years.

Guayana, August 6, 1788. Most Excellent Sir.

MIGUEL MARMIÓN—[a flourish.]
His Excellency Knight Commander Friar Don Antonio Valdes.

No. 70.

Descripcion Corografico-mixta de la Provincia de Guayana, en que se dá razon de los Rios que la bañan, y facilitan sus comunicaciones, de su Poblacion, tierras de Labor utiles, de sus frondosos Montes, Frutos, y Comercio; y se proponen algunos medios los mas aceguibles y conducentes, á su verificacion y aumento.

Mixed-chorographic description of the Province of Guiana, in which is given a relation of the rivers bathing it and affording its communications, of its population, its adaptable arable lands, its dense forests, products, and trade; and in which some means best adapted and conducive to their investigation and advancement are proposed.

La Provincia de Guayana en todo su extension, comprehende las posesiones de los Portugueses, Franceses, y olandeses; tiene mil leguas, poco mas ó menos, de circunferencia, desde las bocas del Orinoco á San Carlos en la desembocadura de Casiquiare en Rio Negro, siguiendo sus aguas abajo con el de las Amazonas, que sale al mar atlantico, y dando vuelta por el oeste costeano hasta las mismas bocas del Orinoco, que la ultima de sotavento cae al Golfo triste, frente de Puerto de España de la Isla de Trinidad.

La porcion de este terreno que posehe España por la parte del Este, confina con las Colonias olandesas de Esquivo, Demerari, Bervis, y Surinam, y con la francesa de Cayena: Por la del Sur con las Portuguesas de Amazonas, y Rio Negro: Por el Oeste y Norte con el alto y bajo Orinoco, que la divide del Reyno de Santa Fe, y de las Provincias de Barinas, Caracas, y Cumaná; quedando ocupada mucha parte de este vasto continente, en particular hacia su centro, de diversas Naciones de Indios barbaros, muchas de ellas no bien conocidas, y de muy dificil reduccion por las grandes distancias que median á los terrenos Poblados,

The whole of the Province of Guiana includes the possessions of the Portuguese, French, and Dutch. It has a thousand leagues, a little more or less, of circumference from the mouths of the Orinoco to San Carlos, where the Casiquiare empties into the Rio Negro, its waters following on down with those of the Amazon, which empties in the Atlantic Ocean, and, taking a turn to the west, following the coast up to the very mouths of the Orinoco, the last of which to the leeward flows into the Triste Gulf, facing Port of Spain, on the Island of Trinidad.

The part of this territory which Spain possesses on the east borders on the Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerari, Bervis, and Surinam, and on the French colony of Cayenne. On the south, on the Portuguese colonies of Amazonas and Rio Negro. On the west and north, on the upper and lower Orinoco, which separates it from the Kingdom of Santa Fé, and from the Provinces of Barinas, Caracas, and Cumaná; a great part of this vast continent, particularly towards its center, being occupied by several nations of savage Indians, many of them not well known and difficult to subjugate, owing to the

No. 70.

y por su modo de vivir siempre errantes ó emboscados en la espesura de sus montes y selvas, y sobre todo por su apego y sumo amor á la independencia que prefieren á todas las mayores comodidades de la vida civil y racional.

Es esta Provincia, por su situacion la mas ventajosa, y primera posesion, ó Cabeza de todo el Continente de tierra firme en America, y la que por medio del caudaloso Rio Orinoco, debe considerarse puerta que da entrada á lo interior de las de Cumaná, Caracas, Barinas, y Reyno de Santa Fé, y que sirviendo de autemural, en caso de invasion ha de impedir al enemigo su internacion á todas ellas: ofrece una breve navegacion á España y Comercia el mas ventajoso, siempre que llegue á fomentarse, por la facilidad de conducir por agua los frutos de todas aquellas Provincias á la Capital, ó Puerto Maritimo de esta por los Rios Navegables que desaguan al Orinoco: Es un pais por ultimo cuya importancia y seguridad de su posesion, exige Justicia, y en todo tiempo el mas cuidadoso desvelo porque de su conversacion depende en gran parte la de las Provincias expresadas: Para probar esta verdad vastará la Descripcion de las circunstancias locales del Orinoco, y de las avenidas que por medio de los Rios subalternos que le tributan presenta á unos y otros territorios; pero antes de entrar en esto, y para no confundir los objetos convendrá dar una idea de los Rios de Esquivó, Masuruni, y Cuyuni por su importancia en si, y por la relacion que dicen al supuesto principal.

great distances separating the populated territories, and to their manner of living, always wandering or ambushed in the density of their forests and woods, and above all owing to their attachment to and great love for independence, which they prefer to all the greater comforts of civil and rational life.

This Province, owing to its most advantageous situation, and being the first mainland to be occupied on the Continent of America, and the one which through the great Orinoco river should be considered as the gateway to the interior of the Provinces of Cumaná, Caracas, Barinas, and the Kingdom of Santa Fé, and which, serving as a protecting wall in case of invasion, must prevent the enemy gaining access to all of them, affords a short voyage to Spain, and the most advantageous commerce, whenever it shall be encouraged, owing to the facility of transporting by water the products of all those Provinces to the Capital, or maritime port thereof, by the navigable rivers which flow into the Orinoco. Lastly, it is a country whose importance and the certainty of whose possession justly demands on all occasions the most careful vigilance, because upon its retention depends in great part that of the said Provinces. To prove this, a description of the local features of the Orinoco and of the avenues it furnishes all the territories through the minor rivers tributary to it will suffice; but before entering upon this, and so as not to confuse the subject, it is advisable to convey an idea of the Essequibo, Masuruni, and Cuyuni rivers, because of their own importance and because of the relation they have to the principal subject.

No. 70.**RIO ESQUIVO.**

Desagua á la mar 28 leguas á Barlovento de la Boca de Navios del Orinoco; corre Norte-Sur 18 leguas tierra adentro, a cuya distancia se le unen Masuruni y Cuyuni: Desde aqui se inclina al Sueste, y llega á las faldas del Cerro Dorado y Margenes de la Laguna Parime donde tiene sus Cabezeras, y á la parte del Este de ellas estan las de los Rios Berbis y Surinam en el terreno que ocupan los negros fugitivos de aquellas Colonias olandesas, que su procreacion y union con los Indios salvajes, pueden algun dia causar cuidado á los habitantes de estas Provincias.

MASURUNI.

Desde su desembocadura en el Rio Esquivo, sigue al Sur, y á distancia de diez á doce leguas, forma una figura de media estrella de tres brazos, que tirando á distintos rumbos tienen sus cabeceras entre los Rios Esquivo y Caroni chico.

CUYUNI.

Objeto de la mayor atencion por esta parte de la Provincia, desde su desembocadura en el Rio de Esquivo, corre del Este á Oeste hasta cerca del de Caroni, donde le entra el Yuruari por el Nordeste y el Supamo por el Sur que vaja este desde sus cabeceras en los Cerros del propio nombre, cerca de la orqueta que forman los Rios Caroni y Paragua: corre bañando las Misiones de Padres Capuchinos Cathalanes, y recibe las aguas de muchos Rios menores que no se señalan en el Plano; tiene

ESSEQUIBO RIVER

Flows into the sea twenty-eight leagues to windward of the *Boca de Navios* of the Orinoco; it lies north and south for a distance of eighteen leagues inland, at which point the Masuruni and Cuyuni disembogue into it. From this point it inclines to the southeast and reaches the foot of Cerro Dorado and the shores of Lake Parime, where its source is situated, and on the east of these are the sources of the Berbis and Surinam rivers in the territory occupied by the fugitive negroes from the Dutch colonies, whose procreation and union with the savage Indians may one day give trouble to the inhabitants of these Provinces.

THE MAZARUNI

From its junction with the river Essequibo runs to the south, and at a distance of from ten to twelve leagues it forms the figure of a half star with three branches, which, running in different directions, have their sources between the Essequibo and the Caroni chico.

THE CUYUNI

Claims the greatest attention in this part of the Province, and, from where it empties into the Essequibo river, runs from east to west to near the Caroni river, where the Yuruari empties into it on the northeast, and the Supamo on the south, which latter river flows from its source in the hills bearing its name, near the fork formed by the Caroni and Paragua rivers. Bathing the missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, it flows and receives the waters of many minor rivers not shown on the

No. 70.

diferentes raudales ó arrecifes, que sirven de algun embarazo para su franca navegacion; pero los olandeses lo transitan en curiaras, piraguas y faluas, y hacen por él su comercio de Indios que esclavizan, y de otras especies y producciones del Pais. El Gobierno de Esquivo mantiene Destacamento en un Fortin llamado el Castillo viejo, situado en la desembocadura de este Rio y de Masuruni, y Guardia avanzada de veinte á veinte y cinco leguas dentro de Cuyuni, en cuyo intermedio tienen haciendas de Café, Caña, y otros frutos, como se via por el año de cincuenta y ocho, y posteriormente es de presumir hayan avanzado y aumentado mas posesiones, segun noticias de Indios que transitan frecuentemente por aquellos parajes. Lo que obliga á advertir aqui de paso, que hallandose tambien apostados en la costa de la Mar á la parte nuestra de Moruca con Casafuerte, Destacamento de Tropas, y un Buque pequeño Armado en Guerra, á poca diligencia podran llegar á ocupar la porcion mas importante y fertil de la Provincia, donde se hallan las Misiones de los Padres Capuchinos Catalanes, y tener muy facil y breve comunicacion á lo mas interior y no habiendo obstaculo que lo impida, entrar y salir cada vez que quieran á registrar nuestras posesiones, observar los movimientos, y adquirir quantas noticias les convengan para sus edeas, y si en algun tiempo llegasen á declararse contra nosotros, ó recayeren aquellos establecimientos en manos de otra Potencia mas ambiciosa, nos hallariamos con el enemigo ya dentro de casa, aposeñado de

map. It has several rapids or shoals which present some impediment to free navigation; but the Dutch navigate it in canoes, launches, and feluccas, and by means of it they carry on their Indian slave trade and trade of another kind with the products of the country. The Government of Essequibo maintains a detachment at a fort called the Castillo viejo, situated at the mouth of this river and of the Masuruni, and a guard thrown out from twenty to twenty-five leagues in the interior of Cuyuni, between which points they have coffee, sugar, and other plantations, as was seen about the year fifty-eight, and it is to be presumed that they have subsequently advanced and increased their possessions, according to the Indians who frequently travel through those localities. Which impels us to remark, in passing, that as they are also settled on the seacoast of our part of Moruca (Morocco) with a stronghold, detachments of troops, and a small armed war vessel, by little effort they may occupy the most important and fertile portion of the Province, where are situated the missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, and have a very easy and short communication further inland, and, there being no obstacle to prevent their entrance and exit whenever they may wish to inspect our possessions, observe our movements, and acquire whatever information that may serve their ends, and should they at any time declare themselves against us, or should those settlements fall into the hands of another more ambitious Power, we would find ourselves with the enemy al-

No. 70.

modo que no seria tan facil el desalojarlo.

ready within our own house, so that it would not be so easy to dislodge him.

RIO ORINOCO.

Su importancia lo hacia acreedor á que se entrase en un detall muy por menor de una multitud de objetos, que todos merecen atencion; sus rumbos, distancias, bocas, caños, Isletas, rios mayores y menores que entran en él &c.; pero para evitar la confusion que podria resultar de tanta prolixidad y menudencia de noticias, se dará aqui una idea general, tocando por mayor algunas de sus circunstancias principales, y de los Rios Apure, Meta, y otros que le tributan.

Sobre el origen, ó cabeceras del Orinoco, ha habido variedad de dictámenes, muy distantes entre si, y de demasiada prolixa discusion para este lugar; El Padre Caulin, en su obra moderna, afianzandose en observaciones, y relaciones mas exactas, y confrontando noticias que pudo adquirir de los mismos naturales, y de otros, las pone en grado y medio de latitud Norte, y en los trescientos diez y siete, poco mas ó menos, de Longitud, en la inmediacion de una Laguna, no la del Parime, ó Dorado, como se habia creido, sino otra al oeste de ésta, algunas sesenta leguas. Desde sus cabeceras corre mas de ciento treinta leguas Leste Oeste, con muchas vueltas y revueltas, inclinandose al Norte, hasta el paraje de su union con el Guaviari y el Atavapo, que le entran, este por el Sur, y aquel por el Oeste, habiendo recibido antes al Casiquiaré, ó por mejor decir, despedidolo de si, como brazo conque se une y comunica a Rio Negro, y

THE ORINOCO RIVER.

Its importance would justify entering into a very minute detail of a multitude of features, all of which claim attention—its direction, distances, mouths, courses, islets, the greater and smaller rivers flowing into it, etc.; but to avoid the confusion that might result from such a prolixity and minuteness of details, a general idea will here be given, touching broadly some of its principal features, and those of the Apure, Meta, and other rivers tributary to it.

As to the origin or source of the Orinoco there has been a variety of very diverse opinions, of too prolix a nature for discussion here. Father Caulin, in his modern work, relying on observations and the most accurate reports, and comparing the accounts he was able to secure from the natives themselves, and from others, locates it at one and a half degrees north latitude, and three hundred and seventeen, a little more or less, of longitude, in the neighborhood of a lake, not the Parime or Dorado, as had been thought, but another about sixty leagues west thereof.

From its headwaters it flows more than one hundred and thirty leagues east and west, with many turns and bends, inclining to the north up to the point of its union with the Guaviari and the Atavapo which join it, the latter from the south and the former from the west; having previously received the Casiquiari,

No. 70.

por este al de las Amazonas. Desde el punto de su union con el Guaviari y Atavapo, corre del Sur al Norte, con varias revueltas cerca de cien leguas, hasta frente de Cabruta en la Provincia de Caracas, y de Caycara en esta, en cuya distancia le entran por una y otra banda muchos Rios menores, y algunos principales, como Vichada, Meta, y Apure, que por varios brazos caudalosos desagua en él mas arriba de Cabruta, de aqui sigue su rumbo al Leste, recibiendo siempre nuevos tributarios que le juntan su caudal de Aguas de las vertientes de las Provincias de Caracas, Cumaná y Guayana, con quese vá engrosando mas y mas, hasta su desembocadura a la mar del Norte, por una multitud de Brazos ó Caños, que cada uno por si es, ó parece un Rio caudaloso, habiendo atravesado su esta ultima distancia ciento treinta leguas, poco mas ó menos. Con practicos inteligentes es de buena navegacion este Rio hasta la Isla de Faxardo; y de alli para la Capital tiene algunos malos pasos, particularmente en Rio vajo, de Bancos de Arena, arrecifes y placeres; y siguiendo adelante para Rio Negro, se encuentran varios Raudales, siendo los principales los de Carichena, Atures, y Maypures de malo, y mas ó menos peligroso transito segun la estacion del año, que obliga a pasar las embarcaciones á la sirga, en cuya maniobra demuestran los Yndios su destreza y conocimiento practico, arrojandose en las Piraguas, y Curiaras, y sorteando la violencia de la corriente, y peligro de las peñas, en que parece van á embestir y á hacerce mil pedazos. Crece y mengua una vez todos los años empezando por el mes

or rather sending it away from itself as a branch with which it unites and communicates with the Rio Negro, and by means of this with the Amazon.

From the point of its union with the Guaviari and the Atavapo, it flows from south to north, with several bends, nearly a hundred leagues, up to in front of Cabruta, in the Province of Caracas, and of Caycara therein, in which distance there enter it at either bank many smaller rivers, and some principal rivers, such as the Vichada, Meta, and the Apure, which, through several large branches, empties into it above Cabruta, whence it follows its course to the east, receiving ever new tributaries which join to it their mass of waters from the watersheds of the Provinces of Caracas, Cumaná, and Guiana, whereby it goes on enlarging itself more and more until it empties into the northern sea, through a multitude of branches or arms, each one of which of itself is, or appears to be, a large river, having flowed in the last part over a distance of one hundred and thirty leagues, a little more or less.

With intelligent pilots this river affords good navigation up to Faxardo Island, and from there up to the Capital it has some bad reaches, particularly when low, of sand banks, hidden rocks, and shoals; and advancing towards Rio Negro several rapids are met, the principal being those of Carichena, Atures, and Maypures, of bad, and more or less dangerous passage, according to the season of the year, which renders it compulsory to tow vessels from the bank, in which manoeuvre the In-

No. 70.

de marzo á subir paulatinamente las aguas, y por el de Agosto en que llegan á su mayor altura, vuelven á bajar con la misma lentitud, hasta el de Febrero en que quedan en su nivel mas bajo; habiendo de este al de su mayor creciente, aqui en la Nueva Guayana, la diferencia de mas de trece brazas. En Rio lleno, inundan sus derrames una extension considerable de terreno de los llanos de Caracas y Barinas, y se navega en Lanchas, Piraguas, y Curiaras, por dilatados campos de Arrozales que podrian cargarse, Barcos de este grano, y sus menguantes deja en seco espaciosisimas sabanas y Playas, que por los meses de Febrero, Marzo y Abril, se ven cubiertas de una multitud inmensa de Tortugas que salen á enterrar sus huebos en las arenas, y brindan á estos vecinos y naturales con una abundantisima cosecha de Aceyte de bastante buen gusto, y de mucha utilidad, y poco costo. Para la subida del Rio favorecen los vientos Lestes, ó brisas, que reinan ocho meses del año. Desde Junio inclusive hasta fines de Septiembre, que es el tiempo de la fuerza de las aguas, se experimentan muchas calmas, y corrientes muy rapidas; para subir se navega en Popa, y para bajar Barloventeando: En rio bajante las mareas vivas son sensibles, aunque poco en la Capital; en Panapana aumenta un pie de Agua, en Faxardo, dos, y á proporcion segun se aproxima á la mar: Entra y sube la marea con la misma rapidéz de corriente que baja, y quando está llena queda cuasi sin movimiento; pero en el instante que rompe á vaciar, faltan

dians show their skill and practical knowledge, throwing themselves in their canoes and small boats and courting the violence of the current and the danger of the rocks, upon which it seems they are going to strike and be broken into a thousand pieces. It rises and falls once every year; the waters beginning in the month of March to rise slowly, and in the month of August, when they reach their greatest height, they begin to recede with the same slowness until the month of February, when they reach their lowest level, there being between this stage and that of the highest water, here in New Guiana, a difference of more than thirteen fathoms. When the river is at its highest its waters inundate a considerable extent of land on the plains of Caracas and Barinas, and they are navigated in launches, boats, and canoes over extensive fields of rice, from which vessels could be loaded with this grain, and the receding of the river leaves dry on most spacious savannahs and banks (which in the months of February, March, and April are seen covered with) an immense multitude of turtles, which come out from burying their eggs in the sands, and offer to these residents and natives a most abundant harvest of oil of a fairly good taste and of great utility and little cost. To ascend the river the favorable winds are the east winds or breezes, which reign eight months of the year. From June up to the end of September, inclusive, which is the time of the highest water, many calms and very rapid currents are experienced. In going

No. 70.

de pronto las aguas que habia aumentado.

De los Rios que desaguan en el Orinoco, los que merecen mas atencion por el caudal de sus aguas, por las proporciones que ofrecen de un Comercio util, activo, y de mucha extension con las Provincias que bañan, y por las comunicaciones que facilitan hasta lo mas interior de estas, son Meta, y Apure.

up the river one navigates with a fair wind, while to go down one has to tack. When the river is falling the tides are noticeable, although but little at the capital. In Panapana the water rises one foot, in Faxardo two, and so on in proportion as it nears the sea. The tide flows in and out with the same rapidity of current, and when the tide is full it remains almost without movement; but at the instant that it begins to ebb the waters which had furnished the increase promptly leave.

Of the rivers which empty into the Orinoco, those which merit the most attention for the abundance of their waters, for the facilities they offer for a profitable, active, and extensive commerce with the Provinces they bathe, and for the communications which they afford to the farthest interior thereof, are the Meta and the Apure.

META

El de Meta, desde su boca hasta las primeras poblaciones del Reyno de Santa Fee en Macuco, proximo á los llanos del Gobierno de Santiago de las Atalayas, está bastante desierto, ó quando mas poblado de Indios Guajivos, nacion volante, incapaz de sugcion, cobarde y muy traidora: Este Rio se navega en Lanchas en todos tiempos, y aunque tiene varios arrecifales, son de poco peligro, por ser de calidad arenosa de poca resistencia ó dureza: En el Verano tiene continuas brisas, muy frescas, y en el invierno calmas, y mucha corriente; pero por los remansos de las orillas, y derrames de las sabanas, se navega con menos

THE META.

From its mouth up to the first settlements of the Kingdom of Santa Fé, in Macuco, near the plains of the Colony of Santiago de las Atalayas, is rather deserted, or at the most inhabited by Guajivo Indians, a nomadic nation, incapable of subjugation, cowardly, and very treacherous. This river is navigable in lighters at all times, and although it has several shoals they are of little danger, as they are of a sandy character, offering little resistance or hardness. During the summer there are continual, very fresh breezes, and in the winter calms and much current; but on the still pools of the shores and the overflows of

No. 70.

impedimento: suelen vajar algunas veces los Reynos con cargamentos de Arinas, Azucar, Lienzos de Algodon, Paños de Mesa, Hamacas, Fresadas, y otras producciones de aquel Pais, que venden en esta Provincia y la de Caracas, con bastante utilidad, y retornan su producido en dinero efectivo.

the savannahs one navigates with less impediment. The people of the Kingdom of Santa Fé are accustomed to sometimes come down the river with cargoes of flour, sugar, cotton cloths, tablecloths, hammocks, blankets, and other products of that country, which they sell in this Province and that of Caracas with considerable profit, and turn the proceeds thereof into cash.

APURE:**THE APURE**

tiene sus cabezeras en el Reyno de Santa Fee, cerca de la Cuidad de la nueva Pamplona, en la Serrania, de donde vaja bañando los llanos de Casanare, y engrosandose con varios Rios que le entran, el de Santo Domingo de la Provincia de Barinas, el de la Portuguesa que la atraviesa, y hace comunicable la jurisdiccion de Guanare y otros menores, con que desemboca por distintos Caños en el Orinoco á los siete y medio grados de Latitud, y ochenta leguas, poco mas ó menos de Guayana. Por él hace algunos años que está corriente la navegacion, hasta las Nutrias en Barinas, y en sus margenes tienen los vecinos de Caracas el principal acopio de Ganado mayor de aquella Provincia. Produce excelentes Mulas que continuamente se estan sacando para los otras Provincias; tiene abundancia de Maderas de superior calidad para construccion y otros usos, de que sus habitantes vajan á Guayana crecidas Balsas para tablazon y vigueria, y vienen sobre ellas navegando con mudra comodidad en sus chozas ó Barracas, que les sirven de vivienda, y de resguardo para otros frutos, que suelen condu-

Has its source in the Kingdom of Santa Fé, near the city of Nueva Pamplona, in the hills, from which it flows down, bathing the plains of Casanare, and becoming enlarged by the several rivers entering it, that of Santo Domingo, of the Province of Barinas, that of La Portuguesa, which crosses said Province and furnishes communication with the jurisdiction of Guanare, and others smaller, with which it discharges through various courses into the Orinoco at seven and a half degrees of latitude and eighty leagues, a little more or less, from Guiana. Navigation has for several years been carried on over this river as far as Nutrias, in Barinas, and on its banks the residents of Caracas had the principal herds of live stock of that Province. It produces excellent mules, which are continuously being sent to the other Provinces; it has an abundance of woods of superior quality for building and other purposes, from which the inhabitants take down to Guiana large rafts for boards and beams, and they come down on these, navigating with considerable comfort in

No. 70.

cir; y sin embargo de que venden con bastante equidad, les queda una regular ganancia por los pocos costos que sufren de conduccion.

Desde Guayana á la boca de Apure hay otros muchos Rios de menos consideracion; pero que abundan algunos de ellos de Bosques y tierras de Labor, que son á la parte de Cumaná y Caracas, los nombrados Cari, Pao, Manapire, y Guarico, y por lade Guayana, Aruy, Caura, Cuchivero, con otras muchos Riachuelos, á una y otra costa, que por todos ellos se facilita la conduccion de frutos, con mucho alivio de los habitantes que estan fundados en sus margenes (que estan). Entre todos, el de Caura merece preferencia por la abundancia que tiene de montes y de superiores tierras de Labor, en donde se cultivan por los Indios aquellos frutos de primera necesidad, y se han empezado algunas cortas plantaciones de Algodon por los Morenos fugitivos de Esquivo, de que se van remitiendo por el Gobierno varias familias, vajo la Direccion del Sargento Comandante de aquella Escolta; en donde aplicandose al cultivo de este ramo, podran ser de alguna utilidad, y al contrario en la Capital, y sus contornos, aumentado ya considerablemente su numero, empezaran á ser perjudiciales, y á dar cuidado.

POBLACION.

La Poblacion actual de esta Provincia consiste en once vecindarios cortos de Españoles, repartidos en

their huts or cabins, which serve them as a living place and as a store-house for other products which they are accustomed to bring with them; and although they sell at reasonable prices, they make a fair profit, owing to the slight expense of transportation.

From Guiana to the mouth of the Apure there are many other rivers of less importance; however, some of them abound in forests and arable lands, which are, on the side of Cumaná and Caracas, those known as the Cari, Pao, Manapire, and Guarico, and on the side of Guayana, the Arny, Caura, Cuchivero, with many other smaller streams, on both banks, all of which furnish transportation for products with great ease for the inhabitants established on their banks. Among all of these, that of Caura merits preference, owing to its abundance of woods and its superior arable lands where the Indians cultivate products of prime necessity; and some small plantations of cotton have been begun by the fugitive Negroes from Essequibo, of which the Government is sending several families under charge of the Sergeant commanding that escort; where, applying themselves to the cultivation of this plant they may be of some service, while at the capital and its environs, their number already considerably increased, they will, on the contrary begin to be prejudicial and cause trouble.

POPULATION.

The present population of this Province resides in eleven small settlements of Spaniards, divided

No. 70.

cuatro Cindades, y siete villas, que unas y otras, á excepcion de la Capital, lo son solamente en el nombre, y sesenta y dos Misiones de Indios, que Doctrinan los Padres observantes en el alto y vajo Orinoco, desde Rio Negro, hasta nueva Guayana, y los Padres Capuchinos Cathalanes, de aqui para abajo, que todas componen el numero de veinte y quatro mil, trescientos noventa y cinco vecinos, entre Españoles, gente de color, y naturales de ambos sexos, y de todas edades, como representa el estado numero 1° que acompaña.

Las Misiones que Doctrinan los Padres Capuchinos Cathalanes, consistentes en trece mil Indios de distintas Naciones, situadas en la parte mas importante, de mayor cuidado, y fertil, de este continente, sin embargo de su antigüedad, todavia se hallan en la clase de nuevas reducciones, y con esperanzas muy remotas de que lleguen al Estado de civilizacion que sé desea, por mas que se fatiguen los Religiosos, en darles a conocer quanto les importa la vida sociable y Christiana; pues no teniendo particular arrahigo de bienes, y contentandose con una costa Labranza de Maiz, Casabe, y algunas raizes, para su preciso sustento, todo lo demas lo miran con repugnancia, y como sugesion de que huyen quanto pueden para entregarse al ocio, y al libertinaje, con no poco riesgo de los mismos Misioneros que quieran contenerlos. Estas Misiones manejadas vajo el sistema Economico que hasta el presente se há seguido, sin que por esto sea, segun todo probabilidad el mas acertado, ni deje de tener que enmendar a mayor beneficio y utilidad comun

into four cities and seven towns, both, with the exception of the capital, being such only in name, and seventy-two Indian missions taught by the Franciscan Fathers on the upper and lower Orinoco, from Rio Negro to New Guiana, and by the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers from here down, all making the total of twenty-four thousand three hundred and ninety-five residents, comprising Spaniards, people of color, and natives of both sexes and of all ages, as is shown by the statement number one hereto annexed.

The missions conducted by the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, comprising thirteen thousand Indians of different nations, situated in the most important, best cared for, and most fertile part of this continent, notwithstanding their antiquity, are still to be classed among the newly subjugated, and with very remote chances of their reaching the state of civilization which is desired, however much the pious Fathers may exert themselves in bringing to their knowledge (so important to them) a social and Christian life. For not having any individual landed property and contenting themselves with cultivation on a small scale of corn, *casabe*, and some roots for their necessary sustenance, they look upon everything else with repugnance, and as a subjugation from which they flee as well as they can to give themselves up to idleness and to licentiousness, with no little risk to the missionaries themselves who endeavor to restrain them. These missions managed under the economic system which has been followed up to the present, without its

No. 70.

de la Provincia, son no obstante las mas bien provistas, y las que se hallan mejor asistidas.

Los Padres observantes, como se acava de decir, tienen á su cargo los Pueblos que hay fundados desde la Capital hasta San Carlos de Rio Negro, habiendoseles entregado ultimamente los que gobernaban los Jesuitas expatriados, que hasta fines del año de ochenta y cinco, estuvieron sin Ministro Apostolico, como igualmente los del alto Orinoco y Rio Negro, en donde los Naturales son mas laboriosos, hacen sus buenas sementeras para su alimento, cosechan Cacao silvestre, algunas Resinas, frutas, y especias aromaticas, que venden á los Españoles, con otros varios renglones, que dan á conocer su ambicion al interes, y lo que han adelantado con el trato y comunicacion que han tenido con la Tropa: La carencia de Carne de Baca en aquellos parajes, la suple la pesca, y abundante cazeria que encuentran en sus selvas; estas segun noticias abundan de Maderas esquisitas, de diferentes cualidades, que no se hallan en el resto de la Provincia el todo de su variedad; pero se hace muy dificil, y costoso su transporte, por los muchos malos pasos de raudales, y arrecifales, y gran distancia que media á esta Capital.

El partido de Guirior, de dia en dia, va en mayor decadencia, y aniquilandose el numero de Españoles y Naturales que lo habitan. El corto Destacamento de Tropa que guarnece este puesto, experimenta mucha carestia de viveres, á excepcion del Casabe y Platanos, y estos nada abundantes; carecen de ganado bacuño, y para conseguir alguna vez

being, in all probability, the best adapted system, or one which should not be changed for the greater common benefit and advantage to the Province, are nevertheless the best provided for, and those which are the best conducted.

The Franciscan Fathers, as has just been stated, have under their charge the settlements which are established from the capital to San Carlos of the Rio Negro, they having lately had delivered over to them the settlements which were governed by the expatriated Jesuits, which up to the end of the year eighty-five were without an Apostolic Minister, as also those of the upper Orinoco and Rio Negro, where the natives are more laborious, sow their own fields for their alimentation, take in crops of wild cacao, some resins, fruits, and aromatic spices, which they sell to the Spaniards, with some other lines which indicate their ambition for gain, and how they have advanced through trading and communicating with the troops. The lack of fresh meat in these localities is supplied by fishing and abundance of game to be found in the forests. These forests, according to reports, abound in exquisite woods of different qualities which are not to be found in the rest of the Province; but its transportation is rendered very difficult and expensive, owing to the many rapids and shoals, and the great distance to this capital.

The district of Guirior is daily falling into worse decay, and the number of Spaniards and natives inhabiting it is diminishing. The small detachment of troops guarding this locality experiences a great lack

No. 70.

carne salada, necesitan embiar á Barceloneta, en distancia tan larga y penosa, que llega sinó corrompida de muy mala condicion: La numerosa gentilidad, que hay en aquellos montes, dan muestras algunas veces de querer volver á su antiguo orgullo saliendo de quando en quando, á insultar á los Poblados y Españoles, con quienes han tenido en el año pasado de ochenta y cinco, encuentros en que fueron rechazados, aunque con algunas muertes de una y otra parte.

of food supplies, excepting the *casabe* and plantains, and the latter are not at all abundant; they lack cattle, and to secure at any time salt beef they have to send to Barceloneta—so long and greivous a distance that it arrives, if not spoiled, in a very poor condition. The numerous heathens there are in those forests give at times evidences of desiring to return to their ancient arrogance, coming out every now and then to insult the settlers and Spaniards, with whom they have had, during the past year, eighty-five encounters in which they were repulsed, although with some deaths on both sides.

TIERRAS, SU CULTIVO Y FRUTOS.

La costa del sur del Orinoco, desde punta Barima, veinte leguas poco mas ó menos Rio arriva, es anegadiza á las orillas, pasta cerca del cañio de Caruina donde la serrania de Imataca toma su direccion hacia la mar al sur-sueste, de modo que con el cañon del Rio forman una espaciosa peninsula triangular, por donde vajan fertilizandola los Rios de Amacuro, Arature, y Aquire. Toda ella se compone de Montes y Arboledas de excelentes cualidades de Maderas de construccion y demas usos aque se quieran aplicar. Tiene muchas tierras de Labor, singularmente á las faldas de la propia Serrania, en donde se encuentran libres de inundaciones, y retiradas de la caxa del Orinoco, abundantes y hermosos valles que por varias abras se dirigen á lo interior del Pays, y tambien se hallan algunas sabanetas de buenos pastos, para Ganado. Por los Rios explicados y caños que

ARABLE LANDS AND PRODUCTS.

The southern bank of the Orinoco, from Point Barima, twenty leagues more or less up stream, is liable to overflow, up to near the Caruina channel, where the Imataca ridge of hills takes a direction towards the sea, south-southeast, so that with the channel of the river it forms a spacious triangular peninsula where the Amacuro, Arature, and Acquire rivers flow, fertilizing it. The whole of it is composed of forests and woods of excellent qualities in the way of building lumber and for other uses to which it may be put. It has much arable land, principally on the slopes of the ridge where may be found, free from inundation and retired from the course of the Orinoco, abundant and beautiful valleys, which through several openings lead towards the interior of the country, and there are also to be found some stretches of good pasture for cattle. The rivers named, and the

No. 70.

despiden estos, y cruzan de unos á otros, hay comunicacion facil á toda la extension de esta Peninsula, y proporcion de conducir los frutos, quando los haya, á la costa del Orinoco, á muy poca costa. La distancia que media de estos terrenos al Hato de Ganado mayor de las Misiones de Padres Capuchinos Cathalanes, es menos de lo que hasta ahora se habia creido; pues habiendole faltado viveres a la expedicion del reconocimiento de Maderas de construccion, el Comisionado de ella despachó gente por tierra, desde el Rio Aquire al pueblo de Cumaná, que llegaron en un dia á pie, y se proveyeron de carne y casabe.

Desde Carucina corre la Serrania por la misma costa del Orinoco, dejando entre las dos una corta distancia de sabanas de pastar Ganado, y montaña que en el Rio Carony termina y toma la Cordillera para el sur; tirando desde aqui para el oeste hasta la Capital, parece otra esfera, conociendose sensiblemente una diferencia grande en el temperamento que se extraña por lo mas calido, como á la vista la desnudez de la tierra, en donde en distancias muy largas, solo se ven algunos manchones de Morichales, pero buenas sabanas para Hatos de Ganado mayor.

Por la mucha distancia de las tierras de Labor, y costosa conduccion de frutos, han adelantado poco los vecinos de la Capital consistiendo sus Labores por la mayor parte en comestibles, que apenas alcanzan para el consumo interior. De las producciones extrahibles se podran cosechar annualmente algunas seiscientas cargas de tabaco; y se

branches they shoot out, crossing from one to the other, afford easy communication over the whole extent of this peninsula, and facilities for the transportation of products, whenever there shall be any, to the banks of the Orinoco at very little cost. The distance between these lands and the cattle ranches of the Missions of the Catalanian Capuchin Fathers is less than has been supposed up to this time, since the expedition to inspect the building lumber having lacked provisions, the Commissioner thereof sent men by land from the Acquire river to the town of Cumaná, who arrived in one day on foot and provided themselves with meat and *casabe*.

From Curucina the ridge of hills runs along the coast of the Orinoco, leaving between the two a short extent of savannahs for pasturing cattle, and mountains which terminate at the Caroni river, and the range follows on to the south, deflecting from here towards the west as far as the capital. It appears like another sphere; a great difference is noticeable; the temperature is much warmer and the land barren for long distances except for some clumps of *morichales*, but good savannahs for cattle ranches.

Owing to the distance of the arable lands, and the expensive transportation of products, the residents of the capital have advanced little, their cultivation consisting chiefly of food products, which barely suffice for the domestic consumption. Of the productions exportable, there may be harvested annually some six hundred loads of tobacco. A larger supply of this article could be

No. 70.

haria mayor acopio de esta especie, si á los vecinos se les diese mas amplitud para la siembra. La mitad ó mas se recoje en la jurisdiccion de la villa de Upata, y lo demas en los contornos de esta Capital, y de los demas Pueblos de la Provincia; se recogen ocho mil cueros, poco mas ó menos, la mitad de ellos de las inmediatas Provincias: Cacáo, no alcanzando el que se dá, para el abasto interior, se hace preciso traerlo de Caracas y Barinas; pero si se hiciesen plantaciones de este fruto, se produciria sin duda muy bueno y abundante, por la excelente calidad de los terrenos; y lo mismo se puede afirmar del añil, á que se ha dado principio con algunas cortas siembras, que han dado las mejores muestras y aseguran copiosas cosechas, si hubiese labradores de tal qual mediano arraygo que fomentasen este ramo. El Algodon quasi sin cultivo alguno se dá en qualquiera parte, de aventajada calidad, y rinde cada Arbol quasi otro tanto mas que en las Islas de Barlovento, siendo al propio tiempo menos expuestas las cosechas por lo mas arreglado aqui de las Estaciones del año; pero como en este Comercio se le ha dado poca estimacion hasta ahora por el Directo á España, y no se le proporcionaba salida á otra parte, han empezado á desmayar los Labradores, á quienes por parte del Gobierno se les habia estimulado al cultivo y fomento de este importante renglon.

Las existencias de Ganado mayor se consideran poco mas ó menos, de docientas y veinte mil Cabezas, las ciento y ochenta mil en el Hato del comun de las Misiones de los Padres Capuchinos, y las restantes quarenta

had if the residents were given more extent for planting. The half or more is gathered in the jurisdiction of the village of Upata, and the rest in the environs of this capital and the other towns of the Province. Eight thousand hides, more or less, are collected—the half of which from the neighboring Provinces. The production of cacao not being sufficient for the interior demand, it becomes necessary to bring it from Caracas and Barinas; but should plantations of this fruit be laid out, there undoubtedly would be produced a very good quality and great abundance, owing to the excellent quality of the lands; and the same may be said with regard to indigo, a few small plantings of which have been begun, which have produced good samples and give assurance of large crops, if there were planters with small holdings who should patronize this branch. Cotton, almost without any cultivation, grows in any place, of fine quality, and each tree produces almost as much again as the trees of the Windward Islands, at the same time the crops being less exposed, owing to the evenness of the seasons of the year; but as the local commerce has given but little thought up to the present to direct trade with Spain, with respect to this commodity, and export to other places has not been afforded it, the planters, who had been previously stimulated and encouraged in this important cultivation by the Government, have begun to be discouraged.

The supply of live-stock is estimated to be two hundred and twenty thousand head, more or less, one

No. 70.

mil, en los vecinos particulares. La cria de Mulas es escasa, como tambien la de bestias caballares; pera lo aparente de los pastos, y los atajos de Yeguas que se trahen de las Provincias inmediatas, prodran facilitar dentro de poco numero de años, la multiplicacion de una y otra especie.

No obstante el numero de cabezas de Ganado Bacuno expresado, se hace indispensable muchas veces ocurrir para el abasto de esta Capital, á los llanos de Caracas y Cumaná, porque del Stato de las Misiones, es costosa y dificil su conduccion, y el que tienen los criadores particulares, se reduce á hembras y reses nuevas, hallandose entre ellas muy pocas de Carniceria.

hundred and eighty thousand in the herds of the communities of the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers, and the remaining forty thousand held by the private residents. The broods of mules are small, as also those of horses; but the suitability of the pastures and the bands of mares which are brought from the neighboring provinces can bring about within a few years the increase of each species.

Notwithstanding the number of head of cattle above mentioned, it is often indispensable to resort to the plains of Caracas and Cumaná for the supply of this capital, because to meet it from the herds of the Missions is expensive and difficult, and those owned by private breeders are limited to cows and yearlings, there being very few beef cattle among them.

COMERCIO.**INGRESO EN LAS CAXAS, Y PENSIONES DE LA PROVINCIA.**

El Comercio directo de esta Provincia á España, ha hecho pocos progresos; en tiempos anteriores, vinieron algunos Registros de Cadiz que retornaron con tal qual utilidad, Cargados con el tabaco, que vajaba de Barinas, sobrante del numero de cargas que entonces daba aquella Provincia á la Real Compañia Guipuzcoana, con el que se cosechava en esta, con Cueros y algun Cacao de Caracas; pero ultimamente, no quedandole otro renglon que el de los Cueros en poca abundancia, no siempre de mayores ventajas, y sin otro algun recurso, cesó este xiro, y despues solo han venido dos

COMMERCE.**RECEIPTS IN THE TREASURY AND PENSIONS OF THE PROVINCES.**

The direct trade between this Province and Spain has made little progress. In former times some vessels came from Cadiz, which returned with a fair profit, loaded with tobacco brought down from Barinas, the surplus of the number of *cargas* which that Province then gave to the Royal Guipuzcoana Company, with that which was harvested in this Province, with hides, and with some cacao from Caracas; but lately, there remaining to them no other line except that of hides, little abundant, not always profitable, and without any other recourse left them, this trade ceased, and since

No. 70.

Registros, por Mayo del año de ochenta y seis, una Goleta del vecino Don Joseph Luis Basanta con diez y ocho á veinte mil pesos en caldos y efectos, y en Marzo del año de ochenta y siete, un Bergantin de Don Manuel Ferran, tambien de este vecindario, con diez á doce mil pesos de Cargamento en vinos y aguardiente, quedando el Pais en la misma necesidad que antes, de lo preciso para el abasto comun, y fomento de su Agricultura.

Lo limitado del comercio interior de la Provincia, se infiere de lo que se acaba de decir de sus frutos y producciones, y el que los vecinos en sus pequeños Buques, hacen á las yslás extrangeras en virtud de concesiones de la intendencia de Caracas, se reduce á extraher cargamentos de tal qual corto numero de Cueros, y de Ganado Bacuno y Mular, que para este fin compran en las Provincias inmediatas: ademas de la mortandad de animales, y otros quebrantos que sufren en la navegacion, llegando á aquellas Colonias se ven precisados, muchas ó las mas veces, á vender á precios vaxos, con motivo de la concurrencia que hay de otras partes, particularmente de la nueva Inglaterra con las mismas especies, y de mejor condicion: si retornan Negros, es forzoso venderlos al fiado, por no haber comprador á dinero contante, perdiendo en la plata un treinta y siete y medio por ciento; y ultimamente quando la necesidad ha obligado permitirles el retorno en efectos de la tercera ó quarta parte del producido de sus cargamentos, es poco ó nada lo que han adelantado; de suerte que fuera de ser un engañio

then only two vessels have arrived —about May, of the year '86, a schooner belonging to a resident, Don Joseph Luis Basanta, with from eighteen to twenty thousand *pesos* in spirits and goods, and in March of the year '87 a brigantine belonging to Don Manuel Ferran, also a resident, with from ten to twelve thousand *pesos* in a cargo of wines and liquors, the country remaining in the same need as before of the necessary for the common supply, and for the encouragement of its agriculture.

The meagreness of the interior trade of the Province is inferred from what has just been said of its products; and that which the residents in their small vessels carry on with the foreign Islands, by virtue of concessions from the Intendency of Caracas, is limited to the transportation of cargoes of a small number of hides and of cattle and mules, which they buy for the purpose in the neighboring provinces. Moreover, owing to the mortality of animals and other great losses they suffer in transit, on reaching the said Colonies they find themselves forced, many or the majority of times, to sell at low prices, by reason of the competition from other places, particularly from New England, with the same articles and in a much better condition. If they return with negroes it is necessary to sell them on credit, as there is no purchaser for cash, losing in silver thirty-seven and a half per cent. And lastly, when necessity has forced them to bring back a third or a fourth part of the proceeds of their cargo in goods, they have made little or nothing.

No. 70.

manifiesto, esta cualidad de xiro que alucina á las gentes, ya una vez engolfados, se hallan en la precision de continuar para conservar su opinion, exponiendose á la ultima ruina, que han experimentado algunos, siendo muy pocos los que han aumentado sus intereses al punto de vivir desempeñados, y con una mediana comodidad y decencia; y de aqui los medios indebidos de que se valen algunos, y los arbitrios del contrabando: contrabando ratero, y de poca consideracion, proporcionado á sus cortisimos fondos; pero perjudicial siempre á los Reales intereses, y al comercio Nacional, que se cela por lo tanto como es debido, sin perdonar quantos medios ordinarios y extraordinarios dicta la razon y el conocimiento local del Pays.

El ingreso que por razon de distintas contribuciones, tienen las Caxas de Guayana, alcanza un año con otro, á catorce mil pesos, y las pensiones á que se hallan afectas, ascienden á cinquenta y seis mil seis cientos ochenta y nueve, como demuestra el Estado numero 2 que acompaña, resultando quedar en el descubierto de quarenta y tres mil pesos, y en la necesidad de ocurrir á las de Caracas, que hallandose recargadas de sus propias obligaciones, no siempre pueden asistir y socorrer con la puntualidad que requieren las urgencias.

Lo expuesto hasta aqui, manifiesta lo desvalido, lo miserable y atrasado de la Provincia de Guayana, despues de tan larga serie de años de su conquista y ocupacion, y de tantos auxilios de caudales, gracias y franquicias, con que la Corte conociendo

ing; so that, besides being a manifest deception, this class of trade which deceives people, who, once engaged in it, find themselves in the necessity of continuing in order to preserve their reputation, exposing themselves to ultimate ruin. This has already been the experience of some, there being very few who have increased their capital to the point of living free from debt, and with moderate comfort and decency. This gives rise to the undue methods which some follow, and smuggling—petty smuggling, and of little moment, in proportion to their short funds, but ever prejudicial to the Royal interests and the national trade which watches, therefore, as it should, without overlooking all the ordinary and extraordinary means that reason and the local knowledge of the country may dictate.

The revenues from different contributions coming into the Treasury of Guiana is, one year with another, fourteen thousand pesos, and the pensions to which it is subject amount to fifty-six thousand six hundred and eighty-nine pesos, as is shown by the statement number 2, hereto annexed, a deficit resulting of forty-three thousand pesos, and a necessity of resorting to the Treasury of Caracas, which, being taxed with its own obligations, cannot always render assistance and succor with the punctuality which pressing needs demand.

What has been said up to this point shows the helplessness, the wretchedness and the backwardness of the Province of Guiana after so long a period of years since its conquest and occupation, and of

No. 70.

la importancia de su conservacion la ha favorecido y procurado su mayor fomento, á que han correspondido tan mal como se está viendo los efectos que debian prometerse de la piadosa Real liberalidad. Atribuyese en algun modo este atraso á las inquietudes y frecuentes hostilidades en tiempos anteriores, de tanta multitud y diversidad de Naciones de Indios Barbaros que infestaban el Pays; pero aun mas que á esto parece debe achacarse á haberse errado en los principios la eleccion de los terrenos para la Poblacion, á que contribuiria no poco la perplexidad de lo inculto é impenetrable de un Pays nuevo, y la obscuridad é incertidumbre, que inducen las circunstancias de las primeras fundaciones, dificiles de desvanecer, hasta que el tiempo haya ido descubriendo los obstaculos que impedian sus progresos.

so many riches, privileges, and franchises with which the Court, appreciating the importance of its preservation, has favored it and worked for its encouragement; wherefore, better results ought to be expected from the merciful Royal liberality, than so poor a return as is here noted. This backwardness is attributed in some way to the unrest and frequent hostilities, in times gone by, of such a multitude and diversity of nations of savage Indians which infested the country; but even more than to this, it seems that it should be attributed to having made an error at the beginning in the selection of the lands for settlements, to which the perplexity of the uncultivated and impenetrable state of a new country contributed not a little, and also the obscurity and uncertainty incident to the circumstances of the first settlements, difficult to overcome, until time shall have gone on disclosing the obstacles which prevented its advancement.

IDEA DE POBLACION QUE SE PROPONE, Y ALGUNOS MEDIOS PARA REALIZARLA.

En la Real Instruccion de cinco de Junio de mil Setecientos sesenta y dos, se previno que para la mayor custodia de la Provincia de Guayana, las internas y Reyno de Santa Fee, por la introduccion que facilita la conocida navegacion del Rio Orinoco, se mudase la antigua Poblacion de Guayana, á la Angostura del mismo Rio, donde actualmente se halla; que se hiciesen conducir los Ganados, y se les diesen pastos de alli para arriba, y que no

IDEA OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSED, AND SOME MEANS OF REALIZING THE SAME.

In the Royal Instructions of the fifth of June of seventeen hundred and seventy-two it was provided that for the better custody of the Province of Guiana, the interior Provinces, and the Kingdom of Santa Fé, owing to the introductions which the well known navigation of the Orinoco river affords, the old settlement of Guiana should be moved to Angostura on the same river, where it now is; that the live stock should be taken there and be

No. 70.

sé permitiese hacer nuevas sementaras de viveres en las margenes del Orinoco de la Angostura abajo, con lo demas que en ella se expresa. Por la de diez y seis de Mayo de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve, á representacion de este Gobierno se mandaron demoler los quatro pueblos de upacóa, Tipurua, Piacoa, y Unata que estaban situados mas abajo de las fortalezas, y las razones que impulsaron esta soberana resolucion, fue que se hallaban desabrigados, y bien distantes de dichas Fortalezas, de suerte que siendo la Boca grande de Navios por donde los enemigos podrian dirigir qualesquiera invasion que intentasen se encontrarian precisamente antes de llegar á alguna accion, con los referidos Pueblos que les facilitarían auxilios, particularmente de viveres, y guías, para internarse en la Provincia, y encaminarlos prontamente donde les conviniese; quando por el contrario los conseguirían con mucho trabajo, dilacion y riesgo, si esto les faltase. No desconviniendo de la solidez estas razones en el tiempo que se tuvieron presentes, y contrayendo á ellas mismas el discurso, y á lo que parece exigen las ya distintas circunstancias del dia, se expondrá lo mas conveniente á lo que por tal se estima, al mejor servicio del Rey, y al fomento de este Pays.

La Costa del Norte del Orinoco desde la Capital hasta Barrancas de Guaruaipo, ocho leguas mas abajo de los Castillos de la antigua Guayana, se halla Poblada de fundaciones de Hatos de Ganado mayor por los vecinos de la Provincia de Guayaná, teniendo inmediatas las

pastured from there up, and that no new plantings of food products be permitted on the banks of the Orinoco from Angostura down, with the rest therein set forth. By the Royal Instruction of the seventeenth of May of seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, upon representations from this Government, it was ordered to demolish the four towns of Opacoa, Tipurua, Piaeva, and Unata, which were situated below the forts; and the reasons which impelled this sovereign resolution were that they were unprotected and far distant from the said forts, so that the large *Boca de Navios* being the point from where the enemy could direct any invasion it might attempt, it would, before engaging in any action, come upon the said town, which would afford them assistance, particularly in the way of provisions and guides, to get into the interior of the Province and promptly put them on the road to wherever they wished to go, while on the contrary they would secure these with much labor, delay, and risk, were the towns out of the way. Not disagreeing with the soundness of these reasons at the time that they were considered, and limiting the discussion to them, and to what it seems the different conditions of the present demand, I shall express what I deem to be more advisable for the better service of the King and the advancement of this country.

The northern coast of the Orinoco from the capital to Barrancas de Guaruaipo, eight leagues below the castles of old Guiana, is settled with establishments of herds of live

No. 70.

nuevas reducciones de Padres Capuchinos Aragoneses, quienes en el propio terreno, segun noticias, pretenden hacer Pueblo de naturales. La del Sur, siguiendo de la Angostura ó Capital para abajo, tambien está ocupada con Hatos, y varias Labranzas y sementeras hasta el Rio de Caroni, y desde aqui á las Fortalezas se hallan situadas las Misiones de Carony, San Feliz, San Miguel, y Santa Ana de Puga, en terreno fertil para la Agricultura y abundante de Maderas de construccion, y no obstante, que en virtud de las Reales disposiciones citadas, se demolieron y transmigraron los quatro Pueblos, de Piacoa, Upacóa, Tipurua, y Unata; no por esto se ha quitado al enemigo la proporcion de poder se proveer mas abajo de los Castillos, de los viveres, y de mas auxilios que necesitase, ante sbien los hallaria ahora con mas comodidad en las Sabanas llenas de Ganado del Pueblo del Palmar, veinte y cinco leguas mas abajo de la antigua Guayana, cerca del Rio de Imataca, por donde los mismos Misioneros, en tiempo de Guerra, manifestaron sus temores de ser sorprendidos; causando no pocos cuidados al Gobierno lo expuesto y desabrigado de su situacion. Hallarialos internando por el Rio de Aguire, en las Misiones de Cumaná, Miamo, Tupuquen, y otros que demoran aun mas al Leste, de donde, como ya queda dicho, se proveyó de Carne y Casabe la gente de la expedicion de reconocimiento de Montes que se acaba de practicar, y finalmente, los encontraria tambien en la Costa del Norte jurisdiccion de Cumaná, á las ocho ó mas leguas

stock by the residents of the Province of Cumaná, having near them the new subjugations of the Aragonese Capuchin Fathers who, on the same land, according to information, intend to make a settlement of natives. The coast of the south, following from Angostura, or Capital, down stream, is also occupied with cattle ranches and several farms and sown lands to the Caroni river, and from here to the fort are situated the Missions of Caroni, San Felix, San Miguel, and Santa Anna de Puga, on fertile lands adapted to agriculture and abounding in building woods, and, notwithstanding that pursuant to the Royal provision cited, the four towns of Piaeva, Opacoa, Tipurua, and Unata were demolished and removed, the enemy has not been thereby prevented from providing himself lower down than the castles with the provisions and other assistance he might need, but rather can he find them to-day with more ease on the savannahs covered with cattle of the town of Palmar, twenty-five leagues below old Guiana, near the Imataca river, where the missionaries themselves in time of war made known their fears of being surprised, their exposed and unprotected position causing no little care to the Government. They would find them going inland by the Aguire river, in the Missions of Cumaná, Miamo, Tupuquen and others which lie more to the east, where, as has been already said, the expeditionary party exploring the forests, which has just finished its work, provided itself with meat and *casabe*, and, finally, they would

No. 70.

antes de llegar á las Fortalezas, y la comodidad de poder marchar por tierra llana á donde quisiese dirigir sus operaciones. Deduciendose de lo expuesto, no solamente no haberse conseguido el fin de privar al enemigo de los auxilios de viveres, practicos, y demas, sino antes bien, por los accidentes explicados haberselos facilitado con ventajas de aumento y mayor abundancia, y por lo tanto quedar desvanecidas aquellas causas, ó consideraciones que han impedido la Poblacion desde la Boca de Navios, á las Fortalezas de la antigua Guayana, y de consiguiente deberse mudar de sistema en esta parte, acomodandose á las distintas circunstancias del dia, y solicitando el remedio por el termino contrario, proceder sin perdida de tiempo á la ocupacion y Poblacion de aquellos terrenos, que se considera ser el mas eficaz, y unico, para impedir la entrada, tanto por la parte del Rio Orinoco, como por la de Cuyuni, en donde introducidos los Olandeses, como en el articulo que trata de este Rio, se ha hecho presente, y alegando posesion, como lo han hecho por su Embaxador en representacion de dos de Agosto de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve, de que se pasó Copia á este Gobierno, es de temer, si no se les opondre algun obice, que extendiendo cada vez mas sus limites, aprovechen la primera ocasion, ó pretexto qualquiera de ir adelantando sus Establecimientos, é ideas de su comercio, y trato clandestino, tan perjudicial.

Del Orinoco, al Cuyuni, Norte á Súr, median treinta leguas, y del Leste á Oeste hasta las misiones de Guayana, y Hato de Ganado mayor

also find them on the coast of the north, jurisdiction of Cumaná, eight leagues or more before reaching the forts, and with the comfort of being able to march on level ground wherever they might desire to carry their operations. It being deduced from the foregoing not only that the end of depriving the enemy of the aid of provisions, guides and other assistance has not been secured, but rather, through the incidents set forth, it has been afforded the same with increase and in greater abundance, and therefore those causes or considerations which have prevented settlements from the Boca de Navios to the forts of old Guiana having vanished, the system in this part ought to be changed, accommodating itself to the different conditions of the day, and soliciting the remedy by directly contrary action, to proceed without loss of time to the occupation and settlement of those lands, that may be considered the most efficacious and only means for preventing the entrance, not only by way of the Orinoco river but by that of Cuyuni, where the Dutch already introduced, as has been stated in the article treating of this river, and alleging possession as they have by their Ambassador in his representation of the second of August of seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, a copy of which was transmitted to this Government, it is to be feared, unless some obstacle is opposed, that, daily extending more their boundaries, they may take advantage of the first occasion or pretext to go on advancing their establishments and the ideas of their com-

No. 70.

del comun de ellas, mucho menos; de modo que entre estas, las tierras vajas de la costa, y las montuosas, forman un estrecho cañon, facil de llenar con un proporcionado numero de fundaciones utiles; mayormente auxiliando los Reverendos Padres Capuchinos, como se cree de su religioso celo, y amor al servicio del Rey, lo harán gustosos por que de ello les redundará tambien la ventaja de asegurar las Espaldas de sus Misiones, y de poder exercer con mas tranquilidad su Apostolico Ministerio, libres de los sobresaltos con que al presente viven, y como quiera que todo el terreno que media mas allá de Cuyuni hasta las cabeceras del Parime y Curaricara, ya en el día mas explorado, se halla noier, nicon mucho de la extension que hasto ahora se habiá imaginado, puede esperarse con razonable fundamento, que dentro de poco mñero de años, se hallaria ventajosamento ocupado, interpolando Pueblos y Hatos, extendiendo sus fundaciones los criadores, los labradores y vecindarios, sus Plantaciones y sus reducciones los Reverendos Padres Misioneros, quienes estrechandose mutuamente, unos y otros continuarian sus establecimientos en las grandes Sabanas, y margenes de los Rios que tiran al Sur, hacia las expresadas cabeceras. Facilitaria por otra parte, y ayudaria mucho al intento el ser por lo mas Pais de llanuras, y de temperamento benigno y saludable, como lo comprueba la experiencia de las nuevas reducciones de Padres Capuchinos, avanzadas en razonable distancia; cuya proximidad de sus Misiones y Hatos de comunidad, proporcionando el

merce and clandestine trade which are so prejudicial.

From the Orinoca to the Cuyuni, north to south, is thirty leagues, and from east to west, to the Missions of Guiana and the community herds of cattle, much less, so that between these, the low lands of the coast and the mountain lands form a narrow cañon easy to be filled with a proportionate number of profitable settlements, especially by the assistance of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, which it is believed, because of their religious zeal and love for the service of the King, they will gladly give, since thereby there will redound to them the advantage of securing the rear of their Missions, and of being able to more tranquilly exercise their Apostolic Ministry, free from the surprises to which they are now exposed; and since all the land lying beyond the Cuyuni up to the sources of the Parime and the Curarieara, now better explored, is found to be much less in extent than was imagined up to the present, it can be hoped on reasonable grounds that within a short number of years it will be advantageously occupied, introducing settlements and ranches—the breeders extending their establishments, the farmers and residents their plantations, and their subjugations the Reverend Missionary Fathers, who, becoming mutually firmer bound together, would carry on their establishments to the great savannahs and banks of the rivers that flow to the south towards the said sources. On the other hand, the purpose would be greatly assisted and aided by the fact that the coun-

No. 70.

abasto de Pan y carne, allanaria el obstaculo mayor de todo nuevo Establecimiento.

Parece convendria, por las razones insinuadas, dar principio á la Poblacion en aquellos terrenos mas inmediatos á los terminos de las posesiones extrangeras; pero los indispensables, crecidos gastos que se causarian, la dificultad de conducir Ganados, viveres, y demas auxilios, á tanta distancia, y la de encontrar colonos que quisiesen desde luego establecerse en unas tierras nuevas, remotas, y faltas por ahora de comunicacion, persuaden á que la primera fundacion se haga á orillas del Orinoco, en el Caño de Carucina, ó bien en el de Zacaupana, distante veinte leguas, poco mas ó menos de las bocas, de tierras altas, bien ventiladas, y fertilisimas, donde en la actualidad se hallan congregados mas de tres mil Indios Guaraunos, que servirian mucho para el intento, y adonde con menos repugnancia concurririan Pobladores, por la comodidad de tener mas proximos los viveres, socorros prontos en caso de necesidad, maderamen abundante para fabricar sus casas, sus Labores á la vista, y facil conduccion y salida de sus frutos.

PUERTO DE REGISTRO.

Esta primera fundacion en Carucina, ó bien en Zacaupana, como que

try is largely level and of a generous and healthy temperature, as is proven by the experience of the new subjugations of the Capuchin Fathers, advanced for a reasonable distance, the proximity of whose missions and community herds, affording the supply of bread and meat, would dispel the greatest obstacle to all new establishments.

It seems it would be advisable, for the reasons suggested, to begin the settlements on those lands nearest the boundaries of the foreign possessions, but the indispensable heavy expenses which would be necessary, the difficulty of carrying live-stock, provisions, and other necessities, for such a distance, and that of finding colonists who would wish to at once establish themselves on new lands, and the present lack of communication, suggest that the first establishment be located on the banks of the Orinoco, either on the Carucina channel, or on that of Zacaupana, distant twenty leagues, more or less, from the mouths, high land, well ventilated, and most fertile, where at the present time there are congregated more than three thousand Guarauno Indians who would be very serviceable for the purpose, and where settlers would come with less reluctance, owing to the comfort of having provisions nearer, prompt help in case of necessity, abundant lumber for the construction of their houses, their farms in sight, and easy transportation and an outlet for their products.

PORT OF ENTRY.

This first settlement in Carucina, or in Zacaupana, as it must be the

No. 70.

ha de ser el punto de apoyo de las demas, y de donde les han de ir los auxilios necesarios, merece la mayor atencion, y que desde el principio se ponga todo el esmero posible en fomentarla y aumentarla. Su situacion favorable en uno de los brazos principales del Orinoco, ofrece muchas ventajas, y a mayor comodidad del Comercio un Puerto de Registros seguro, facil de defender, á proporcionada distancia de la Boca principal, ó entrada del Rio, y sin el inconveniente que ahora se padece de haber de subir las Embarcaciones, ochenta ó mas leguas, hasta esta Capital, por varios malos pasos que hacen penosissima su navegacion y recargan de costos los generos y efectos, por la mucha dilacion; habiendose experimentado en algunas ocasiones, haber gastado mas tiempo desde las Bocas aqui, que de España á las Bocas: agregase que en el de Rio vajo (á lo menos quatro meses del año) no pueden salir cargados los Barcos de este Puerto á causa del poco fondo en el paso que llaman de Mamo, que obliga ir á tomar la carga en Carony, á donde con anticipacion es necesario remitirla; resultando de esta practica, ademas de los perjuicios que reporta el comercio legitimo, el facilitarse en algun modo el clandestino, sin que el celo y vigilancia de los ministros principales, por mas que se esmeren pueda estorvarlo del todo.

Formada esta primera Poblacion con el fin expresado, se seguirá fundando tres, quatro, ó mas Pueblos hacia lo interior de aquella Provincia, y ultimamente una Villa de Españoles á orillas del Cuyuni, en el

supporting point for the others, and the place whence the necessary assistance is to go to them, merits the greatest attention, and from the beginning all possible care should be taken in encouraging and advancing it. Its favorable situation on one of the principal branches of the Orinoco offers many advantages, and, for the greater benefit of commerce, a safe port of entry, easy to defend, at a proportionate distance from the principal mouth, or entrance of the river, and without the inconvenience which is now felt of the vessels having to go up eighty or more leagues to this Capital, over many bad places, which make the navigation very difficult and load merchandise and goods with expenses, owing to the great delay, it having been the experience on some occasions to spend more time from the mouths here than from Spain to the mouths. Add to this, that at low water (at least four months in the year) loaded boats cannot leave this port, owing to the little depth at the place called Mamo, which compels the cargo being taken on at Caroni, where it is necessary to transport it beforehand, there resulting from this practice, aside from the injuries to legitimate trade, the facilities for the clandestine trade, the zeal and vigilance of the principal officials, however hard they strive, being insufficient to prevent it.

This first settlement, once founded for the purposes expressed, three, four, or more towns would be founded towards the interior of that Province, and ultimately a city of Spaniards on the banks of the

No. 70.

punto, poco mas ó menos, de la union de este Rio con el de Supamo, que será conducentisima en dicho paraje, para auxiliar los progresos ulteriores de la Poblacion, para cubrir esta avenida á las Misiones, é impedir la fuga de los Indios, su comunicacion con los Olandeses de Esquivo, y la internacion de estos, á sus tratos y perjudicial comercio de Poytos.

COLONOS.

La experiencia practica de algunas nuevas fundaciones en estos Payses, ha hecho ver que el metodo de traer familias á todo costo de Europa, ú obligadas de las mismas Provincias vecinas, no siempre produce los mejores efectos, antes al contrario, se han visto desvanecer semejantes colonias, en muy breve tiempo despues de fundadas, y de haber causado al Real Herario considerables infructuosos gastos: Por lo tanto, seria muy de desear que los nuevos Pobladores acudiesen voluntariamente, atraidos de la conveniencia de un Establecimiento mas ventajoso que el que dejaban, y de las gracias y prerrogativas conque se les debe brindar: De los que vienen en estos terminos subcede ser la mayor parte gente pobre que no tienen principio alguno para emprender labores de consideracion, ciñendose unicamente á las que con su trabajo personal pueden cultivar para sacar una escasa subsistencia: Ajustos para animarlos y atraerlos, convendria se les subministrase de cuenta de la Real Hacienda, con que mantenerse en los quatro, ó seis meses primeros de su llegada, tiempo en que podran fabricar sus casas,

Cuyuni, at or near the confluence of this river with the Supamo, which would be most beneficial at the said point to assist the subsequent progress of the settlements, to cover this avenue to the missionaries, and prevent the flight of the Indians, their communication with the Dutch of Essequibo, and the entry of the latter, or their traffic and injurious trade of Poytos.

COLONISTS.

Practical experience in some new settlements in these countries has shown that the method of bringing families at every expense from Europe, or compulsorily from the neighboring Provinces, does not always produce the best results; but rather, on the contrary, such colonies have been seen to vanish in a very short time after their establishment and to have caused the Royal Treasury considerable fruitless expenses. Wherefore it would be desirable for the new settlers to come voluntarily, attracted by the conveniences of settlement more advantageous than the one they have left, and by the privileges and prerogatives which should be offered them. The greater part of those coming under such terms happen to be poor people, who have no capital whatever with which to cultivate fields to any extent, being limited solely to such as by their own work they can cultivate to eke out a scanty existence. To stimulate and attract these it would be advisable to furnish them at the expense of the Royal Treasury with enough to maintain themselves during the four or six months after their arrival, a time within

No. 70.

y hacer sus sementeras de Casabe, Maiz, Platano, y demas necesario: De esta cualidad de pobladores no pueden prometerse progresos rapidos, ni mayores ventajas en los principios; pero puestos y arraigados yá, en unos terrenos, cuya fertilidad les asegura el buen exito, y recompensa mas que regular de sus tareas, se aficionarán al trabajo, se animaran y ayudaran mutuamente, como entre vecinos arbitraran los medios de la pesca, caza, y otros para mantenerse sin costo para economizar y ahorrar, y la emulacion y ambicion del interes los alentará insensiblemente, á que demas de los frutos comestibles y de primera necesidad. promueban poco á poco, el cultivo de otros de mas valor, y como la multitud, aunque de partes diminutas hace cuerpo, muchos pocos engrosarán los ramos, particularmente los del Algodon y Tabaco, si de este á su tiempo se tuviese por conveniente el ampliarles su siembra bajo las reglas generales de Administracion, ú otras que pareciesen mas del caso prescribir por ser capaz este solo ramo de proporcionarles los medios de entablar otros de consideracion, conque vivificar en esta Provincia un Comercio activo Directo á España.

Hombres de caudal, por lo regular son los menos que concurren á nuevas Poblaciones, porque huyen del trastorno que causa la mudanza de Domicilio, y solo el aliciente de gracias particulares que les aseguren conocidas mayores ventajas, es capaz de obligarlos á semejante resolucion, si mediante las que teuga á bien franquear la Real Piedad, se pudiese lograr un numero competente de

which they may build their houses and plant their fields of *casabe*, corn, bananas, and other necessities. With this kind of settlers there can be no promise of rapid progress nor great advantages at the beginning; but, placed and settled on lands the fertility of which will assure them a successful outcome and a more than fair reward for their labor, they will become addicted to work; they will mutually stimulate and assist each other, as among neighbors; they will arrange the methods for fishing, hunting, and other means for sustaining themselves without cost, in order to economize and save, and emulation and the ambition for gain will insensibly encourage them to (aside from the food products and those of prime necessity) promote little by little the cultivation of others of more value and as a multitude, although made up of small parts, forms a body, so many small quantities will increase the branches, particularly those of cotton and tobacco, if at the proper time it should be deemed advisable to increase the planting of the latter under the general rules of administration, or any others that it may seem more advisable to prescribe, since this branch alone is capable of providing the means for undertaking other means of moment, with which to enliven in this Province an active direct commerce with Spain.

Men of means, as a rule, are the last to come to new settlements, as they fly from the disturbance which the change of domicile entails, and only through the enticement of special privileges which shall assure them certain greater advantages is

No. 70.

familias de esta clase, serian muy veloces los adelantamientos; pues á proporcion de los fondos de cada uno, extenderian sus posesiones, pondrian en valor las tierras, y se haria abundante acopio de frutos con que darian vigor al Comercio Nacional; los pobres al arrimo de los mas acomodados hallarian calor y ocupaciones en que lucra ry adelantar sus respectivas Labores é Industrias, y los ricos por su propio interes se moverian á entablar fundaciones de Hatos, y como para su regular multiplico es preciso tengan la extension de una, dos, ó mas leguas, se les repartirian las tierras á proporcion, en cuyo caso era indubitable la ocupacion de las que median hasta el Cuyuni con corto numero de criadores formales, y la continuacion mas alla en las llanuras que siguen hacia las frouteras.

Aun mas necesarios que criadores ó Dueños de mucho numero de Ganados, son los Labradores que tengan copiosa esclavitud para la agricultura, que es en lo que consiste el verdadero principal fomento de un Pays, y con lo que se logra ponerlo en el estado de opulencia de que sea susceptible en las provincias inmediatas, y particularmente en la de Caracas, quanto es facil hallar criadores acomodados, tanto seria dificil conseguir de los otros, que quisiesen mudarse á parajes no bien conocidos, porque ademas de poseher haciendas considerables y suficientes tierras de Labor, disfrutan un comercio que les proporciona el expendio de sus cosechas, y aun quando algunos se inclinasen les frustraria el pensamiento la dificultad de encontrar quien les comprase á precio regular las pose-

it possible to lead them to such a resolve. If, through such privileges as the Royal mercy may be pleased to offer, a competent number of families of this class could be secured, the progress would be very rapid; since in proportion to the funds of each they would extend their possessions, they would make the lands valuable, and there would be an abundant supply of products which would invigorate the national commerce; the poor people would find warmth by contact with the more comfortably circumstanced, and occupations which would bring them money and advance their respective fields and industries, and the rich for their own interest would be moved to establish cattle ranches, and as for their regular increase it is necessary to have the extent of one, two, or more leagues, the lands would be divided among them in proportion, in which case the occupation of the lands up to the Cuyuni would be indubitable with a small number of regular breeders, and the extension thereof over the plains which lie further on towards the frontier.

Even more necessary than breeders or owners of large herds of cattle are the farmers having many slaves for agriculture, in which the true or principal advancement of a country consists, and with which it will be possible to place it in the state of opulence of which it is susceptible in the neighboring Provinces, and particularly in the Province of Caracas. In the proportion as it is easy to find moderately rich breeders would it be difficult to secure concessions from the others who might not wish to change to localities not well known,

No. 70.

siones que dejaban, ó los retraherian las contingencias insuperables de una transmigracion de esa naturaleza, que en gente de algun acomodo y arraigo son de consideracion.

Estos inconvenientes prodrian vencerse del mismo modo que en la Isla de Trinidad de Barlovento, si tal vez no resultasen mayores de dar entrada á familias de las Colonias extrangeras, en que se omite por lo tanto mas explicacion, dejando á la superior, sabia penetracion de quien puede y debe deliberar en materia de tanta importancia; y se propone por ahora que para dar principio á la ocupacion de los terrenos, se heche mano de algunas familias de la propia Provincia, en el numero que permita su escasa poblacion, y de las que quieran pasar voluntariamente de las de Cumaná, Caracas, y Barinas, que no dejaran de presentarse algunas, que en los parajes que abandonan no haran mayor falta, y en estos podran con el tiempo ser de mucha utilidad. Si en la Capital se dejase al arbitrio de los Vecinos, no hay duda que muchos, ó los mas, de los antiguos transmigrados abrazarian gustosos la suerte de ir á establecerse del Presidio para abajo, por la experiencia y conocimiento que tienen de la fecundidad de aquellas tierras, de la abundancia de pescado, cazerias y otras conveniencias de que conservan aun frescas las especies, y muy tierna memoria. Pero admitiendo á los que se tuviese por conveniente, á los demas sólo les deberá contener, porque en ningun tiempo se ha de permitir siga atraso á la Capital, antes al contrario, se há de procurar su mayor fomento, respecto que ademas del

because besides possessing considerable haciendas and sufficient arable lands, they enjoy a trade which gives them a market for their crops, and even though some should be so inclined they would be deterred by the thought of the difficulty of finding purchasers at fair prices for the possession they leave, or they would be restrained by the contingencies inseparable from a removal of that character, which, among people of some wealth and property, are considerable.

These objections might be overcome in the same manner as in the Island of Trinidad of the Windward, if perhaps greater objections should not result by allowing the entrance of families from the foreign colonies, upon which point, therefore, further explanations are withheld, leaving it to the superior wise judgment of him who can and should deliberate in a matter of such importance; and it is proposed for the present that in order to give a beginning to the occupation of the lands, some families of the Province itself be taken hold of to the extent that its small population may permit, and also of those that may desire voluntarily to go from the Provinces of Cumaná, Caracas, and Barinas (and some will not fail to present themselves), as in the localities they abandon their loss will not be much felt, and in the latter they may in time be of much benefit. If at the capital it should be left to the judgment of the residents, there is no doubt that many, or the greater part of the former emigrants, would gladly embrace the chance to go and establish themselves from the garri-

No. 70.

valor con que en el dia se halla, es por su situacion un puesto importante, y por la comodidad de su comunicacion con las Provincias inmediatas.

Los Reverendos Padres Capuchinos Cathalanes en el año de setenta y siete, por un efecto de su celo y amor al servicio del Rey, hicieron la oferta de doce mil Cabezas de Ganado Bacuno, que S. M. se dignó admitir, y mandar sé distribuyesen entre los habitantes pobres para aumentar la cria; lo que por varias casualidades no tuvo entonces efecto, ni despues, y se hace presente en esta ocasion como un arbitrio favorable al asunto de que se trata, y que en ningun tiempo pudo tener mejor aplicacion que ahora; pues con este alivio y tal qual principio de fomento, se animarian algunas pobres familias á establecerse en las nuevas fundaciones, á quienes luego que tubiesen casa Poblada, se les distribuirian á prorrateo, y proporcion de su numero de veinte y cinco á treinta, ó mas Bacas con sus correspondientes toretes á cada familia, con la condicion de que no pudiesen matar, vender, ni enagenar, hasta pasados lo menos tres años; para que de esta suerte, ademas de hallarse despues con una mediana comodidad, sé lograrse con el multiplico en poco numero de años la extension de las posesiones, y mayor ocupacion de los terrenos.

Conseguida esta en los terminos propuestos, desde Carucina hacia adentro, y fundada la ultima villa de Españoles en el paraje señalado, resultaria una Barrera de no poca seguridad contra las correrias y perjudicial trato de los olandeses, se haria transitable el Pays por caminos abiertos para la correspondencia

on down, owing to the experiences and knowledge they have of the fertility of those lands, of the abundance of fish, game, and other conveniences, of which they still retain a fresh and a very tender memory. But after admitting those it may be advisable to admit, the rest should be restrained, because at no time should the capital be allowed to retrograde, but, on the contrary, its greater advancement should be secured, since besides the value it today has, it is, owing to its situation and to the ease of its communication with the neighboring Provinces, an important post.

The Reverend Catalan Capuchin Fathers in the year seventy-seven, as the effect of their zeal and love for the service of the King, made an offer of twelve thousand head of cattle, which Your Majesty was pleased to accept and to order to be distributed among the poor inhabitants to increase the breed, which, for several reasons, was not carried out at the time, nor afterwards, and it is referred to on this occasion as a contribution favorable to the matter in hand, and which at no time could have had better application than now, for with this help and some fair encouragement some poor families would be stimulated to establish themselves in the new settlements, to whom so soon as they should have a house built, there would be distributed among them, pro rata, in proportion to their number, from twenty-five to thirty or more cows, with their corresponding bulls, to each family, upon the condition that they could not kill, sell, nor dispose of them until the expiration of at

No. 70.

mutua de los Labradores con los criadores y entre los Pueblos, y se facilitarían las demás exploraciones que se quisiese y conviniese hacer por la grandes sabanas que tienen al Sur, y por esta misma Direccion se iria á dar con los parajes del Establecimiento, ó como republica independiente de los negros fugitivos de Esquivo y Surinam, y como estos lo que pretenden es mantener su libertad, podría serles grato, el que de nuestra parte se ofreciese conservarsela, vajo de ciertas condiciones, que podrían redundar en utilidad y mayor aumento de la Poblacion; pero con las precauciones y desconfianza que requiere siempre usarse con semejante casta y qualidad de gentes. Y finalmente se lograria la reduccion de tantas Naciones de Indios Gentiles que habitan este dilatado Centro, los que viendose estrechados por todos lados, se darian á partido, que de otro modo es imposible pueda conseguirse en mucho tiempo y con muy crecidos gastos.

La noticias de los progresos de las nuevas fundaciones animarian probablemente á muchas familias de los Distritos de Caracas, Cumaná y Barinas, á venir á establecerse en los terrenos del Presidio abajo, ó en los de la Capital, donde se aplicarian á la labor, ó cria de Ganado, á que generalmente propende la mayor parte de estas Gentes, á quienes del mismo modo que á los primeros fundadores se les repartirian solares y tierras, con lo que se aumentarían los vecindarios españoles, y á su vista y exemplo se civilizarían los Naturales, inclinando á estos á vivir en los Pueblos de aquellos y viceversa, sin que por parte de los Misioneros se pudiese impedir; particularmente en los que

least three years, so that by this means, besides finding themselves afterwards with a fair profit, there would be obtained by the increase in a short number of years the extension of the possessions, and a larger occupation of the territory.

This secured in the manner proposed from Carucina inland, and the last Spanish town founded in the locality designated, there would result a barrier of no little safety against the hostile incursions and prejudicial trade of the Dutch; the country would be rendered traversible by open roads for the mutual communication of the farmers with the breeders, and between the towns, and the explorations that it might be desired and convenient to make of the great savannahs to the south thereof would be rendered practicable, and in this same direction could be reached the localities of the establishment or independent Republic of the fugitive negroes from Essequibo and Surinam, and since the latter endeavor to maintain their liberty, it might be agreeable to them that we offer to preserve the same under certain conditions which might redound to the profit and greater increase of the population; but with the precautions and distrust which it is ever incumbent to exercise with such castes and kinds of people. And finally there would be obtained the subjugation of so many nations of Indians inhabiting that extensive center, who, seeing themselves shut in on all sides, would be willing to treat, which can not possibly be secured in any other way in a long time and with very great expense.

No. 70.

se fundasen de nuevo, por haber acreditado la experiencia, á lo menos en estas partes de America, que los Indio mientras los mantienen separados del trato comun y general, nunca se apartan enteramente de las ideas de sus antiguas supersticiones, antes bien permanecen, con muy corta diferencia tan rusticos y poco racionales como quando salieron de sus selvas, aun que no sin transcendencia y bastante astucia para lo malo.

The report of the progress of the new settlements would probably stimulate many families from the Districts of Caracas, Cumaná, and Barinas to come and establish themselves on the lands from the garrison down, or on those of the Capital, where they will apply themselves to agriculture or the breeding of cattle, to which the greater part of these people generally take, who, in the same manner as the first settlers, will have distributed among them building lots and lands, by which means the Spanish residents would be increased, and by their touch and example the natives would become civilized, and the latter would be led to live in the towns of the former, and *vice versa*, without the missionaries being able to prevent the same, particularly in those to be founded anew; as experience has shown, at least in these parts of America, that the Indians, while they are kept separate from the common and general contact, never entirely get away from the ideas of their ancient superstitions, but rather remain, with very little difference, as rude and little rational as when they emerged from their forests, although not without sagacity and considerable astuteness for evil.

COMERCIO POR META Y APURE.

Con dolor se ven malogradas las ventajas que brindan al Orinoco los Rios de Meta y Apure, por falta de ampliarles un xiro regular á sus habitantes con la capital de Guayana, xiro que en otros tiempos no muy remotos, mientras estuvo corriente, rindió el solo á las Cajas Reales mas

TRADE BY THE META AND THE APURE.

The advantages offered to the Orinoco by the Meta and Apure rivers are seen with regret to be frustrated, owing to the failure of affording regular communication to their inhabitants with the capital of Guiana—a communication which, at other times, not very remote,

No. 70.

que al presente todos los ramos juntos, y á la Poblacion muy considerable aumento, como lo patentifican la Villa de Caycara, y otras, que deben su tal qual incremento, á aquel corto tiempo de franquicia, y la Capital muchos de sus vecinos que vajaron de Barinas y otras partes á establecerse, y que cesando este Comercio, cesó su concurrencia, y aun se retiraron varios, perdidas las esperanzas del adelantamiento que solicitaban, y no obstante que por Real Cedula de creacion de la Comandancia de Barinas, se reune expresamente su comercio por Apure al de esta Provincia, hasta el presente, sin embargo de haber pasado algun tiempo, es poco lo que se ha adelantado del estado en que antes se hallaba; debe consistir esto sin duda en la falta de fondos de los Registros de Guayana, para los retornos, pues sin estos no pueden experimentar ventajas los habitantes de una ni otra Provincia, viendose por esta razon los de aquella en el sensible caso de malograrseles algunos frutos que pudieran aprovechar con utilidad, si el xiro de España á Guayana estuviese corriente.

Los mismos ó mayores perjuicios reporta el Comercio por el Rio de Meta, respecto á la distancia en que se hallan aquellos habitantes de los Presidio del Reyno de Santa Fee, y de su Capital, que por los costosos transportes por tierra, no se empuñan en adelantar sus Labores todo lo que pudieran; quando sin disputa la pinguedad de aquel suelo pudiera producir copiosas cosechas de Trigo, Añil, Algodon, Lanas, Cueros, Cordovanes, Azucar, &c., con que engrosar utilmente este comercio, y el directo

while it was in existence, alone rendered unto the Royal Treasury more than at the present time is rendered by all the branches together, and it gave to the population a very considerable increase, as is evidenced by the village of Caycara, and other villages, which owe their fairly good increment to that short time of privilege, and brought to the capital many of its residents, who came down from Barinas and other points to establish themselves, and when this trade ceased their presence ended, and several even left, having lost hope of the advance they desired, and notwithstanding that by the Royal Rescript creating the district of Barinas, its commerce by Apure is expressly joined to that of this province, up to the present, notwithstanding that some time has passed, it has advanced little beyond the state in which it formerly was. This without doubt must be due to the want of funds from the Registers of Guiana, for the returns; for without these, the inhabitants of both Provinces cannot secure advantages; for this reason those of the former Province find themselves in the painful case of losing some products that they might take advantage of with profit were the commerce between Spain and Guiana in operation.

The same or greater injuries are borne by the trade of the Meta river, owing to the distance that those inhabitants are from the garrison of the Kingdom of Santa Fé and of its capital, since, owing to the expensive transportation by land, they do not endeavor to advance their agriculture all that they might when,

No. 70.

á España por la via del Orinoco, los que por falta de este xiro estan sin mas salida que lo que emplean en sus fabricas de Mantas, Colchas, Lienzos de Algodon, y otros renglones ordinarios para el consumo interior; de que vajan de tarde en tarde porciones cortas, y alguna harina y azucar á esta Provincia, retornando su producido en dinero efectivo, por no permitirseles en otra cosa, con grave perjuicio de este Pays por la extraccion de su corto numerario, y de los propios Reynosos que se ven imposibilitados de proveerse de herramientas y demas utiles necesarios para la Agricultura, de que padecen mucha escasez, y en sus labores considerable atraso; y padeceran mientras no se establezca el comercio reciproco entre Orinoco y los partidos de Meta y Casanare, Macuco y Santiago de las Atalayas, y se proporcione á aquellos moradores la extraccion de sus frutos, y el retorno de lo que les produjeran en los efectos expresados, y demas renglones propios para el uso y consumo del Pays.

Incorporados estos partidos al Comercio de Guayana, no seria dificultoso, aun en el estado presente despachar á España dos ó tres Registros al año, con el Cacao, Cueros, Algodon, y otros frutos, que en aquellos territorios, y en los de esta Provincia pudieran recojerse. El xiro de Santa Fé por Cartagena podria padecer algun menoscabo, en la desmembracion de unos Distritos, que le contribuyen con su industria; pero concedida la importancia de la Provincia de Guayana, por su situacion, y demas circunstancias que la recomiendan, y

without dispute, the wealth of that soil could produce large crops of wheat, indigo, cotton, wool, hides, cordovan, sugar, etc., with which to profitably enlarge this trade and the direct commerce with Spain by way of the Orinoco, said inhabitants, owing to the want of this communication, being without any outlet other than that which they employ in their manufactures of cotton cloths, quilts, and other ordinary fabrics for domestic consumption, of which they bring down daily small quantities, and some flour and sugar, to this Province, taking back their proceeds in cash, as they are not permitted to convert it into anything else, to the serious detriment of this country through the extraction of its small money supply, and of the people of the Kingdom who find it impossible to provide themselves with tools, and other implements necessary for agriculture, which are very scarce amongst them; and this retards the cultivation of their fields. And they will suffer these deficiencies until there shall be established a reciprocal trade between the Orinoco and the districts of Meta and Casanare, Macuco and Santiago de las Atalayas, and until those inhabitants are permitted to export their products and take back the proceeds thereof in the articles mentioned and in other lines fitted for the use and consumption of the country.

These districts once incorporated with the trade at Guiana, it would not be difficult, even in the present state to dispatch to Spain two or three vessels a year with the cacao, hides, cotton, and other products

No. 70.

atendida su actual miserable constitucion, y la necesidad de fomentar—la; parece no hay consideracion á que no debe preponderar la de poner—la en el estado mas respetable de Defensa, que solo podrá conseguirse aumentando su Poblacion y Agricultura; extendiendo su Comercio, animando en sus habitantes la aplicacion é industria, mediante las gracias que se les quieran dispensar, y concediendo á los transmigrados y nuevos Colonos, ademas del repartimiento gratuito de solares y tierras de Labor y Criar Ganado, excepcion de derechos de entrada de esclavos, herramientas, y efectos precisos de Agricultura y del consumo de los trabajadores y Peones, por el termino de diez años, y para este fin la extraccion á las Colonias extrangeras, de Mulas, Ganado Bacuno, y primeros frutos de sus cosechas, por un tiempo señalado, y vajo una moderada unica contribucion, la que la Real piedad teuga á bien imponerles. Guayana diez de Julio de mil setecientos ochenta y ocho.

MIGUEL MARMIÓN.

which might be collected in those lands, and in the lands of this Province. The communication of Santa Fé by Cartagena might suffer some diminution, by the dismemberment of some Districts which contribute to it with their industry; but conceding the importance of the Province of Guayana, through its situation, and other conditions which recommend it, and bearing in mind its present miserable condition and the necessity to encourage it, it seems that there is no consideration over which there should not preponderate that of placing it in a most respectable condition for defence, which can only be secured by increasing its population and agriculture, extending its trade, stimulating in its inhabitants application and industry, through the privileges that it may be desired to dispense to them, and conceding to the emigrants and new colonists, besides the gratuitous distribution of building lots and arable lands and cattle, exemption from import duties on slaves, tools, and agricultural implements, and those necessary for the use of laborers and *peons* for the term of ten years, and to this end the exportation to foreign colonies of mules, cattle, and the first fruits of their farms for a stated time, and under a moderate single tax which the Royal mercy may be pleased to impose thereon.

Guayana, July tenth, of seventeen hundred and eighty-eight.

MIGUEL MARMIÓN.

NOTE OF THE ARCHIVIST [Translation]:

There is annexed a statement of the receipts from various taxes, coming into this Royal Treasury in a year, and of the pensions it has to pay out.

No 72.

Extract from the report of Miguel Marmion of July 10, 1788 (re-written by him in 1793)
—showing the foot note printed in the British Case, Appendix, vol. V, p. 67.

[Reproduced from a certified photograph of a page of the original document in the "Archivo General de Simancas," Secretaría de Guerra, Bundle 7241.]

por los diversos Castos q. se agitan al golfo bñte, con
lanchar, Goleas, y embucaciones menores; y fi-
nalmente la se pease, y contermina con dea
facilidad el tracto ilicito, e impedia la entrada de
las Vaca, alas Embucaciones extranjeras, por
chocar, que han sido introducidas, y aueris intus,
dices a haer a sus granjerias, apresar, de otros D,
y aueris intus, a la entrada de Hanos, y sonar el
frio, como lo era en practicando con la ultima
guerra, una Golea de la Embarcacion Inglesa, que
tomó las Colonias de Enquibo, Berber, y Guadalupe
hasta que siendo por los vecinos, salieron con sus
lanchar a maldar, ya en contra la, y se aueris intus
Enquibo, Berber, y Guadalupe 22 de Julio de 1788

Esta copiado con la exactitud que se ha podido librar por los vecinos
res, y papeles sueltos, que por casualidad quedaron con mi padre, y los
informes que remite, con primer lugar, y por el contrario de los N. Cap.
G. de la Audiencia D. Juan Guillelmi, e Intendant G. D. Juan de la Cruz,
y posteriormente a la via reservada con excepcion, con los G. de la Audiencia
con los Hanos, Estados, Naciones, y comprometer por duplicado, G.
re citam, y no acompanyan ahora por no haberse quedado copias. Ca-
raos 28 de Octubre de 1793,

Miguel Marmion

No. 73.

Extract from Letter from Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio, Prefect of the Missions, to Fray Joachin de Berga, Commissary-General, November 9, 1788.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

In a letter from "Caroni November 9th of 1788," from Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio Prefect" to the "Very Reverend Father Joachin de Berga Commissary General," the Missions of Murucuri, Caruaxi, Calvario and San Miguel" are mentioned, "we had exiled a number of Indian families and moved them to the site of Tumeremo for the care of the new cattle ranch. Our predecessors exiled many Indian families to make other new settlements as when the Mission of San Antonio was founded, on which occasion two hundred Guayano Indians were exiled (driven away) from the Mission of Cupapuy. Others in order to begin the Mission of Palmar; others for the Mission of Piedpa, etc. and no one had a word to say, not even the Governors."

No. 74.

Report of Don Miguel Marmion, Governor of Guayana, to Don Francisco Saavedra, Intendant-General of Caracas, January 4, 1788.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the archives in charge of the "Registrados Principal interino del Distrito Federal," at Caracas.]

The Governor, sub-delegate of Guayana, reports on having captured one of the Indian murderers of the Spaniard who was at the new settlement of Imataca, and other matters.

The Indians of the new settlement of Sacaupana as they promised, have brought to me as a prisoner one of the murderers of the Spaniard who governed over the Imatacans; although they say that the other Indian died of a snake bite, others state he was killed by arrows by one of the Chieftain's sons who heard him make several threats against his father. Notwithstanding this occurrence, they are quiet and continue in their settlement, their number increasing so largely that the Spaniard who assisted in Imataca by my orders, has come to me stating that he does not dare live with them, he having become afraid to find himself alone among over three thousand Indians, who have gathered together as I surmise according to reports. This determination grieves me mainly on account of the pity I feel in seeing the boys that used to come to the Capital who have advanced so much in such a short time in the doctrine which the Spaniard taught as is done in the towns. The worst of it is that no proposition can be made to them to accept a Missionary, they being so fearful of the Capuchin monks on account of the several incursions made

No. 74.

by the Indians of the towns and for other reasons which they allege in their rustic way. On this account I fear that should we force them now or while there are no means of insuring safety in those places, they may run away and then, if not altogether impossible to them, at least their reduction will be more difficult to accomplish, and their lack of confidence will increase, while their faith in our promises will be less.

The usefulness of the establishment of these people in their own place of habitation is already being practically shown by the aid which they are giving to the expedition now in search of wood for construction; and their progress, according to the beginnings which I now see, will, I believe, become of some importance to the service of the King, which I will, at the proper time, communicate to Your Lordship individually.

May God keep your life many years.

[Translation of a note by the archivist (among the copies certified by him) in charge of the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Cupuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome: A letter from Fray Augustin de Barcelona is dated: " In this Sta. Maria del Yucuario on the 29th of January of 1788."

In another before this, from the same, 15 November, 1788, it says: " In the answer to Your Reverence made to Father Domingo, when this latter, through my advice, wrote Your Reverence from Ayma or Avechica——"

Another letter addressed to the Father Perfect is dated: " Caruachi, November 25th of 1788—Fray Buenaventura of San Colonio."]

No. 75.

Extract from the Index to the Official Correspondence of the Governor of Guayana, Don Miguel Marmion, dated Guayana, June 9, 1790.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo General de Yndias " (Seville), Stand 181, Case 2, Bundle 17.]

" 22.—Another: Accompanying a copy of the inspection of lands made at Cuyuni for the construction of a sentry-box or house surrounded with a moat, for the purpose of impeding the passage of the Indians and Hollanders over that river and reporting the death occurred at the port of Guasipati. Guayana, June 9, 1790.—Miguel Marmion."

No. 76.

Letter from Antonio de Ventura de Carauco to the Provincial of the Catalan Capuchins, dated Madrid, June 4, 1791.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the " Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña," at Rome.]

In regard to the statement of Don Miguel Marmion, Governor of the Province of Guayana, in a letter of Oct. 3rd, 1787, with reference to the

No. 76.

coming of Fray Justo de Barcelona to these Kingdoms—the Governor himself has informed, with documents, in a letter of September 22nd 1789,—that the Prelate with various individuals countenanced the proceedings opposed to the Royal Service of founding settlements and Ranches (Hatos) of full grown cattle in places exposed to furtive stealing by the Dutch of Esse-qui-bo, especially the new one of Tumeremo without previous knowledge of the Governor; of transferring to other places those already founded and causing the Indians to remove from these to those against their will—and two other letters from the same Governor of March 8th and of June 4th of the past year, in which he gave information that—the town of Panapana being left without a Missionary due to the permission to retire given by His Majesty to Fray Josef Antonio de Xerez, it seemed proper to him, to appoint the aforementioned Fray Thomas de Olot for this position—the Judge (Señor Fiscal) has agreed to charge Your Reverence (as I do) to give information of all that you know in regard to these matters referred to, and to present any document that Your Reverence may have received from those Missions relative to those particulars mentioned by said Governor, declaring everything else that you wish, to the end that with all due knowledge the most suitable course may be determined upon. God preserve Your Reverence many years.

No. 77.

Letter from Fray Luis de Barcelona, Provincial of the Catalanian Capuchins, to Antonio Ventura de Carauco, dated Barcelona, July 3, 1791.

[Printed from translation of a copy of the original in the "Archivo de la Antigua Provincia de Capuchinos de Cataluña" at Rome.]

SIR: In compliance with yours of the 4th of last June which I have received in which you commission (or charge) me to state all that I know in regard to the coming of Fray Justo de Barcelona to these kingdoms I will say: That so many, so varied are the papers and letters which have been addressed to my predecessors that I am unable to give a clear report, even after arranging them, from the confusion in which they have been written, and from having no practical knowledge of those very distant lands. Notwithstanding, in order to obey the precepts of Your Excellency whom I venerate I will declare with all possible exactness all that I have been able to comprehend in the matter. Another complaint has been made owing to the moving of some Indians. This has been deemed always necessary with regard to the welfare of the Missions since the Indians who are already reduced and obedient, are more able to reduce the other Indians to obedience, and check their frequent flights, or serve to similar ends. This point is expressed in Declaration 25 of the Ordinances approved by His Majesty. The moving of two Indian settlements, which was done on account of their being situated in useless places, is another of the com-

No. 77.

plaints brought forward. This change, according to the information given me, was made by previous and express permission of the Superior Tribunal and with approval of the Governor of the Province. The Justifying Instruments are in the Archives of the Religious Community. Another similar complaint, if not greater than the foregoing, is the establishing of a new ranch (Hato) of horned cattle in Tumeremo: this establishment, according to these few discontented missionaries, did not meet with the approval of the Governor when he was made aware of it. The ranch (Hato) was located in the site and Mission of the Angel Custodio, and was left as insufficient and useless for the purpose intended; an opinion formed not only by the most intelligent religious Fathers but also by the most experienced laymen. It is true that they judged it as being suitable for a simple town; this opinion and censure is signed by oath or sworn to, as having been passed without passion. It is well to call attention to the fact here that the Mission of Angel Custodio is only 4 leagues from that of Tumeremo: this latter faces the north, the former the south. The adverse party says that Tumeremo being near the Cuyúni river is more exposed to smuggling with the Dutch Colonies of Essequibo; they should say the same of Angel Custodio, which is at the same distance from the river. But in one, as well as in the other place, the motive of smuggling is merely in appearance. It is added that the effort to found the ranch at Tumeremo was made not only because the other was in a very poor condition and backward for lack of pasturage, but also in order to facilitate the foundation of new settlements for which the cattle are necessary.

This step, during the time of Señor Lunares, Governor *pro. tem.* of this Province, was suggested to them by Royal Decree published at the Capital; so that in those years, some heads of cattle were sent to the savanas of Cura for the settling of a ranch (Hato) in the care of Guayano Indians, (the only ones to take care of ranches) who were taken away from the Mission of the old Hato—called Divina Pastora. Hence to the same end and same purpose the number of Indians considered necessary was taken from the three Missions Altagracia, Cupapuy and Angel Custodio, by reason of which the malcontents gave information that the superior authority expatriated the Indians: but it is plain to be seen how different one thing is from the other. This is all that I can say in obedience to the Precepts of Your Excellency. May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

No. 78.

Letter from the Captain General of Caracas to the Count de Lerena, dated August 3, 1791, mentioning incidentally the construction of the fort on the Curumo.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas."]

Confidential No. 3.

THE CAPTAIN GENERAL OF CARACAS YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Reports the results of the commission entrusted to Don Ignacio Zavala Goyena to find out whether two nephews of the rebel Tupa-Amaro are among the fugitives of Surinam, and explains what he proposes doing in prosecuting the matter.

who, though he did not ascertain all that was desired, has secured important information leading to the object in view, and which agrees with that furnished me by Captain Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, commissioned by me for the construction of the blockhouse of Curumo, and of the town to be built there, who is also a person worthy of confidence, who has had considerable dealings with the Caribs and other neighboring nations of the interior, understands their languages, and knows their proclivities, as shown by his report to me while in the city, copy whereof I enclose under No. 2.

I dare not act upon the suggestions of Zavala Goyena as to the capture or seizure of the fugitive negroes at the fishery of the Cupanama river, but am disposed to carry out his other propositions, he to be accompanied by the aforesaid Lopez de la Puente, whom I shall summon and instruct upon everything concerning thereto.

This expedition cannot be undertaken until the latter part of November, on account of the storms.

For your Excellency's guidance I beg to observe that the Prefect of the Catalonian Capuchin missionaries of Guayana has, no doubt, greater influence than anyone else over the Indians on the shores of the Orinoco, and perhaps through them the desired information could be obtained as to the whereabouts of the nephews of Tupa-Amaro, and, at least, it could be learned if the Dutch of Essequibo and Demerari sustain suspicious intercourse with the Indians of the margins of the Orinoco, and whether they supply them with arms and ammunition.

In this supposition I had intended to come to an understanding with the Prefect himself, but I shall await the instructions which it may be your Excellency's pleasure to communicate to me.

God, &c., Aug. 3, 1791.

To His Excellency COUNT DE LERENA.

No. 79.**Statement of three accounts relating to Spanish expenditures in Cuyuni and Essequibo, 1792.**

[Printed from translation of certified copies of the originals in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas"; ledger of the Royal Treasury of Guiana, pp. 60 *et alia*.]

In the Ledger of the Royal Treasury of Guayana, in charge of the only Minister of the Royal Exchequer, Don Josef Farrius, Accountant.—For the account of the year 1792. The Index has the following entries: "Royal Assets of the Cuyuni 60," and upon that page the following:

A.

Dr.—Royal Assets of the Cuyuni.

Cr.—Stock balance old *q/c*, Day-Book, folio 8, the following, viz.:

[1792.]		Pesos.	Reals.		Pesos.	Reals.
Dec. 31.	To General Account for balance..	93	6	2 chisels.....	2	"
	Day-Book, fo. 160.			7 planes.....	1	2
				4 hand-saws.....	1	4
				4 cast nets.....	7	"
				2 guavales (?).....	6	"
				4 crooks.....	1	"
				7 lever drills.....	1	"
				3 grinding stones.....	"	6
				140 fish-hooks.....	13	2
				17 axes.....	21	2
				11 cutlasses.....	11	"
				73 spikes.....	1	4
				2 obicoras (?).....	3	"
				4 adzes.....	12	"
				5 drills.....	2	1
				4 iron hoops.....	2	"
				1 arroba ammunition.....	6	"
				132 flint stones.....	1	1
		93	6		93	6

B.

Dr., Ordinary expenses of Fortification.

Cr.

[1792.]		Pesos.	Reals.	[1792.]		Pesos.	Reals.
Jan'y 31.	To Cash: paid laborer.....	7	4	Dec. 31.	By Royal Treasury conjointly		
	Day-Book, fo. 15, back.				for balance.		
Febr'y 16.	To Supplies from Cash Book				Day-Book, fos. 159 & 160...	217	1
	to reimburse subministra-						
	tions made to the negroes of						
	Essequibo.						
	Day-Book, fo. 26, back....	202	4				
		210	"				
Oct. 18.	To Cash: paid Ribero.						
	Day-Book, fo. 117, back...	7	1				
		217	1			217	1

(Signed) JOSEF FARRIUS.

Audited by me,

(Signed) PEDRO GORROCHOTEGUI.

No. 79.**C.***Dr.* The Cuyuni settlement.*Cr.*

[1792.]		Pesos.	Reals.	[1792.]		Pesos.	Reals.
Febr'y 15.	To Cash: paid Basanta.			Dec. 31.	By royal Treasury conjointly		
	Day-Book, fo. 25 back.....	104	2		for Balance.		
April 23.	To Cash: paid Basanta.				Day-Book, fo. 159, over...	501	5
	Day Book, fo. 55.....	76	3				
		180	5				
Aug. 27.	To Cash: paid Basanta.						
	Day-Book, fo. 99, over.....	71	5				
		252	2				
Oct. 23	To Cash: paid Basanta.						
	Day-Book, fo. 119, over.....	181	2				
		433	4				
Dec. 1.	To Cash: paid Basanta.						
	Day-Book, fcs. 148 & 149....	68	1				
		501	5			501	5

(Signed) JOSEF FARRIUS.

Audited by me,

(Signed) PEDRO GORROCHOTEGUI.

No. 80.

Extract from letter from the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague to the Duque de la Alcudia, dated The Hague, June 10, 1794, forwarding account of Governor of Surinam for the maintenance of certain Spanish prisoners escaped from the French.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Archivo General de Indias" (Seville), Stand 181, Case 2, Bundle 17.]

"Year 1794. The Hague. June 10. Monsieur de Six, Secretary of the Dutch West India Company, sent me day before yesterday an authorized statement wherein mention is made of the good reception accorded by the Governor-General of Surinam to the captain, mate and crew of the Spanish merchantman 'Nuestra Señora de la Concepción,' from Cartagena, captured by the French, and who succeeded in escaping and putting into Surinam, and were caused to be landed upon Spanish territory. He at the same time forwards the account for said transportation and maintenance of the ten men at Surinam, which together amount to 957 florins, 14 sous, the reimbursement of which is requested by the company owning said colony. July 4. Let *monino* (?) be notified and reply, giving thanks.

Done as per minutes, on July 9th, to the Navy and on the 28th to the Treasury.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: I received day before yesterday a letter from Monsieur de Six, Secretary of the Dutch West India Company, enclosing a diary of what occurred to Captain José Sariol, his mate, Manuel Col, and eight sailors of the crew of the Spanish merchantman 'Nuestra Señora de la Concepción,' which, sailing from Cartagena on January 12, 1793, for said Indies, was captured on May 23d, one hundred miles east of Cape St. Vincent, by the French corvette 'La Blonde' and taken to

No. 80.

Cayenne on April 13, where, after a detention of three months they succeeded in effecting their escape on a pirogue with which they put into Surinam on July 14; that the Governor-General of said colony having treated them with the greatest humanity and generosity until the 24th of said month, he had ordered them to be shipped that day on board the Spanish ship 'Gloria,' J. Schaepfler, master, who returning from Demerari on the 23d of August, had brought the certificate showing that he had conveyed and landed said captain, mate and sailors at Port Maroco, west of the Essequibo river."

* * * * *

No. 81.**Statement of account of the Military Commandant of the Cuyuni, 1799.**

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas,"]

In the "Cash Book of the Royal Treasury of Guayana in charge of the only Minister of the Royal Exchequer, Don Josef Reguero. For the account of the year 1799. In the "Index" there is the entry: "Royal Assets of the Cuyuni.....84," and upon that page the following:

THE MILITARY COMMANDANT OF THE CUYUNI.*Dr.**Cr.*

[1799.]		Pesos.	Reals.	[1799.]		Pesos.	Reals.
Jan. 18.	To the account of arrears for Royal Effects or Assets.			Dec. 31.	By Arrears a/c for Balance		
	Day-Book, fo. 18 over, viz.:				Day-Book, fos. 866 & 87.....	87	2
	6 cutlasses.....	6	"				
	61 fish-hooks.....	5	4				
	1 guaiac (?).....	3	"				
	2 drills.....	"	6				
	1 crook.....	"	2				
	10 axes.....	12	4				
	3 lbs. ammunition.....	"	6				
	83 flint-stones.....	"	6				
	2 chisels.....	2	"				
	1 plane.....	1	2				
	1 hand-saw.....	1	4				
	1 fish-net.....	7	"				
	1 lever drill.....	1	"				
	2 chicoras (?).....	3	"				
	4 adzes.....	12	"				
		87	2			87	2

(Signed) JOSEF REGUERO.

Audited by me.
(Signed) PEDRO GORROCHOTEGUI.

No. 82.**Statement of certain Military accounts relating *inter alia* to the Cuyuni, 1799.**

[Printed from translations of certified copies of extracts from the originals in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas."]

In the "Second Day-Book of the Royal Treasury of Guiana, in charge of the only Minister of the Royal Exchequer, Don Josef Reguero:

Which is legalized to continue therein the entries of the first, whose pages have all been written up. It contains one hundred and ninety-eight, not including the present. Counted by order and in the presence of Senor Don José Felipe de Inciarte, Governor and Commandant-General and Intendant of the Treasury of this Province, and of aforesaid Señor Minister, by me, Don Juan Alvarez Rodil. Done in Guiana, this seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

(Signed) JOSÉ FELIPE DE INCIARTE.
(Rubric)

JOSÉ REGUERO,
(Rubric)
Minister of the Royal Exchequer.

Before me,
DON JUAN ALBAREZ RODIL.
(Rubric)

[At folio 9, back, the following entry is found.]

October 11.

M. 97 Debit in extraordinary charges of fortifications and other
C. 15 military expenses, and credit to the Treasury *forty tin* (sic)
entered eighty-two pesos, four reals, paid to Carlos Acosta
for the same amount due in August and September last, to the Indians, at
the rate of two reals each *per diem*, who are assigned as messengers at the
Post of Pogayos. It consists of two statements drawn by the Sergeant of
Infantry Marcos Acosta, which with the decree of this Intendancy ordering
said payment, is attached hereunto under No. 499..... 82. 4.

(Signed) CARLOS ACOSTA.
(Rubric)

No. 82.

[Folios 86, back, and 87.]

Dec. 31.

C...21. Debit in arrears and credit for balance of sundry accounts to be specified, nine thousand one hundred and ninety *pesos* three-quarter *real*, which in different kinds are held in stock by persons in charge of the Royal Assets of the Cuyuni, medicines, hospital implements, Commissary of subsistence, Papal bulls, stamped paper and excise of lands of Altagracia, whereof the administrator has not produced the account, and the following:

C... 56. To the Sergeant of Altagracia whatever may be the proceeds from the excise of lands in his district.		
84. To the Military Commandant of the Cuyuni, value of Royal Assets	57.	2.
87. To the receiver of Bulls in this Capital	228.	"
88. To same at Upata	68.	"
89. To do. at Borbon	15.	4.
90. To do. at Real Corona	32.	"
91. To do. at Piedra	15.	4.
92. To do. at Altagracia	27.	4.
93. To do. at Cay-Cara	46.	"
94. To the Parish Priest at Panapana for bulls	19.	4.
95. To the Treasury of Cumaná	5497.	4.
96. To do. of Trinidad	469.	2.
112. To do. of Barceloneta	39.	6.
99. To receiver of stamped paper at Upata	23.	"
100. To do. of Real Corona	25.	5.
101. To do. of Piedra	34.	1.
102. To do. of Altagracia	24.	5.
103. To do. of Cay-cara	60.	3.
104. To do. of Borbon	7.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
111. To do. of Barceloneta	14.	$\frac{1}{2}$
116. To the Clerk of the Royal Hospital for the Army ...	1158.	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
110. To the practising Apothecary	928.	6.
114. To the Commissary of Subsistence	400.	"
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9190.	" $\frac{1}{2}$

Entered

(Signed) REGUERO.

Audited by me,

2.

(Signed) GORROCHOTEGUI.

No. 83.**Commandant of Sacaupana to Governor of Guiana as to seizure in 1800 of American frigate *Defiance* by the Spanish in the lower Orinoco.**

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas." In the file bearing the endorsement Sept. 11, 1800, Guayana.]

Certificate of the proceedings relating to the arrival at this port from the port of New York, in the United States, of the American Frigate *Defiance*, "whereof Edward Jeffrey is Master, and Pliny Brewer, owner and supercargo, with a cargo consisting of 18 cannons and other munitions of war, as per contract, and provisions and other merchandise according to invoices."

At folio 4 the following document occurs:

OFFICAL COMMUNICATION OF THE COMMANDANT OF SACAUPANA.

[SACAUPANA, September 4, 1800.]

"Señor Governor and Commandant-General:

My most revered Sir:

I hereby inform your Excellency that on the first day of the present month, the soldier of the Post of Pagayos, Miguel Tarnos, come here relieved from duty, with the three other soldiers who were with him in said Post, and on the fourth day of the same month, at ten o'clock in the morning, said Miguel Tarnos, accompanied by the other soldiers of his Post, appeared before me and stated that on the seventeenth of last month, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, the mate of the Frigate taken by the corsairs came up in a boat to the Post of Pagayos in quest of a pilot to steer his vessel into the Orinoco, and declaring that he had ordnance on board and a letter for the Governor, at the same time announcing that he was in danger. Whereupon said soldier, in view of the urgency of the case, and considering that there was nobody in the place that could be entrusted with such a commission, decided to leave a soldier in whom he had confidence in charge of the Post with another companion, and went out for the purpose of bringing the Frigate up to the Post. Leaving at four o'clock in the evening, he reached the vessel the following day at seven in the morning. While getting ready to weigh anchor at eight o'clock, they sighted a corsair, which, coming up, fired two shots at them. Said soldier immediately hailed them with the speaking trumpet and informed them that there was already a Spanish pilot on board. They were not deterred by this, but at once boarded the vessel, causing no little alarm; and taking charge of the helm, they proceeded to steer her into the river. I asked him why he had not immediately returned to his Post. He replied that he had no boat, as they had come for him in one belonging to the ship. I then asked him why he had not reported to me her cargo. His reply was that he had not examined the vessel, and that the corsairs had dispatched a courier to the Capital. To my question why he had not men-

No. 83.

tioned the matter at the time of his arrival, he replied that it was because he had thought there was nothing wrong about the Frigate. Being asked why he had failed to report yesterday, when Don Manuel Féran arrived, instead of waiting until the next day to do so, he said that he was afraid then, but now he came with the soldiers of his Post to tell me about it, because he had heard that the vessel was a good prize; that as some other party might have profited by it, it seemed to him better that the King should enjoy the advantage; and that the shares that might have gone to the corsairs could fall to the Detachment, as also any other favor that the mercy of our Sovereign might vouchsafe to grant; and that if your Excellency doubted his word, the facts could be ascertained through the English captains themselves; for the vessel was about to enter as far up as the Post of Pagayos when the guard would have been placed aboard. From all this it seemed as if the corsairs did not wish this soldier to tell me anything, and I am inclined to think such was the case, in view of the offers made by them to said Miguel Tarnos. Having thus obtained this information, I hasten to send a courier to the Fortresses of Guiana, so that without loss of time it may reach your Excellency, who will decide in the matter as he may deem advisable. God our Lord preserve your Excellency many years.

Sacaupana, September fourth, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the year one thousand eight hundred. Your Excellency's subject and servant who kisses your Excellency's hand.

MANUEL JOSEF QUIROGA."

No. 84.

Four extracts (marked A, B, C and D), from proceedings had in 1801, as to complaint made to Spanish officials by Canacunama, an Arawak Indian.

[Printed from translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas."]

A.

In the proceedings instituted in consequence of the complaint of the Indian Canacunama, belonging to the Aruaca nation, against some soldiers of the detachment of the advance guard at Sacaupana, about sundry robberies and acts of violence committed against him, his companions and Indians who were with him, "*File No. 188, No. 1,*" there appears the following:

[Page 33.]

YAMA, January 13th, 1797.

"I, Father Felix de Tarraga, Apostolic Missionary, having repaired with the proper permits to the Amacuru river and by it to the channel of the Yama river and met some families of Indians belonging to the Aruaca nation who have pledged their word to come and settle at the town of San

No. 84.

Miguel, they being unable to come with me owing to the lack of ready provisions and failure to speak with their Chief, whose name is Jorse;

I, therefore, entreat the authorities at the places through which they may pass, not to impede their progress, not allow them to be despoiled of any of the effects they may bring with them for their personal use and for their labors, wherewith service will be rendered to both their Majesties.

Dated *ut supra*.

(Signed)

FELIX DE TARRAGA.

B.

In the proceedings instituted in consequence of the complaint of the Indian Canacunama, belonging to the Aruaca nation, against some soldiers of the station of the advance guard at Sacaupana, regarding sundry robberies and outrages which he declares were committed against him, his companions, and Indians who were with him, *File No. 188, No. 1*, there appears the following:

[*Pages 28, 29 and 30.*]

To the Governor and Commandant-General:

I transmit to your Excellency the accompanying justification, executed by Lieutenant Don Juan Damaso Soler, in behalf of the Indian Canacunama, and in view thereof your Excellency will determine what he may deem best. Meantime, both soldiers of the Veteran Corps are detained as prisoners in their barracks.

God preserve your Excellency many years.

Fortresses of Guiana, April 11th, 1801.

(Signed)

MANUEL ASTOR.

Señor DN. JOSÉ FELIPE INCIARTE.

This document contains the following endorsement:

GUAYANA, April 16th, 1801.

Let this communication be attached to the justification mentioned therein, and the whole matter referred to the Military Judge (Auditor de Guerra) in order that he may decide according to justice.

(Signed)

INCIARTE.

C.

[May 16, 1801.]

SEÑOR GOVERNOR AND COMMANDANT-GENERAL.

I have examined this justification, instituted by order of your Excellency, in consequence of the verbal complaint which, through the medium of an interpreter, was brought before you by the Aruaca Indian called Canacunama, regarding the conduct of the three soldiers of the Post of Sacaupana, who, while in a village of Guarano Indians, at the Araguas channel, robbed him and his companions and women, of two pirogues and two canoes, together with the movables, effects, and other property they

No. 84.

had in them, as specified in the order mentioned above. As regards the outrage committed by said three soldiers (who turned out to be only Miguel Tarnos and Marcos Morillo) upon two squaws, whom they violently seized during the night and forced in the presence of their husbands; one of said women being seriously injured thereby, as she was quite young, and, though married, her husband had not yet cohabited with her, it appears that said soldiers were not guilty of the atrocious act, according to the testimony of the four Guarano Indians, named Anaguey, Maroaima, Arana-gua, and Coratagua, as recorded at folios twenty-five to twenty-seven, these Indians having gone as rowers with said soldiers; in proof whereof the Indian Canacunama referred in his complaint to the Guaranno called Baguay (who is understood to be Anaguey), and to his son. Therefore, considering the difficulties presented by the justification itself for the procurement of more specific evidence of the facts in the case,—which under the circumstances would be necessary to convict said soldiers,—I am of opinion that this part of the complaint brought before your Excellency by the Aruaca Indian Canacunama, should be dismissed. But as to the theft of the two pirogues, two canoes, movables, effects, and other property specified in aforesaid complaint, inasmuch as said soldiers and the sergeant Manuel Quiroga, who at the time was Commandant of the post, stand confessed as to the share that fell to each in their distribution, though not wholly in accord with the representations made in his complaint by the Indian Canacunama, I am of opinion that you order the restitution to said Indian by Sergeant Quiroga, of the pirogue, which, according to his testimony, must still be in his possession, and that he pay into his hands twenty *pesos* for the value of the other pirogue and canoe, which as therein stated, were appropriated by him for the service of the King at the Post of Sacaupana. That privates Antonio Velazquez, Marcus Morillo and Miguel Tarnos return to said Indian the other movables, effects and goods which, as they severally confess, fell to their share in the distribution thereof; and in case the restitution of the same objects could not be made, owing to their disappearance, let them be ordered to pay him, conjointly with Sergeant Quiroga, the value of said objects, according to adjustment made by two intelligent and impartial experts. And as regards the fowling-piece or gun, only the estimated value thereof be paid him, inasmuch as it is not advisable to allow Indians to carry such weapons. And, finally, that your Excellency order said soldiers to be set at liberty, and that they, as well as Sergeant Manuel Quiroga, be made to understand the serious irregularity of their conduct in the matter, having acted beyond their powers, especially when under the circumstances they should have awaited your Excellency's decision, in response to the report that should have been forwarded to your Excellency by said Sergeant, as Commandant of that Post; and that they be admonished to abstain in future from such arbitrary proceedings, as otherwise they shall be punished with all the rigor demanded by the circumstances and nature of the case. And that upon compliance with

No. 84.

the foregoing recommendations, record thereof be made in these proceedings, and the case again referred to your Excellency, who, however, shall determine according to his best judgment. Guayana, May sixteenth, of the year one thousand eight hundred and one.

(Signed) PHELIPE SANCHEZ.

D.

GUAYANA, May 16th, 1801.

The foregoing opinion is approved by me; and to the end that each and every one of the recommendations made therein be fully carried out, let this record of the proceedings (protocol) be returned to the Commandant of the Fortresses of Antigua Guiana, who, upon the execution thereof with all the legal formalities, shall forward same to this Government.

(Signed) INCIARTE.

No. 85.

Letter from Don José Felipe de Inciarte, Governor of Guiana, to Don Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos, dated February 10, 1802, regarding the proceedings had upon the complaint of the Arawaka Indian Canacunama.

[Printed from a translation of a certified copy of the original in the "Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas."]

The GOVERNOR OF GUAYANA.

Complying with the Decree of Sept. 30, last, in which he was ordered to report in the matter of the complaint brought against him by the unattached Lieutenant of Veteran Infantry, Don Juan Dámaso Soler, to which is added in 54 valid folios record of the proceedings referred to therein, instituted at the instance of the Aruaca Indian Canacunama.

Caracas, March 11, 1802.

With the accompanying record of proceedings, let it be referred to the *Auditor*.

(Signed) GUEVARA.

Señor CAPTAIN-GENERAL.

In compliance with the order contained in your Excellency's Decree, in reference to the memorial which on the 19th of September last was addressed to him by the unattached Lieutenant of Veteran Infantry, Don Juan Dámaso Soler, complaining of the affront which he imagines was offered him by my official communication of 12th of same month, wherein, by reason of his having without authority abstracted from an

Indian of the Aruaca nation, called Canacunama, a paper that had been given the latter by the Rev. Father Fray Felix de Tarraga, in the Yama channel, where he had found him, by way of license or permit, that he might go with his family to settle in the town of San Miguel, I qualified his conduct as one devoid of rational principle, and so singular that there was no foundation upon which it could be based; for, aside from the bene-

No. 85.

fit redounding to the heathen Indians themselves out of their intercourse with the Spaniards throughout the Province, of which I was not obliged to remind him, since this was no concern of his, he had arrogated to himself functions that were purely of a gubernative character, from the exercise of which he should abstain in future, and thus endeavor not to meddle in affairs that were outside his province, nor afford occasion to be censured for such proceedings, contenting himself with representing no more authority than corresponded to his station. Upon this communication, and especially upon the expression which he quotes: *that his conduct was devoid of all rational principle*, he has based his complaint, garnishing it with matters wholly opposed to the truth in reference to the proceedings instituted upon complaint of aforesaid Indian Canacunama, in support of the justice of what he has set forth against me, in consequence of said communication, without taking into account—either himself or the person directing him—that the underlined clauses, taken in their clear and genuine sense, and as applied in the present instance, do not admit of any interpretation of an offensive character, unless prejudice or hastiness should consider adequate the one imagined by Soler; for, who does not know that to conduct oneself without rational principle in any determination is nothing else than to act without authority or a just motive in the matter, and that inasmuch as Lieutenant Soler had neither, at the fortresses of Antigua Guayana, where he executed the act, it is evident that he had no rational principle on which to base his singular determination?

This is indeed so obvious, that addressing Your Excellency, I might omit further digression, because I am so firmly convinced that the whole of my official communication of September 12, quoted above, and especially the aforesaid underlined clauses, signify nothing else than what I have already explained, for we repeatedly see them used by classical authors, and generally applied in the same sense; and even were this not so, they are frequently met with in the Royal Ordinance relating to marriages of the year seventy-six, and subsequent royal declarations which speak of the rationality or irrationality of the dissents wherewith the marriages of persons of the most exalted hierarchy are very often opposed by their parents, grandparents, guardians and others who are called upon to give assent, against other persons no less qualified, in which cases the current provision for the Courts of the Kingdom is conceived in the most concise expressions, for example: “Examined: the dissent is declared rational (or irrational) and let the corresponding certificate be given forthwith.” So then if these words were to be understood as interpreted by Lieutenant Soler, there would be no Court that was not empowered by His Majesty (whom God preserve) to inflict upon the most illustrious family the affront that is supposed to be involved when designated as irrational, simply because they have failed to prove their case. And as such an inference could not be made by the least enlightened intelligence, it is evident that by my

No. 85.

using said expressions no affront has been offered Lieutenant Soler; having only, as his superior, called his attention to the fault he had committed, so that in future he might abstain from repeating it, this alone being the spirit of my aforesaid official communication of which he complains.

But as he bases his complaint upon the merits of the aforesaid proceedings, which he prayed your Excellency to ask of me, said proceedings being already terminated as regards the soldiers, notwithstanding the flaws noted therein for their determination, *owing to the difficulties presented by the justification in the matter of more specific proofs of the act, which, from the nature of the case, were indispensable for the conviction of said soldiers* against whom the proceedings had been instituted, I placed with record of them the memorial of Lieutenant Soler and the official letter of Your Excellency with which you were pleased to address it to me, that I might inform you of all, and for the greater justification of everything that had occurred thereanent. In consequence thereof, I began to note, among many others, some flaws, of which I took account in a decree placed at foot, passing in silence others, so as not to give to the subject a character other than the one which, from its nature, rightfully belonged to it, and terminated by ordering the whole subject to be referred to my Counsellor, that he might decide whether said flaws really existed, and if he had embodied them in the last underlined expressions which he had made use of in the opinion rendered by him in support of said finding. He having examined them with the attentive consideration and wisdom which is his wont, the text of his reply relieves me from repeating to your Excellency the manner and terms wherewith he has elucidated the subject, and I enclose it herewith in confirmation of all the original proceedings, comprising 54 valid folios.

I therefore hope that in view of the above mentioned complaint of the aforesaid Lieutenant Don Juan Dámaso Soler, and the motives upon which it is based, as also the considerations resulting from the proceedings referred to therein, your Excellency will be pleased to provide the needful to restrain him within the bounds of his duty, so that in future he may abstain from repeating same, thereby detracting not only from the frankness wherewith an officer of honor should conduct himself in all his dealings, but also from the subordination and respect due me as his superior, in order that he may set an example to the individuals of his class, as I expect from your Excellency's well-known love of justice.

God preserve your Excellency many years. Guayana, February 10, 1802.

(Signed) JOSÉ FELIPE INCIARTE.

Señor DON MANUEL DE GUEVARA VASCONZELOS.

No. 86.**Table of the Missions of Guiana in the year 1816.**

[Translated from Blanco (José Felix) Documentos para la Historia de la Vida Pública del Libertador, etc., 4° Caracas, 1876, vol. 5, pp. 557-558.]

Names.	Date of foundation.	Indian Tribes.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Now living.
La Purísima Concepción de Caroni.....	1724	Guayanos and Pariagutos...	1,896	728	1,866	946
Santa María de Tacuaro.....	1730	Guayanos and Panosayos.....	1,926	722	1,251	961
San José de Cupapuy.....	1733	Guayanos.....	1,626	872	1,790	1,166
San Francisco de Altigracia.....	1734	Guayanos.....	3,637	868	1,969	764
San Miguel del Palmar.....	1734	Guayanos and Caribs.....	2,681	486	1,776	1,015
La Divina Pastora del Yarnario.....	1737	Guayanos.....	1,856	304	866	633
Nuestra Señora de Monserrate del Maimo.....	1748	Caribs.....	2,640	361	1,470	1,041
San Fidel del Carapo.....	1752	Caribs.....	2,461	404	651	1,009
Santa Eulalia de Murneuri.....	1764	Caribs and Guaraninos.....	1,767	240	826	789
San José de Leonisa de Ayma.....	1766	Guaycas.....	2,547	277	1,467	710
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Guacipati.....	1767	Caribs.....	2,088	240	1,064	964
Santa Ana de Puga.....	1760	Arawaks, Caribs, and Guaraninos.....	1,961	226	1,862	878
Santa Cruz del Calvario.....	1761	Guaraninos and Salibas.....	2,041	169	1,129	517
San Ramon de Carnachi.....	1763	Caribs.....	1,083	163	431	684
San Antonio de Huicatonono.....	1768	Guayanos.....	1,691	468	868	965
La Conversion de San Pablo del Oumamo.....	1767	Caribs.....	1,629	29	866	364
Nuestra Señora de Dolores de Piedra.....	1769	Guayanos and Guaycas.....	1,088	106	541	412
San Félix de Tupuquen.....	1770	Caribs.....	1,682	46	892	736
San Pedro de las Bocas.....	1770	Guaycas.....	1,807	168	1,114	636
San Buenaventura de Guri.....	1771	Guaycas and Caribs.....	1,744	74	771	768
San Miguel de Unata.....	1779	Arawaks and Guaycas.....	1,260	230	749	761
Santa Clara de Yavaragana.....	1779	Guaycas.....	420	26	392	362
San Serafin de Arabatayma.....	1779	Guaycas.....	788	67	521	347
Santa Rosa de Lima de Ours.....	1782	Guaycas.....	969	22	639	551
Santa Magdalena de Currucay.....	1783	Arinagotos.....	461	66	200	265
San Juan Bautista de Avechica.....	1783	Guaycas and Arinagotos.....	1,498	39	476	732
Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo.....	1788	Guayanos.....	306	160	406	662
Villa de San Antonio de Upata.....	1782	Spaniards.....	2,110	390	706	1,596
Id. de San Isidro de la Barceloneta.....	1770	Spaniards.....	1,664	296	521	494
			48,206	8,266	26,293	21,246

No. 87.

Act of the Congress of Venezuela, approved May 11, 1842, providing *inter alia* for a lighthouse at the entrance of the Orinoco River.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," pp. 241-242.]

Legislative Decree establishing Lighthouses on several Parts of the Coast.

(Translation.)

The Senate and Chamber of Representatives of the Republic of Venezuela assembled in Congress. Having taken into consideration the representation of the Municipal Council of Puerto Cabello respecting the establishment in aid of the navigation of that coast, on Punta Brava, of a Pharos, which, for that purpose, the Junta of Beneficence of that city has procured, and offers; and considering, that it is of great utility to the navigation of the coasts of the Republic to extend to other points thereof those establishments, concurring with the suggestions of the Executive,

Decree:

There shall be established on Punta Brava, opposite the Bay of Puerto Cabello, the Pharos offered by the Junta of Beneficence of that city;

No. 87.

and there shall be constructed one on Los Roques, another at the entrance of the Orinoco, where the Executive may determine, and another at the entrance of the Bar of Maracaibo, each at an elevation in proportion to the necessity of the locality to which it belongs.

Art. 2. The Executive shall give the necessary directions for the erection of the lighthouses ordered to be established by the foregoing Article, and for keeping them continually lighted every night of the year.

Art. 3. For the objects expressed in the two foregoing Articles, there shall be collected from the 1st July of this year, in Angostura, La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, and Maracaibo, 6 cents for every ton measured by vessels, with or without cargo, that enter those harbours, proceeding from foreign ports; and on vessels proceeding from other open ports of the Republic, that enter Angostura, Puerto Cabello, and Maracaibo, only 3 cents per ton shall be charged for every ton over and above 25 tons. A general fund shall be formed of the product of either duty.

§. Vessels of war and national and foreign packets or mail-boats are excepted from the payment of this duty.

Art. 4. The collection of this duty as established by the foregoing Article shall be realized when the port dues are collected, and by the same officers appointed by law to collect them.

Art. 5. The sum required, in order that the four lighthouses, of which this Law speaks, may be erected immediately, shall be aided by the surplus accumulated from entry dues established in the Law of port dues, taken on condition of being repaid from the duties established by the present Law, and in the following manner: for the Pharos of Los Roques, from the entry dues collected at La Guaira, and for the others from the entry dues collected at the port to which each Pharos belongs.

Given at Carácas on the 5th May of 1842, 13th year of the Law, and 32nd of Independence.

The President of the Senate,

(Signed) T. MANUEL DE LOS RIOS.

The President of the Chamber of Representatives,

(Signed) FRANCISCO DIAZ.

Secretary of the Senate,

(Signed) JOSÉ R. BURGILLOS.

The Secretary of the Chamber of Representatives,

(Signed) RAFAEL ACEVEDO.

*Carácas, May 11, 1842, 13th year of the Law,
and 32nd of Independence.*

Let it be executed.

(Signed) JOSÉ A. PAEZ.

For his Excellency the President of the Republic:

The Secretary of the Interior and Justice,

(Signed) ANGEL QUINTERO.

APPENDIX

PART 3

DOCUMENTS FROM BRITISH SOURCES

No. 88.**Extract from Proclamation Revising the Militia Laws and Regulations of Demerara and Essequibo, February 12, 1824.**

[From "Royal Gazette," Demerara and Essequibo, Thursday, November 25, 1824.]

By His Excellency Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, of the Royal Guelphic Order, and of the Portuguese Royal Military Order of The Tower and Sword, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the United Colony of Demerary and Essequibo, its Dependencies, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas, I have received the King's commands to promulgate the following Order of His Majesty in council, the same is hereby published for general information:

At the Court at Carlton House, the 14th of August, 1824.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas, Major General John Murray, heretofore Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Colony of Demerary and Essequibo, and the Court of Policy of the said Colony, on the 12th day of February, 1824, promulgated a certain Ordinance or Law, entitled, "An Act for the better Government of the Militia of the United Colony of Demerary and Essequibo," and which Act was in the following words, that is to say:

"An Act for the better Government of the Militia of the United Colony of Demerary and Essequibo."

Publication—By His Excellency Major-General John Murray, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Demerary and Essequibo, with the Dependent Districts, &c., &c., &c., and the Honorable the Court of Policy of the said Colony, unto all whom these Presents shall concern, greeting! be it known—

Whereas, we have deemed it expedient to revise the Militia Laws of the Colony, in order to establish that force on a more efficient footing:—We hereby revoke the former Militia Laws and Regulations, and in place thereof, do enact as follows:—

ARTICLE 1.—The Militia of the United Colony shall consist of two Regiments, viz., one of three battalions in Demerary and one of two battalions in Essequibo, composed as follows:

In Demerary, the first battalion shall consist of all the inhabitants able and liable to carry arms, residing in Georgetown and its environs from plantation Thomas to Plantation La Penitence. The second battalion shall consist of all the inhabitants of the East Coast, from Plantation Thomas inclusive, to Abary Creek; including the Creeks of Mahaica and Mahai-

No. 88.

cony. The third battalion, of all the inhabitants of both sides of the river and the West Sea Coast as far as Borasira Creek; including the Creeks and Settlements on both sides;—and the Militia shall further consist of a Company of Artillery, a troop of Cavalry, and a Rifle Corps, in Georgetown, of such numbers and under such particular arrangements as His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief may, from time to time, think proper; but in every other respect subject to the general Militia Laws.

In Essequibo, the first battalion shall consist of all the inhabitants from Borasira Creek upwards, on the east side of the river, including the Islands of Wakenaam, Leguan, Varken or Hog Island, Troolie Island, and all other islands in the river except Tiger Island; and on the west side, from Schoonhoven Creek upwards, the second battalion, of all the inhabitants from Schoonhoven Creek, including Tiger Island, with all the West Sea Coast, including Pomeroon River.

ARTICLE 2.—Each of the foregoing battalions shall be subdivided into companies, as follows:

The first Demerary battalion into ten companies; rendezvous, the armoury in Stabroek.

The second Demerary battalion into four companies, the first company to consist of the inhabitants from plantation Thomas to plantation *Lusi-quau*, both inclusive; rendezvous, plantation Goede Vorwagting.

The second company, of the inhabitants from plantation Annandale to plantation Lancaster, both inclusive; rendezvous, plantation Paradise.

The third company, of the inhabitants of all the plantations and settlements situated on both sides of Mahaica Creek, from plantation Lancaster upwards, and from plantation Kensington to Fairfield; rendezvous, Mahaica Ferry.

The fourth company, of the inhabitants from plantation Fairfield to Abary Creek, including all intermediate plantations and settlements on both sides of Mahaicony Creek, and west side of Abary Creek; rendezvous, plantation Ormsary.

The third Demerary battalion, into six companies; the first company to consist of the inhabitants from plantation La Penitence to plantation Garden of Eden, both inclusive; rendezvous, plantation Herstellling.

The second company, of the inhabitants from plantation La Grange to plantation Reninzigt, West Coast, both inclusive; rendezvous, plantation Best.

The third company, of the inhabitants from plantation Mindenberg to Hobaboe Creek, both inclusive and comprehending both canals; rendezvous, Toevlugt.

The fourth company, of the inhabitants from Hobaboe Creek to plantation Georgia, on the west side, and from plantation Garden of Eden to plantation Soestdyk, on the east side of the river; rendezvous, on the west side of the river plantation Vreedesteyn, and on the east side of the river plantation Caledonia.

No. 88.

The fifth company, of the inhabitants from plantation Georgia, upwards, on both sides of the river, including all the creeks and settlements.

The sixth company, of the inhabitants from plantation Windsor Forest to Borasira Creek, both inclusive; rendezvous, plantation Leonora.

The first Essequibo battalion to be subdivided into five companies; the first company to consist of the inhabitants from Borasira Creek to plantation Parika, inclusive; rendezvous, plantation St. Christopher.

The second company, of the inhabitants of Fort Island, and up the river on the east side from plantation Parika to Bonasika Creek; rendezvous, Fort Island.

The third company, of the inhabitants on Leguan and Hog Island; rendezvous,

The fourth company, of the inhabitants on Wakenaam, Troolie and other islands near it; rendezvous,

The fifth company, of the inhabitants from Bonasika Creek on the east side, and from Schoonhoven on the west side up the river; rendezvous, Sara Papa.

The second Essequibo battalion to be subdivided into three companies; the first company to consist of the inhabitants from Schoonhoven to Iteribisci Creek, both inclusive, and including Tiger Island; rendezvous, plantation Middlesex.

The second company, of the inhabitants from Iteribisci Creek to Capoey; rendezvous,

The third company, of the inhabitants from Capoey Creek to the River Pomeroon, inclusive; rendezvous, To this company, from the extent of the district, will be appointed an additional subaltern officer, who shall muster that part of the company near the River Pomeroon, and for whom a separate rendezvous shall be appointed by the officer commanding the company.

ARTICLE 3.— * * * * * to & incl. of Art. 49.

And we do hereby require and enjoin all and every person in this Colony whom it may concern strictly to comply with and conform to this Act.

Thus enacted at our ordinary Assembly held at the King's House, Georgetown, Demerary, the 12th of February, 1824, and published the 14th following.

(Signed) JOHN MURRAY.

By command of the Court.

CHARLES WILDAY, Joint Dept. Sec.

No. 89.**Notice of Court Policy of Demerara and Essequibo, Dividing the Colony into Parishes, May 6, 1826.**

[From "Royal Gazette," Demerara and Essequibo, Saturday May 6, 1826.]

COURT OF POLICY.

NOTICE.—Whereas His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor and the Honourable the Court of Policy have deemed it expedient to divide the United Colony of Demerary and Essequibo into ten separate and distinct Parishes—whose names and extents are respectively as follows; and they are henceforward to be so divided and named accordingly:

PARISH NO. 1. SAINT MARY'S.

To extend from Abary to Mahaicony and thence to Mahaica; and from Mahaica to Plantation Lowlands inclusive—and to include the settlements on the banks of the Mahaica and Mahaicony Creeks.

PARISH NO. 2. SAINT PAUL'S.

From Plantation Nooten's Zuil to Plantation Cumming's Lodge, both inclusive.

PARISH NO. 3. SAINT GEORGE'S.

Georgetown, and to include the estates situated on the Cummingsburgh Canal.

PARISH NO. 4. SAINT MATTHEW'S.

From Georgetown up the east bank of the river as far as settlements extend, and including the settlements in Canal No. 3.

PARISH NO. 5. SAINT MARK'S.

Along the whole west bank of the river, from Plantation Vreed-en-Hoop inclusive, as far as the settlements extend—and including the settlements in Canals No. 1 & 2.

PARISH NO. 6. SAINT SWITHIN'S.

From Plantation Best to Plantation Parica, both inclusive.

PARISH NO. 7. SAINT PETER'S.

To comprehend the Island of Leguan and Hog Island, Essequibo.

PARISH NO. 8. SAINT JAMES'S.

Waakenham and Troolie Islands.

PARISH NO. 9. SAINT JOHN'S.

From Supenaam Creek to Capoey, on the West Coast of Essequibo—including Tiger Island.

PARISH NO. 10. THE TRINITY.

From Capoey Creek to Pomeroon, and as far as the British settlements extend.

Court House, George Town, Demerary,
6th May, 1826.

By Command,

W. J. ARMSTRONG, Jr. Dep. Col. Sec.

No. 90.**Appointment by the Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara and Essequibo, of Assistant Protectors of Slaves, June 5, 1830.**

[From "Royal Gazette," Demerara and Essequibo, June 8, 1830.]

With reference to the publication of the 10th May last, his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to appoint Robert Waterton, Esquire, to be Assistant Protector of Slaves for the Districts from Plantation Windsor-Forest to Plantation Parika, inclusive, instead of A. van Ryck de Groot, Esquire, and

Joseph Alleyne, Esquire, to be Assistant Protector of Slaves for the District from Capoe Creek to the river Pomeroon, inclusive, instead of the Hon. Charles Bean;—

All persons are required and enjoined to respect the said Robert Waterton and Joseph Alleyne, Esquires, in such their capacities, accordingly.

Given at the King's House in Georgetown, Demerara, this 5th June, 1830.

By His Excellency's Command.

W. J. D'URBAN, Gov. Sec.

No. 91.**Appointment, by Lieutenant-Governor, of Major Peter Rose, as Deputy Fiscal in the Capoey-Pomeroon District, June 26, 1830.**

[From "Royal Gazette," Demerara and Essequibo, Tuesday, June 29, 1830.]

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to appoint (according to the Provisions of the Order in Council of the 14th of August, 1824) Major Peter Rose, of the Colonial Militia, to be Deputy Fiscal in and over the District extending from Capoe Creek to the River Pomeroon, inclusive.

Given at the King's House, in Georgetown, Demerara, this 26th day of June, 1830, and in the 11th year of His Majesty's reign.

By His Excellency's Command.

W. J. D'URBAN, Gov. Sec.

No. 92.**Government Notice, Appointing Justices of the Peace in British Guiana, January 23, 1834.**

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, January 28, 1834.]

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

In pursuance of the Enactments of an Ordinance which has this day been promulgated, entitled, "An Ordinance to establish Inferior Criminal

No. 92.

Courts within the Colony of British Guiana," His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, has been pleased to appoint, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, the following Gentlemen, to be Justices of the Peace, within the said Colony or Province of British Guiana; and to direct that their several names should be published in the Royal Gazette for the information and guidance of all concerned.

The Honorable JOHN CROAL.
 The Honorable J. G. REID.
 The Honorable GEO. RAINY.
 The Honorable CHARLES BEAN.
 The Honorable SIMON FRASER.

PARISHES OF ST. GEORGE AND ST. ANDREW.

S. A. Goodman	William Johnstone
J. H. Albony	B. J. Hopkinson
Walter Urquhart	George Robertson
Alexander Glen	A. Turton
Alexander Macrea	George Warren
J. A. D. Koolhaas	Wm. Davison, Esqs.

PARISH OF ST. PAUL.

Michael McTurk	Cresswell Spencer, Esqs.
Alexander Simson	

PARISH OF ST. MARY.

Andrew Jackson	William Booker
William Fraser	Richard Watson, Esqrs.
Hug Rogers	

PARISH OF ST. MATTHEW'S.

James Johnstone	Robert Neilson
S. W. Gordon	Henry Montaroux, Esqs.

PARISH OF ST. MARK.

Thomas Blake	U. J. F. Bach, Esqs.
Jacobus Meertens	

PARISH OF ST. SWITHIN.

N. M. Manget	R. Waterton, Esqs.
Joseph Beebe, Senior	

PARISH OF ST. LUKE.

J. B. Cox	L. H. W. Mack, Esqs.
J. A. Sievwright	

UPPER DISTRICT, DEMERARY RIVER.

J. D. Patterson	C. Brotherson, Esqs.
J. P. Blount	

No. 92.**PARISH OF ST. PETER.**

L. Fitzgerald
J. R. Bovel

J. Mackenzie, Esqs.

PARISH OF ST. JAMES.

Colin Simson
Thomas Teschemaker

John Pearson, Esqs.

PARISH OF ST. JOHN.

Edward Bishop
Henry Halket
J. Mackie, Esqs.

PARISH OF THE TRINITY.

John Austin
Joseph Alleyne
J. Macpherson, Esqs.

AT POMEROON.

Bonnel Tonge, Esq.

UPPER RIVER ESSEQUIBO.

Thos. Richardson, Esq.

KING'S HOUSE, 23rd January, 1834.

No. 93.**Fees allowed for Journeys to and Attendances at the Registrar's and Marshall's offices in British Guiana, 1834.**

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, November 6, 1834.]

All charges for journeys and attendances for negroes, boat and horse hire, are to be understood and regulated, as going from and returning to the Chief Towns, Georgetown in Demerary and Essequibo, and New Amsterdam in Berbice, and shall apply to the Registrar's and Marshall's offices in British Guiana, say two guilders per mile on land and one guilder per mile by water. The following table of distances in miles from Georgetown, is established to be as follows:

No. 93.**DEMERARY AND ESSEQUEBO.**

MILES.

From Registrar's office to any part of Georgetown.

EAST COAST DEMERARY.

From Georgetown to Pl. Kitty.....	3
" " " Vryheid's lust.....	6
" " " Good Hope.....	9
" " " Paradise.....	12
" " " Nabacles.....	15
" " " Ann's Grove.....	18
" " " Mahaica Creek.....	22
" " up the Creek to Pl. Belmont.....	25
" " to Cane Grove & beyond.....	28
" " " Broomhall.....	30
" " " Mahalcony.....	36
" " " Up the Creek.....	44
" " " Abary.....	45

R. DEMERARY, EAST SIDE.

From Georgetown to Pl. Houston..	3
" " " Pl. Providence.....	6
" " " all estates in Canal No. 3.....	12
" " " Plt. Farm.....	9
" " " Great Diamond.....	12
" " " New Hope.....	15
" " " Garden of Eden.....	22

RIVER DEMERARY, WEST SIDE.

From Georgetown to Pl. Malgré Font.....	3
" " " La Grange.....	6

CANAL No. 1.

Any estate on the same.....	12
La Retraite.....	9

CANAL No. 2.

From Georgetown to any estate on the same.	13
" " " Plt. Vriealand.....	13
" " " Reynestlin.....	22
" " " Borselin Island.....	33
" " " Sand Hills.....	40
" " " Saw Mill of Huss....	50

And all above f. 110.

WEST COAST.

From Georgetown to Nouvelle Flandres....	3
" " " Waller's Delight.....	6
" " " Blankenburgh.....	9
" " " Cornelia Ida.....	12
" " " Vrees en Hoop.....	15
" " " Kinderen end Boos's Rust.....	18
" " " Philadelphia.....	21
" " " Farm.....	24
" " Beyond as far as road extends.....	27
" " to Leguan.....	25
" " " Tiger Island and Wake-naam.....	30
" " " Hog, Fort and Troolie Island.....	35

WEST COAST ESSEQUEBO.

From Supenaam Creek to Plt. Somerset and Burks and Evergreens.....	40
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To Pomeroun, f. 380.

From Supenaam up the river to the Falls, f. 150.

No. 94.

Extracts from Letter of Henry Light, Governor of British Guiana, to Lord Glenelg, September 1, 1838.

[From Parliamentary Papers, "Papers relative to the West Indies. Part I., Jamaica—British Guiana. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, March 15, 1839, pp. 278-279.]

Though the country over which I have lately passed has no variety of surface, and may be represented as one great flat, intersected by creeks, rivers, and trenches, yet I think it my duty to attempt some description of it, that may enable your Lordship to form, perhaps, with the aid of the

No. 94.

accompanying Map, a more correct idea of the various locations, of the cultivation, past and present, and of the future means of increasing this cultivation, and thence judge of the value of this important colony to Great Britain, if supported by the capital of the mother country, and the protection of the Government; a protection never withheld, but more peculiarly required where the field for improvement of the resources of the country is so wide, and so capable of adding to the treasures of the parent state.

The three great rivers Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, may be considered the source of all the alluvial soil now in cultivation, peculiarly British. The Corantyne, being the boundary of British Guiana, it contributes plainly to the richness of the soil on the Corantyne coast of Berbice. Into all these rivers flow what are misnamed creeks, which may be rather considered tributary streams, taking their rise at greater or less distance amongst the great marshy savannahs of the interior. The Pomaroon river, at the western extremity of Essequibo, may be taken as a limit to the country, though there is a mission supported by the colony on the Maracca river or creek, a short distance westward, where 500 Spanish Indians are collected in a settlement under a Roman-catholic priest, recommended from Trinidad for that purpose; he is reported to be effecting good.

The cultivation of the staple commodities, sugar, coffee and cotton, is confined at present to the coast of the Essequibo; west and east Demerara; the west and east coast, Berbice, as regards the sea. On the three great rivers the highest cultivation is on the Berbice, 35 miles on the east bank. On the west bank, some few miles less, and on the east and west banks of the Demerara and Essequibo, the highest cultivation does not extend above 25 miles from the mouth of the river. The Canje Creek, flowing into the Berbice river below New Amsterdam, also has several estates in cultivation on each bank. On the Corantyne there are only two estates.

By reference to the accompanying map, the existing cultivation will be observed coloured green; the abandoned cultivation, brown.

* * * * *

The banks of the Pomaroon and the western extremity of the Essequibo are rich in alluvial soil, but are not cultivated; there is one wood-cutting settlement on the Pomaroon which may be considered as fit for mercantile purposes, and is prosperous.

The appearance of the country, on the Essequibo coast and in the islands, is much more cheerful than on the Demerara river; canals, trenches and dykes, the same everywhere. In Essequibo, the traveller drives through cultivation; in Demerara, he must view it at a distance, as the front lands are generally morass and bush, the land having been exhausted. In most parts of Essequibo it seems inexhaustible. The numerous creeks or tributary streams take their rise, as I have said before, in the savannahs, which are either barren sand, impassable marsh, or land so marshy as to forbid a

No. 94.

hope of cultivation; yet on the sides of these creeks are borders of soil which quickly repay the cultivator, though as yet few, but the scattered families of aborigines, are to be found taking advantage of such spots.

* * * * *

On the extremity of the coast of Essequibo, towards the Pomaroon, there are two isolated estates in cultivation, while rich land is ready for human industry. The Dutch formerly cultivated the banks of the Essequibo, 100 miles above its mouth; the map will show your Lordship how little, on either side, is now in cultivation.

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No. 95.

Proposed establishment of an Indian Village; debate in the Combined Court of British Guiana, March 27, 1844.

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, Tuesday, April 2, 1844.]

The Government Secretary—The Governor and Court of Policy, at the recommendation of the Combined Court, have placed an item on the Estimate for the establishment of an Indian Village.

Mr. Arrindell—I move that it be struck off.

Mr. Naghten—I second it.

Mr. Arrindell—It may appear somewhat singular that I should move an amendment that is irregular, or would appear irregular, but for the precedent which was set about two or three days past. There was an item on the Estimate for a certain Clergyman; it was moved that it be struck off, and the motion was carried by a majority. In the absence of one of the majority, it was reconsidered and placed on the Estimate. I have, therefore, an excellent precedent for my motion, and I trust that the item will be this day struck off. The Court of Policy has been recommended to put the item on the Estimate and has done so. On both occasions I was, unfortunately, in the minority. I agree with yourself, and many others, that the prospects of the Colony are considerably increased within the last two or three years, but they are increased so much a magnitude as to warrant the Court in throwing away \$10,000 upon a mere chimera. It is stated that we have a native population which may be civilized. We are endeavouring to civilize them as much as is in our power, and we have two or three Missions established, which we are supporting with very great liberality. Why, merely upon a whim or caprice, so large a sum, or any sum, should be placed at the disposal of God knows whom, merely for the purpose of erecting a Village, which is to be populated by savages from the interior (and whether they are to be under any and what control we know not), I cannot understand. Many attempts have been made to redeem those people from their habits; they have been taught to read, and in

No. 95.

some instances to write, but the moment they go back to their own country, they throw off their clothing, and returned to the woods. Several instances may be detailed of their having gone down to the Arabian Coast and worked, but we know that they do not work continuously. We are about to throw away, or rather jeopardise, in the present state of the finances of the colony, a large sum merely for the purpose of an experiment; and experiments are already in progress. What is the establishment at Bartika but an experiment to see if those people can be converted to a civilized state. There is also an establishment at Supenaam, and another at the Waraputa, and one at — —; here we have four or five settlements already; but this is to try if we cannot get the people to come and settle down, and attend to the cultivation of the soil.

Mr. Croal—Near a School.

Mr. Arrindell—And it ought to have been added—near an inn or grog shop, according to the saying, that where God erects his place the devil puts his inn. We have shewn liberality to a Church which only within the last few days discovered its exigencies. They asked for \$1,750 at first, and, wonderful to relate, they discovered that they were under a mistake, and asked for \$6,000, and I believe if they had asked for \$6,000 in the first instance, the Court would, in the spirit in which they granted that sum, have said, you ask too little. If we calculate the enormous votes passed by the Court,—\$5,000 for St. George's Church, \$10,000 for agriculture; a variety of sums to the Churches; \$26,000 to the town, being the estimated amount of the liquor and retail spirit licenses, we have in one way or the other voted away no less than \$60,000 or \$80,000, thereby increasing very considerably the estimate submitted by the Court of Policy; under all these circumstances, considering that very few of us are so situated as to be liberal before we are just, I do not see that we are justified in voting away so large a sum for an experiment, while we have other experiments in operation. It may appear rather illiberal, but I cannot consent to vote away the funds of the colony on a purpose so purely chimerical, and I will therefore take the sense of the Court, to see if the majority will still adhere to the vote for the item.

Mr. Rose—I would say a few words in reply to the hon. member. He says that there are missions already established. We wish to bring the Indians where they will be useful. All those missions are away from civilized life where they (the people) can be of no use to themselves or the community.

Mr. Naghten—I perfectly agree with what has fallen from the honorable Mr. Arrindell. It has been said that the establishment of a village with a view to obtain assistance for the cultivation, has not been tried. There is, in St. John's parish, a village established precisely on the same plan as proposed by Mr. Macrae. It is near St. John's parish Church, and the Rector has given them land.

Mr. Laing—I think the experiment is likely to do a great deal of good.

No. 95.

There is an immense number of Indians in the interior. If an experiment of this kind were tried, it might be done on a small scale, and I think numbers of them would come down. In Berbice, a great many came down for the purpose of picking coffee, but then returned to their woods to plant up their lands. If the Colony gave them lands, there is no doubt that instead, of going back to the interior, they would cultivate the land allotted by the Government. It would be advantageous to bring them down, and if the money be voted, it will be sufficient to try the experiment in two or three places. It is advisable to try and draw down those who may be of benefit to the agriculture of the Country.

Mr. Croal—It is proposed to give them 10 acres. In what they are to cultivate it, whether in sugar, coffee, or cotton, is not mentioned. If it be sugar, to which they are not accustomed, where is the money to come from to pay them?

Mr. Laing—They can work on the neighbouring estates.

Mr. Croal—That will never induce them to come. There is a large population of Indians at the Tapacooma Creek. They have an easy access to the coast; in two hours they can be at Iima. Every inducement has been held out to them to come to the estates; a few have been employed in cutting down bush, and a few in cutting canes, but I never heard of an Indian putting hoe or shovel on his own land. There is one characteristic of the Indian which has been overlooked. If you establish them in a village, and one of them happens to die, all the preaching of all the parsons in the colony, and all the inducements you can hold out, will never persuade them to remain; your buildings will be thrown upon your hands, and the place become abandoned.

Mr. Macrae—I am not surprised at the manner in which the hon. mover of the amendment has characterised the proposal, because I well know that such an opinion is entertained by many other individuals, but whether it is a liberal or illiberal opinion, I leave to the consideration of others. He says he considers it a wild chimera, and that the money will be thrown away,—that it is a measure of caprice, and wholly unworthy of the consideration of the Court. This is altogether a novel experiment, whatever may be said to the contrary, for no attempt has been made as a public measure to withdraw the Indians from the wilderness and their habits there, and to settle them in a community in a civilized state, in the midst of our cultivation. The experiment is new, and therefore, of course, uncertain; but we expend immense sums of money for the purpose of encouraging foreign immigration. This has been of a very unprofitable character to the colony, but the other which I propose is only a measure of evenhanded justice to the aborigines of the country, for I look on it as a species of immigration from the interior to the cultivated parts of the colony. The honorable gentleman on my left, Mr. Croal, has asked, in what description of labour they are to be employed, and if it is to be in cultivating the 10 acres attached

No. 95.

to their houses. I am surprised that any gentleman should ask such a question, for I mentioned that it was only a matter of experiment to see if they could be got to add to the revenue by their exports. I consider it one of the most legitimate sources to obtain labor, if it can be obtained. Some of those who object to my proposal say that the experiment has been tried; I deny *in toto*; it has never been tried in the public manner in which I propose that it should be done. An honorable member acknowledges at the same time, that profitable labor had been obtained from those people in various parts of the country, and that is confirmed by the statement of a member from Berbice. It is a fact that a gang of these people are now working on the west coast Essequibo, employed for various purposes. But I don't propose to bring isolated beings from the wilderness; my proposition is to bring them into civilised life and settle them in a community by themselves. We all know that they are ruled by their own chiefs, and I do not think it impossible to get one of these to undertake to bring them down and settle them in a village where they may become useful members of society. It is said that if one of them dies they will immediately abandon the village. One of my objects is to bring them into civilised society, and to convert them and wean them from their habits and superstitions. I think from the moral instruction of the Clergyman in the immediate neighbourhood, their prejudices would be very soon overcome; I am satisfied these would be overcome in a reasonable time.

Mr. Croal—You state that it has never been publicly tried?

Mr. Macrae—Never by the Colony.

Mr. Croal—It has. Sir Benjamin D'Urban granted lands to them.

Mr. Macrae—It has never been tried by public experiment and carried into practical operation. I do not think that those people are entitled to the same notice of the Court that foreigners are, and I maintain that they are entitled to much higher. They are the aborigines of the country, and we inherited from them our possessions in this colony. (Mr. Arrindell laughed aloud.) It appears to have excited the risible faculties of the honorable member, but I repeat that we do hold our title from them originally, and they are entitled to the most favourable considerations of this Court in the most comprehensive sense of the word.

Mr. Croal—You stated that the experiment had never been tried. I can prove, that it was. In 1824 or 1825, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, on a representation made by the proprietors of the Arabian coast, made a grant of 500 acres, or thereabouts, to a body of Indians, represented by a Capt.

——. Every inducement was held out to them to remove from Morocco to the Tapacuma: they were promised employment and could have obtained it, for there were few slaves in the colony at the time, and they were employed on the estate. There was a constant market for fire wood, troolies, &c.; they were offered sheep, pigs, and goats, and the land was ready for them, but after we thought we had got them secured, it appears that some parties went and persuaded them that they would be little better

No. 95.

than slaves. If that had gone through, they would not have been far from the Parish Church, and they would have got a ready market for everything. That experiment failed, notwithstanding that so many inducements were held out to them, to settle there. I believe that since then, a body of them has been settled at some wood-cutting place near there, and when they please they go into the bush to cut wood.

The Government Secretary—I cannot perceive the slightest resemblance between the experiment just mentioned, and the one proposed by Mr. Macrae. It amounts to nothing more than this, that Captain —— preferred the Morocco to the Tapacuma. This aboriginal gentleman may have preferred the Morocco, where there are no mosquitoes, to the Tapacuma, which is known to abound in them. This experiment comes before the Court as an experiment, and, therefore, it is natural that doubts should exist on the subject. I confess I am rather sceptical myself about its success. I think the Indians must be civilized by resorting to their haunts rather than by drawing them down to our civilized places of abode; but I would give them a fair trial for reasons which the Court will readily conceive. Labourers are brought from a great distance at a great expense, and the Court have agreed to pay for Chinese labourers at a cost of at least \$60 for each, or it may be \$80, including advances made by the Agent. The cost, then, of introducing 140 Chinese labourers would be within \$200 of the total cost of this experiment, which may attract hundreds of people already in the colony. I would give it a fair trial, because it may be urged by the opponents of immigration to this country, that we should attempt to profit by those sources of immigration which are at our very door, rather than saddle the colony with the expense of procuring them from such distant places as the Mauritius, China, and the East Indies. At the last Court there was a despatch of the Secretary of State read, in which he stated it not only as his conviction, but the conviction of the people of England, that the aborigines had a strong claim on the people of this country, independently of their claim to the soil, because, as Christians, we were bound to diffuse truths, which we thought essential to our own happiness, and which should be extended to them if we desire the happiness of the whole human race. The expenditure, sir, of \$10,000 for a purpose of this kind, which will remove a prejudice which now exists on the minds of parties in England against the introduction of labourers, is the least costly experiment that the colony has been called to undertake. Whatever may be its success, it will have a good effect. On these grounds of policy alone, I would strongly support the item, for which I think the Court are indebted to the gentleman—the Vice-President of the Financial College, and more especially for the able speech with which he first supported his motion.

Mr. Arrindell—I have heard nothing from the supporters of the measure to alter my opinion, or rather that opinion has been consider-

No. 95.

ably strengthened. Although it may appear to many who hear me that I am wrong, yet the speech of the last speaker has tended more than anything to strengthen me in my opinion. I shall attempt to deal with them in detail: I am charged with having brought forward the amendment irregularly. When an item is put on the estimate it is open to any member to move that it be struck off; therefore there is no irregularity, although it may appear inconsistent, in my endeavoring to get the Court, or any member of the Court to change his opinion so as to give me a majority on this question; but these proceedings are not irregular, and not open to any charge of the kind. Again; I am twitted for having used the language I did in speaking of the plan as a chimera. But the honorable member is quite mistaken in supposing I meant to ridicule him, for such is the high respect I entertain for him that nothing of the kind could be intended; but if the honorable member has come forward with this chimera, it is his duty to enter into details to shew the grounds on which he has built his faith. I have listened with attention, and I have heard nothing of these details. He has spoken of houses, but does not say what is to be put into them, whether we are to put corn or foo-foo, whether hammocks or crab-claws; whether we are to send a mission to this chief whom he has conjured up, to see if they will come to civilized life; but he says we must build ten houses and these must be near a Church or School. It has been stated by an honorable member that the experiment had been tried, or rather is in progress, in the Parish of St. John. I did not remember the circumstance at first, but now remember that there is a location there, and that endeavours are being made to bring those people into civilization, but that is not the object which the mover of this measure has in view. He tells us that it is his object to bring these people into civilized life, that they may assist in the agriculture of the country. If that be his object, it is not likely to be attained by the means which he proposes. He admits that it is a mere experiment. Now, the ground I take on that is, that we are not authorized by the state of the finances to go to such vast expense. Finding then that it is an objection to his experiment, he turns round and says, it is to be a public experiment and that it is the first time it has been tried, in order to gain your Excellency's and the public sanction. We are to have a Governor of the establishment no doubt, and a Schoolmaster appointed; we shall then have nurses, and a number of servants to feed these bantlings, and then, next year, instead of \$10,000 to build the houses, we shall have \$30,000 or \$40,000 for the support of those servants, without which it cannot exist. One of the greatest objections to it is that it is to be a public institution. We have already public institutions enough; we have erected three or four new ones during the present session, and, as observed by an honorable member, although we have done everything in our power to support these public institutions, one of them alone costs us more than the whole of the taxation when he first came to the country.

No. 95.

Sir! I disclaim any descent from these people. The honorable member taxed me with smiling; he says we derive our inheritance from them; I deny it; I am not of Indian extraction nor of Indian blood. We found them here and the soil is wide enough for both of us, and we have been doing a great deal to bring them into civilization. The honorable secretary says, we should not hesitate to give this sum, because 150 Chinese immigrants would cost nearly as much. Willingly would I give this sum for 150 Chinese, because we know that the Chinese laborers, if properly selected, would immediately add to the resources of the Colony, and enable us to bear up against the ills under which we have been for some time laboring. If the accounts of Chinese labour which are given be correct, there is not one but, within a year after his introduction, will produce 3 or 4 hogsheads of sugar, besides the molasses, &c. They will more than pay for themselves in 3 or 4 years. I am sorry that the honorable Secretary should have touched on the want of feeling and of attention to the aborigines of the country; I deny it and that most positively.

The Government Secretary.—I did not impute any such feeling to the Court or to you individually.

Mr. Arrindell.—You said that the Secretary of State had stated that we ought to pay more attention to their claims. We have nothing to do with their claims. The small portion of land which we occupy was obtained first by conquest, and then by treaty, and we have nothing to do with the treaty. We are doing what the Secretary of State wishes, and we have done what he requires us to do, although not to the extent that he or we ourselves could wish, but I say again, we are not able to throw away \$10,000 in the present exigencies of the colony.

The vote for and against the amendment being equal, the amendment was lost.

Mr. Arrindell, seconded by Mr. Stuart, moved that the item be reduced to \$2,000.

Mr. Croal declined to vote, observing that he was glad to find that the Court was equally divided.

The amendment was put and lost, and also another amendment by Mr. Arrindell, seconded by Mr. Stuart, for the reduction of the item to \$5,000.

Mr. Arrindell then proposed to have the votes taken on the original motion.

The Court divided, and, the votes being equal, His Excellency voted for the item, and it was accordingly passed.

Mr. Laing.—If the honorable member thinks that the money is too much for trying the experiment in Essequibo, part of it may be applied to trying it on the Berbice river. (A laugh).

Mr. Arrindell gave notice that he would move that the item be not paid out until satisfactory evidence be adduced to the Court of Policy that the experiment is likely to be attended with success, and that some feasible plan be devised for carrying it into effect.

No. 95.

Mr. Macrae proposed that the following gentlemen should be named a Committee for the purpose of devising the best means of trying the experiment: Sir Michael McTurk, the Collector of Customs, Messrs. Laing and Ross, the Clergyman of the Parish, and the Senior Member of the Vestry.

This was agreed to.

No. 96.

Rearrangment of the Fiscal Districts of British Guiana, and assignment of officers thereto, 1850.

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, Saturday, June 29, 1850.]

In pursuance of the votes of the combined Court, whereby the number of Commissaries of Taxation was reduced from eight to six after the 30th instant, and the number of Postholders, being superintendents of rivers and creeks, from six to four, His Excellency, the Governor, is pleased to direct that, from and after that date the Fiscal Districts of the Colony shall be rearranged in the following manner, and shall be respectively under the charge of the officers whose names are set opposite thereto:

COUNTY DEMERARA.

No. I.—From Plantation Grove, including the whole of the East Coast downwards to Georgetown, including Plantation La Penitence.—A. Garnett, Esq.

II.—From Plantation Vreedestein, west bank of the river, to Plantation Greenwich, West Coast, both inclusive.—D. Falant, Esq.

III.—Both banks of the rivers, from the termination of Districts 1 and 2 (including Canal No. 3), as far upwards as the settlements extend.—Thomas Fernell, Esq.

COUNTY ESSEQUIBO.

IV.—The Islands of Leguan and Wakenaam, and Tiger Island, and the west coast of the County, from Supenaam Creek to Better Success, inclusive.—A. Gainfort, Esq.

V.—From Greenwich Park on the east, and from Supenaam Creek on the west bank upwards, as far as settlements extend on the Essequibo and its tributaries, including all the islands not contained in District 4.—A. F. Band, Esq.

VI.—From Better Success to the limits of the Colony, including the Pomeroon river and its tributaries.—W. C. M'Clintock, Esq.

COUNTY BERBICE.

VII.—From Plantation Spring Hall, inclusive, to Abary Creek, and all estates and settlements on the Mahaica and Mahaicony Creeks, and from

No. 96.

the Abary to the settlements at Plantation D'Edward.—C. Brother-son, Esq.

VIII.—New Amsterdam and thence to Bloemhoff, inclusive, on the east bank of the river Barbice, and all the estates and settlements on the west bank, from D'Edward to Plantation Herstellig, inclusive; the estates and settlements on both sides of the Canje Creek, and the estates on the East Coast Canal.—R. Samuel, Esq.

IX.—All the estates and settlements above the East Coast Canal to Plantation Skeldon, inclusive, with the river Corentyne as far as settlements extend.—T. Coleman, Esq.

No. 97.

**Division of the Colony of British Guiana into Districts and Divisions,
1856.**

[From the Official Gazette (extraordinary) of British Guiana, Georgetown, Thursday, November 27, 1856.]

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency Philip Edmund Wodehouse, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Guiana, Vice-Admiral and Ordinary of the same, &c., &c., &c., by and with the advice and consent of the Honorable the Court of Policy of said Colony;

Whereas, by the Ordinance No. 29 of 1856, it is enacted that the Governor may, with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy, by Proclamation, divide the Colony into Districts and likewise subdivide such Districts into Divisions:

Now, therefore, I, with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy, do hereby Proclaim that the Colony shall, for the purposes of the said Ordinance, be divided into the six following Districts, that is to say:

DISTRICT No. 1.—The Arabian coast, the Island in the river Essequibo, and both banks of the said river down to the south bank of the Parika Creek on the east bank of the said river Essequibo.

DISTRICT No. 2.—The Parish of St. Luke from the north bank of the Parika Creek, the Parish of St. Swithin and the Northern portion of the Parish of St. Mark to Plantation Vive-la-Force, inclusive.

DISTRICT No. 3.—The remainder of the Parish of St. Mark and the Parish of St. Matthew, with all the settlements on the Demerara river and the creeks flowing with it, as far as the same extend.

DISTRICT No. 4.—The City of Georgetown and its suburbs, and the Parish of St. George and St. Paul.

DISTRICT No. 5.—The Parishes of St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Clement.

No. 97.

DISTRICT No. 6.—The Town of New Amsterdam, formerly called Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the Parishes of All Saints, St. Patrick and St. Saviour, with all the settlements on the Canje Creek and the Corentyne river, with their tributaries.

And I, with the like advice and consent, do further Proclaim, that the said Districts shall be subdivided into the eighteen following Divisions, that is to say:

DISTRICT No. 1 shall be subdivided into three Divisions, viz.:

Division No. 1.—The Arabian Coast, from the Western Extremity, including Pomeroon, to the west bank of the Ikerabisce Creek.

Division No. 2.—The remainder of the Arabian Coast, the settlements on the Supenaam Creek, Wakenaam, Hog Island, Tiger Island and the Troolie Islands.

Division No. 3.—The Island of Leguan and Fort Island, with the settlements on the river Essequibo and its tributaries, to the south bank of the Parika Creek.

DISTRICT No. 2 shall be subdivided into three Divisions, viz.:

Division No. 4.—So much of the Parish of St. Luke as lies between the south bank of Parika Creek and Plantation Blankenburg, inclusive.

Division No. 5.—The Parish of St. Swithin.

Division No. 6.—The part of the Parish of St. Mark from the boundary of the Parish of St. Swithin to Plantation Vive-la-Force, inclusive.

DISTRICT No. 3 shall be subdivided into two Divisions, viz.:

Division No. 7.—The west bank of the Demerara River from Plantation Vive-la-Force and the east bank down to Plt. Garden of Eden, inclusive, with the settlements on the Creeks within those limits.

Division No. 8.—The remainder of the Parish of St. Matthew.

DISTRICT No. 4 shall be subdivided into four divisions, viz.:

Division No. 9.—So much of the City of Georgetown and its suburbs as lies to and inclusive of the south side of Church Street.

Division No. 10.—So much of the City of Georgetown and its suburbs as lies to and inclusive of the north side of Church Street.

Division No. 11.—The remainder of the Parish of St. George and the western part of the Parish of St. Paul to Plantation Mon Repos, inclusive.

Division No. 12.—The remainder of the Parish of St. Paul.

DISTRICT No. 5 shall be subdivided into three Divisions, viz.:

Division No. 13.—The Parish of St. Mary.

Division No. 14.—The Parish of St. Michael and of part of the Parish of St. Catherine, to the village of Ithaca, inclusive.

Division No. 15.—The remainder of the Parish of St. Catherine and the Parish of St. Clement.

No. 97.

DISTRICT No. 6 shall be subdivided into three Divisions, viz.:

Division No. 16.—The Parish of All Saints, including the town of New Amsterdam, and the abandoned lots or plantations formerly called Glasgow and Edinburgh, but excluding the settlements on the left bank of the Canje Creek.

Division No. 17.—The Parish of St. Patrick and the settlements on both side banks of the Cauje Creek and its tributaries.

Division No. 18.—The Parish of St. Saviour including the settlements on the Corentyne river and its tributaries.

Given under my hand and seal of office at the Guiana Public Buildings, Georgetown, Demerara, this 27th day of November, 1856, and the twentieth year of Her Majesty's reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

By His Excellency's Command,

W. B. WOLSELEY, Act. Gov. Sec.

No. 98.

Entrance to Venezuelan gold fields by way of Cuyuni prohibited by Venezuela, December 3, 1857.

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, Thursday, March 18, 1858.]

[*Translation.*]

"Let the Governor of Demerara be informed, with respect to the expeditions which, proceeding from that colony by way of the Cuyuni, have penetrated this province as far as the gold bearing lands of Upata, that I have decreed the following regulations:

1st. That until his Excellency, the President of the Republic, shall make an explicit declaration to the effect, that he sanctions and approves of the internal communication between Demerara and this province by the river Cuyuni, or by any other way than that which is established and recognized by the frequented ports, let it be understood that such means of communication are prohibited; and that in no manner whatever, and under no possible pretext, will expeditions of any description, or travellers of any class who come to the province from other directions, be permitted to enter.

2nd. That the Governor of Demerara, and British subjects of the said colony, be at the same time given to understand that the Venezuelan consul, there resident, is not authorized to issue passports for Venezuela to any save citizens of the Republic, and consequently that those which he may issue to any individuals not Venezuelans, will not be recognized or received.

3rd. That this Government is prepared to maintain and give full effect to the regulations decreed on this subject, until his Excellency, the Execu-

No. 98.

tive Power, shall have pronounced his decision thereon, in answer to the instructions which have been demanded of him.

In bringing these regulations to your knowledge, which I have also communicated to the Vice-Consul of Her Britannic Majesty in this capital, I may be allowed to express the hope that, though the Government has found itself, in the fulfilment of its duty, compelled to decree them, they may not in any way be regarded as hostile to the traffic, and communication with that colony, which, on the contrary, it is my desire to protect, as long as it is carried on, as is right and proper, through the frequented ports of the Republic."

No. 99.

Report of W. H. Holmes and W. H. Campbell as to an Expedition via the Waini, Barama and Cuyuni to the Orinoco, 1857.

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, Tuesday, December 10, 1857.]

On the 27th of August last we sailed from the River Demerara in the Colonial Revenue schooner *Pheasant* and anchored at 5 o'clock on the following afternoon at the mouth of the Waini, the position of which is laid down by Schomburgk in lat. 8 deg., 25 min N. and long. 59 deg., 35 min. W.

From soundings taken on entering the river, and from a subsequent survey by Capt. Lyng; we find that the Waini has from 15 to 18 feet water on its bar at spring tide, and would be, consequently, practicable for vessels carrying timber cargoes. This subject, however, is more particularly alluded to in our report to the Pilotage Committee, of which a copy is annexed.

On the morning of the 29th August, owing to the heaviness of the rains and fullness of the river, we found that the schooner would not swing to the flood tide; we therefore, deemed it necessary to proceed to the river Barima to procure the assistance of Indians for ascending the Waini, a trip we were not disinclined to undertake, as it enabled us to examine the Mora Creek, a natural navigable canal connecting the mouth of the Waini with the river Barima, some 50 or 60 miles from where the latter falls into the Orinoco. This channel, about 8 miles in length, is of sufficient depth and width, were it cleared of stumps and fallen trees, to enable colony craft to navigate from the one to the other; and the magnificent timber with which the banks of the Barima and its tributaries abound could thus be easily transported to the mouth of the Waini for shipment. Having obtained a crew of four Warrau Indians, and the spring tide coming on, we were enabled to carry our preconcerted arrangement for meeting Mr. M'Clintock, Superintendent of Rivers and Creeks, at a rocky island about 70 miles up the Waini, on the 4th September. Mr. M'Clintock made his way to this point accompanied by about 20 Indians from the Moruca,

No. 99.

through creeks forming an inland navigation of about 100 miles. On the 6th of September, we left the schooner at the mouth of the river Barama, the main tributary of the Waini, and embarked in four canoes with our provisions and "negotia."* Owing to the rapid current of the Barama and its extraordinary windings, it took us 7 days (6th to 12th inclusive) hard paddling to reach the great Dowaicama Cataract, which has a perpendicular fall of some 30 feet, connected with a series of rapids. Here we had to haul our craft over a portage of about a mile, which caused us considerable delay. On the 15th September we reached an Indian path leading from the Barama to the Cuyuni; but before leaving the former river, we think it right to call attention to the inexhaustible stores of the finest timber which cover the banks of the Waini and Barama for upwards of 200 miles, amongst which may be specially mentioned bullet tree, black mora, of enormous size and excellent quality; silverbaltz and red cedar; one tree of this description we found floating in the river, the trunk of which, so far as seen, measured 80 feet in length, with a girth of 11 feet 4 inches at 20 feet from the base. Indeed, it may be said that the Waini and its tributaries run through interminable forests of timber, and the same may be stated of the Barima and its tributaries, connected as they are with the Waini by the Mora Creek. Sir R. Schomburgk, after having visited the greater part of British Guiana, reports: "In all my former travels, I have nowhere seen trees so gigantic as on the lands adjoining the Barima in its upper course." On the 16th September we commenced our march overland to the Cuyuni. Owing to our guides leading us from one Indian settlement to another, we were 12 days reaching the river. We were further delayed by having to carry all our luggage, now reduced to the smallest possible compass, besides provisions for several days for ourselves and the Indians, as we were uncertain of obtaining supplies on the Cuyuni. The paths were tolerably good in most places, and the under-wood of the forest was not of the tangled nature of that of the lower or coast regions. The country was undulating, with a constant succession of hill and dale. The hills seldom exceeded from two to three hundred feet in height, and from the appearance of the soil would be admirably adapted for the cultivation of cocoa, coffee and other tropical products. Although we were delayed so long in crossing from the Barama to the Cuyuni, we have reason to believe that were a direct path cut across from river to river, the distance could easily be accomplished in two or three days' moderate walking. On the afternoon of the 26th September we reached the banks of the Cuyuni, a magnificent stream about 500 or 600 yards in breadth, even at this distance from its mouth, and some 200 miles from the ocean. Although the river had considerably fallen from its highest level, it still contained a considerable body of water. Its course was generally east and west. Rapids, though

* Merchandise and trinkets employed in lieu of money for payment of the Indians.

No. 99.

not very extensive, were numerous, causing much delay either in hauling over or avoiding them by selecting the smaller and less direct channels, as it almost invariably happened in such localities that the stream of the river was broken by numerous islands. On reaching the Cuyuni we were met by an Accawi Indian whom we had previously despatched from our party. He was accompanied by several of the same tribe inhabiting the banks of the river, who furnished us on reasonable terms with a small fleet of wood skins, of which we usually had seven. As all our baggage and provisions had to be carried on the overland journey by Indians, we were obliged to leave behind the greater part of the heavier stores, and consequently had to depend on our guns and the aid of the Indians for a supply of animal food. We were tolerably successful in obtaining, as we went along, game of various descriptions, and some fish; but our hurried progress did not allow us much time for hunting and fishing. Fortunately our Indians were not difficult to please with regard to animal food, and were satisfied with an ample meal of alligator, guana, or other "Bush meat," not very acceptable to the European palate. On the first of October we passed the mouth of the Curumo, a large tributary which falls into the Cuyuni on the left bank of the river. This stream would have been by far our shortest route to Tupuqueu, as it flows from the high savannah lands that extend from about the 60th degree of longitude to the banks of the Orinoco, and runs not far from the village Tumeremo, which is distant only about 30 miles from the diggings at Caratal, but we were unable to take this route from the quantity of fallen trees which obstructed the channel. If this river proves to be our territory, British Guiana will possess a large tract of the savanna or table lands so admirably adopted for the pasturage of cattle, and it is to its banks, in our opinion, that any road from this colony should be directed, which would thus at once open to us that immense grazing country whose only outlet for its herds at present is the Orinoco, from which and from the Essequibo it is nearly equidistant. On the 30th September we fell in with the first hills approximating to mountains. They gradually developed themselves into the Ekreku range, reaching a height of some 2,000 feet, and near the base of which we passed on the 2d October. The scenery here was very striking, the climate genial, the river rapid and sparkling, and its waters excellent. The sea or easterly breeze set in about 10 o'clock in the forenoon and continued to blow all day. The nights were generally calm, but there was a dryness of atmosphere we never experienced in any other part of Guiana, and it was the opinion of our lamented colleague, Dr. Blair, that the banks of the upper Cuyuni are well adapted for European settlers. All the way up the Barama, and on our journey across to the Cuyuni, we observed large quantities of quartz which, with granite and gneiss, formed the principal features of the geological structure of the country. The quantity of quartz gradually increased, and on reaching the Ekreku Creek, which falls into the Cuyuni, on the right bank, we found its bottom composed of coarse white quartz

No. 99.

sand or gravel. We could also observe what appeared to be quartz, cropping out from the neighboring hills, and we have reason to think that if we had had sufficient experience and time to make the requisite examination, gold might have been discovered in this neighbourhood. Having for twelve days worked our way up a part of the river Cuyuni, so rarely visited by Europeans, and we believe never before described, on the morning of the 7th of October we reached the river Yuruan, and left the Cuyuni, which was still some 300 yards wide, trending to the southwest, whilst the Yuruan, about 200 yards wide, took a westerly direction. After paddling about eight miles up the Yuruan, we reached the Yuruari, about 150 yards wide at its mouth. The former river continued its westerly course, whilst the Yuruari took nearly a northerly direction. We were here struck by the contrast in the color of the waters of the two rivers. The stream of the Yuruan was a deep rich brown, and very clear, whilst that of the Yuruari was the colour of milk and water, or white clay, and has the character of being far from wholesome. It contains at any rate a large amount of earthy matter in suspension. At first the stream of Yuruari was very still and smooth, but ere long we met with a succession of rapids continuing all the way to Tupuquen, exceeding in number and strength of current those of the Cuyuni. Here too we were met by a plague of sand flies that gave us little rest during the day; indeed they seemed most virulent in the hottest sunshine. On the 9th October, we reached the first savanna; it had lately been burned by the Indians for the purpose of securing as they informed us, the land Turtles. It was a grassy wilderness without the sign of animal life. An Accawai Indian had built his house on the top of a hill, commanding a fine and extensive view, and thousands of acres of pasture lands were lying before us totally unoccupied. For many miles the Yuruari was bounded on either side by savanna land, with a narrow strip of bush lining its banks. As we approached Tupuquen we fell in occasionally with cattle farms, most of which had formerly belonged to the late Colonel Hamilton, who owned a vast tract in this neighbourhood. In some instances the proprietors resided on their own lands, in others the farms were managed by major-domos. The number of cattle said to be on each farm was very large, from 10,000 to 20,000, but that anything like this number would be actually available, we are not at all prepared to assert. On the 13th October, about midday, we reached the landing place of Tupuquen, the village being situated half a mile from the river. We were here met by a Mr. Gray, son of a former cattle proprietor of this colony. He conducted us to Tupuquen and introduced us to the Alcalde, who combined the vocation of Judge and Magistrate with that of keeper of an eating house and grog shop. We were politely received, and no questions were put to us. The Alcalde was apparently satisfied that we had no hostile intentions, as he procured us lodgings, and entertained us for a consideration. The village of Tupuquen consists of some 50 or 60 mud tenements, covered with Tiles, hardly

No. 99.

worthy of the name of houses. It formerly constituted one of the 32 missions into which this part of the country was divided, under the old Spanish regime, and each of which was presided over by a Capuchin friar. The revolution upset this order of things, and although the houses nominally belong to the Indians, they are now mostly appropriated by other occupants whom the attractions of the diggings have drawn to this otherwise out of the way spot. On the morning of the 14th October we started for the diggings at Caratal. After crossing the Yuruari, a sharp walk of about two hours through the forest, over hill and dale, brought us to a village consisting of about fifty thatched logies, varying in size from a mere hut to that of an ordinary house. As these buildings were mostly without walls, and open all round, it speaks well for the honesty of the diggers that thefts were almost unknown. The number of people congregated it was difficult to ascertain; they were variously estimated at from about 120 to 200, the latter number being the outside. The diggings are situated in the primitive forest, and consist of a number of holes or pits dug by individuals or small companies. There are no stringent laws for the regulation of this community. Each individual is at liberty to select any unappropriated spot and to commence operations. There are few external indications of the probability of success, except that gold had been dug out in the immediate vicinity, and even this was not a safe criterion, as although the precious metal might be found in one hole, the adjoining spots, although almost touching, often prove blanks. The method of proceeding is as follows: A piece of ground, say 8 feet by 20, having been selected, the miner, in the first instance, has to clear off the bush and generally to dig out a forest tree of considerable size. Having removed the upper soil he arrives at a harder subsoil, which has to be loosened with a pickaxe previous to being shoveled out. At times, after getting down some 7 or 8 feet, water takes possession of his pit; at others he meets with solid rock; in either case his labor has been thrown away; but if his speculation has a mere fortunate aspect, he falls in at an average depth of from 10 to 15 feet with what is technically called the "Graja," or a layer of earth, clay, quartz, and iron stone, in which stratum, overlying stiff clay, the gold is found. The whole of this layer, generally about a foot in thickness, must be carefully thrown out on the bank; and having been collected in a mass, has to be taken in sacks on the back about a quarter of a mile to the nearest water, then to be washed, parcel after parcel, in a cradle; to do which, the miner must sit up to his middle in water. If fortune favors him (for it is quite a lottery), after washing away a cradleful of soil, he may find some particles of small nuggets of gold; but frequently it is all in vain, and cradleful after cradleful disappears without a sign of the precious metal. It is hard to say how long it would take an individual to go through the whole operation of clearing, digging and washing, but, on an average, it would require three weeks' hard labor, and it is still more difficult to say what the result would be.

No. 99.

The proportions are about six blanks to one substantial prize. There is, however, no denying that at times the reward is great. If Caratal were a healthy place, perhaps the chances of success might be a sufficient inducement for an industrious, persevering man to try his fortune; but endemic disease prevails to a great extent. We did not meet a single individual who had not suffered more or less from fever, and many from "beche," or inflammation of the lower bowels, which is supposed by the miners to be induced by the inferior quality of the only water in the neighborhood. There is no medical advice to be had even at Tupuquen, and medicine, if procurable at all, was only so at exorbitant prices—a bit, or 4d. a grain being the retail price of quinine of dubious quality. The only food obtainable is beef and cassava bread; and as meat keeps so short a time, fresh beef was not often to be had. The usual food of the miners is tasso or beef dried in the sun, a most unpalatable and unwholesome article of diet, for, as little salt (an expensive condiment in Venezuela) is used, the meat is generally much tainted. On the whole, taking into consideration the labor, the sickness, the want of medicine and medical advice, the insufficient and innutritious food, the vermin (the "diggings" abound in fleas, chigoes, bête rogue, ticks and ground itch), and the total absence of ordinary comforts, we do not hesitate to say it would be an act of folly in an industrious man to leave this colony for the "diggings," even were success in the search for gold much more certain than it is. But how much more is it to be deprecated when, from all we could learn, and we took considerable pains to ascertain, we really believe a larger average day's wages could be earned on any estate in the Colony than could, under the present circumstances, be made by digging at Caratal. We met several individuals—natives of this Colony and of the British West India Islands—who bitterly lamented having left their homes. Some of these, with shattered health, and in debt, were unable to undertake a journey requiring twelve or fifteen days' walking to reach Las Tablas, the port of embarkation on the river Orinoco, and seemed to be hopelessly awaiting their fate at Caratal. As our journey to Caratal had taken a much longer time than we anticipated we were most anxious to push on so as to hasten our return to Georgetown. We therefore remained only two days at the diggings, and although our Indians, under the superintendence of Mr. M'Clintock, had commenced to dig a "barranca," as the pits are technically called, we did not await the result, and left when they had got down about eight or ten feet. Before leaving, we picked up several specimens of quartz rock containing particles of gold, also a few pieces of the same rock with small particles of a white metal supposed to be platina. On the 18th October, having hired three horses for ourselves, (wretched animals for which we were charged an exorbitant price) four donkeys for baggage and servants, and a mounted guide, we started for the town of Upata. In crossing the wide savannah it would have been impossible to have proceeded without a guide, as our path was

No. 99.

little more marked than by the numerous cattle tracks that crossed it in every direction. We were much struck with the park-like scenery of the country; hills at least 1,500 feet high, covered with verdure to the very tops, here and there clumps of trees dotted the plain, whose well defined background consisted of more extensive woods; such was the landscape all the way to the village of Guacipata, where on the 19th October, we put up for the night. We were most hospitably received by the wife of Senhor Miranda, who, in the absence of her husband, offered us the best her house afforded, and declined any remuneration. It may not be amiss here to state that in a country where inns are unknown, and where travellers are consequently thrown on the kindness of the inhabitants, we were most cordially received, and although their ordinary food, tasso and cassava bread, was most unpalatable to us, it was produced with good will and in abundance for ourselves and servants. It is strange that in a cattle country such as we were now traversing milk and cheese are but rarely used, the former, as they allege, predisposing to fever, while butter is unknown. The village of Guacipata is another of the missions previously alluded to. Here the Church, a building 150 feet in length by 50 in width is in tolerable preservation; the dwellings of the monks also still remain, and judging by the extent of the accommodation, the numerous offices, workshops, looms, kitchens, and refectories, not forgetting that ancient institution the village stocks, the venerable Fathers, surrounded by a large obedient Indian population, must have enjoyed a great degree of prosperity. Traditionary scandal tells odd stories as to their being no easy task-masters, and of conventual vows not being rigorously observed. It also reports that they were not ignorant of the existence of gold in this vicinity, and that large sums were remitted by them to the authorities under the old Spanish monarchy. From Guacipata it took us four days slow riding, as we had to wait for the donkeys and baggage, to reach Upata. The scenery continued much the same, hill and dale, verdure and wood, with mountains in the distance. On one side was the continuation of the Caratal hills, on the other the Nuria range extending for many miles. They all bespoke from their formation and appearance volcanic agency. The whole country abounds in quartz. The sides of the hills were frequently covered with masses of this rock of the purest white, which reminded us of Sir Walter Raleigh's description, where he characterises them as blocks of "white spar el madre del oro." At a distance they often resembled the groupings of large flocks of sheep! The whole region is one continued tract of pasture land, with frequent water courses, and although the herbage is rather coarse, it is, apparently, admirably adapted for cattle. The number we saw was comparatively small, but they all looked sleek, and if not fat, appeared thriving and healthy. We passed about half a dozen farm houses on our route, and either breakfasted or slept at several of them. The "Hacienda" or farm called Para Para, struck us as a favourable specimen;

No. 99.

besides some 20 or 30,000 head of cattle, and 100 horses, the owner had several acres of sugar cane and tobacco under cultivation. His house, built of mud, as all the houses are in this province, was exclusive. The offices included a sugar mill and boiling house. The mill consisted of three upright wooden rollers propelled by animal power, he had two teaches in his copper wall, and made his 300 "papillons" or loaves of brown sugar in a day. The sugar is run into moulds cut in a block of wood, and by boiling high he manages to set the whole of his liquor, which is thus concentrated into the papillon, leaving no residuum. His tobacco crop had just been reaped; it seemed of good quality, and must be in much demand, as men, women and children are all inveterate smokers in Venezuela. He valued his cattle all round at about 10 "pesos" or \$8 per head, and this price would include the farm house and all its adjuncts. The tenure of land in this part of Venezuela is rarely freehold; any person can apply for unoccupied land, and on its being surveyed, can obtain a license of occupancy on payment of a small sum annually to government; he then proceeds to stock it with cattle, or to cultivate it, and except in the event of a revolution is rarely disturbed in any way. On the 22d October we reached the town of Upata, which has the most thriving appearance of any place we saw on our route. It is composed of about a dozen streets of one story tiled houses, but there is an air of prosperity about it, arising chiefly from the traffic which has sprung up to the diggings, all property and merchandise destined for Tupuquen passing through Upata. Here, for the first time, we came in contact with the local authorities, a gentleman from the municipality required to see our papers, and although we demonstrated to him that everything was according to rule, he appeared hardly satisfied. Indeed, the most extraordinary stories were in circulation as to our intentions. It was currently reported that the English government was about to seize on the Province and intended to drive out every Venezuelan. His Excellency, Governor Marmol, condescended to listen to these fables, and addressed the Upata militia, who were called out on the occasion, in the most patriotic terms, on the necessity of protecting their houses and families. This force is not of a formidable nature; a few old-fashioned muskets were all the firearms produceable, and of these but five or six went off when a feu-de-joie was ordered. It appeared that the Governor had left directions both at Upata and Las Tablas that we should be required to proceed to Bolivar, to report ourselves to the authorities, but having ordered that no force should be used we declined the invitation, more particularly as the Governor himself was on his way to Tupuquen. On the 22d October we left Upata and breakfasted with Senhor Pedro Maria Nunes, who is married to a lady, a creole of this Colony. In the forenoon we explored, under the guidance of Mr. Dranger, of Upata, a hill opposite to Senhor Nunes' residence, apparently composed of a mass of what seemed

No. 99.

to be almost pure iron.* The country between Upata and Las Tablas is very mountainous and woody and the grazing lands are more contracted. We, however, passed several cattle farms. On the third day, October 5th, we reached Las Tablas, a village situated on the river Orinoco, of some 40 or 50 mud houses, partly tiled and partly thatched. We were most hospitably received by Mr. Behrens, whose house is the principal mercantile firm of the Province. The distance by the route we travelled from Tupuquen to Las Tablas we estimated at 150 miles. There is a somewhat shorter road by Pastora. Las Tablas is not a port of entry, and derives its importance chiefly as the place whence a large number of cattle are shipped; and being the nearest point on the river Orinoco to Upata, all merchandise passes through it on its way to town. On the 26th October we started in a hired corial for Barancas, and reached that place after 12 hours hard pulling in an open boat. We remained there one day (27) having been kindly offered by Mr. Burnett a passage in the *Loyal* (a cattle vessel trading to Cayenne) to Point Barima, where the *Pheasant* was waiting for us. Barancas is situated on the left bank of the Orinoco, and the river falls off here nearly 40 feet between the months of July and December. The town is surrounded by lagoons connected with the river. These were in the process of drying up and the inhabitants were suffering much from fever. As up to this point not one of the expedition had suffered from a day's ill health, it must be inferred that here were sown the seeds of that fever which, in the case of our lamented colleague, Dr. Blair, terminated so fatally. Both ourselves and servants were laid up with fever, and suffered much during a three day's passage down the Orinoco from Barancas to the mouth of the river Barima. Dr. Blair alone had so far escaped. On the morning of the 31st October we reached the *Pheasant*, lying off point Barima, and we all felt the greatest satisfaction in joining her. She was clean and exceedingly comfortable for a vessel of her tonnage. In the evening we took advantage of the ebb tide to get under way, and next morning, Sunday, the 1st November, we were off the mouth of the Waini. About 10 o'clock Dr. Blair was seized with what he considered congestion of the lungs, and bled himself; he had two relapses; on each occasion he reopened the vein; extreme exhaustion came on, and continued until our arrival in Georgetown at 4 A. M. on the 5th November, after an absence of exactly ten weeks. The fatal termination of his illness on the 9th is too recent and too melancholy to require further notice or comment in this place. Here, however, we may be allowed to remark that our late colleague was the soul of the Expedition; his fine, clear intellect, his analyzing and observant mind, enabled him to arrive at rapid as well as just conclusions. He

* A specimen having been submitted to Dr. Shier for examination, he has ascertained it to be "Brown Hematite," a very rich iron ore. Mr. Draeger informed us that immense quantities of this ore are to be found on the mountains for 30 or 40 miles on each side of Upata.

No. 99.

was struck with the great natural capabilities of the upper Cuyuni, with its beautiful scenery and genial climate, and although we were 10 days paddling up that river, so varied was the landscape that each day's journey was looked forward to with pleasure. At the diggings at Caratal Dr. Blair was beset by invalids for advice, which he invariably and gratuitously offered. Our small stock of medicines rapidly disappeared, and it is even possible that if he had not given away the last dose of Quinine to a sufferer at Barancas, his own most valuable life might have been saved. We cannot conclude this report without alluding to the Indian population inhabiting the country between the rivers Pomeroon and Amacuru, the Atlantic Ocean and the river Cuyuni. Mr. McClintock, a good authority, as he made a census of the Indian population some years back, estimates their number at about 2,500. During our expedition, we at various times had with us from 30 to 40 Indians of five different tribes. We found them invariably truthful and honest; during eight weeks that they were with us, we never missed the most trifling article. They were assiduous and willing, easily satisfied as to food, and we have much pleasure in recording our unqualified satisfaction with their conduct. It must not, however, be forgotten that they were under the supervision of Mr. McClintock, who for many years has been Superintendent of Rivers and Creeks for the Pomeroon and adjacent districts. The unbounded confidence which the Indian population repose in this gentleman speaks well for both parties, and no doubt they have acquired this feeling by many years' experience, during which Mr. McClintock has been their Protector. We may add that in the event of a road being cut, as previously suggested, to the savannah land in the neighbourhood of the Curumu, a large band of laborers, skilful in bushwork, could easily be collected from the Indian tribes in the Waini and its tributaries, peculiarly qualified for that description of employment.

No. 100.

Extract from Report of James Shanks, Surveyor, to William Walker, Lieutenant-Governor of British Guiana, and the Court of Policy, as to an expedition up the Mazaruni and Yuruari, 1857.

[From "Royal Gazette," Georgetown, British Guiana, Thursday, December 26, 1857.]

That your reporter did agreeably to your Excellency's written instructions leave Georgetown, on Saturday night, the 3d October last past, having in company Mr. Horne, Inspector of Police, and Mr. Hitzler, and arrived at the Penal Settlement on the Massaruni, on the Monday night following, with all the stores for the expedition and four batteaus. Your reporter expected to find four more ready at the settlement, but there

No. 100.

were only two, one of them requiring repairs. Mr. van der Heyden, in charge of the craft, said that he had been sent on other duty by Mr. Cartwright; two other corials had therefore to be bought, and the one requiring repairs put into the carpenter's hands, thus two days were lost. At 8 o'clock on Thursday morning, the 8th October, the expedition started from Calicoon, Mr. Horne having obtained ten convicts and a guard from the penal settlement, and Mr. van der Heyden sixteen Essequibo creoles, known as Bovianders, and three Indians. A few more Indians were picked up afterwards on the way. Your reporter, with Mr. van der Heyden as captain, led through the Cuyuni to the mouth of the Yuruwan and a little way up it to the Yuruari on to Tupuquen, where the party arrived on the 15th November following, at 10 o'clock A. M. near the gold diggings at the Caratal, so called from the Carat (the Ita palm), which abounds there, but in a very stunted form. Your reporter took down every turn, rapid, fall, and visible creek on the way, all which will appear by a diagram which we will prepare in a reasonable time. He may state here, at once, that Sir Robert Schomburgk makes our boundary intersect the Cuyuni at the mouth of the Aunama Creek, in longitude 59 deg. 26 min. west, where there is a path to the Massaruni River, but your reporter marked it at 60 deg. 20 min. west longitude, near to the Anococo Creek, at a small settlement of Carib Indians, where Sir William Holmes and party called, and where Mr. McClintock has marked his name on a tree. The Carabisce Creek, through which that party entered the Cuyuni, is close by. Arrived at Tupuquen, which is in longitude 61 deg. 54 min. west, your reporter encamped on the left bank of the Yuruari, same side as Tupuquen, about three quarters of a mile from that village, which was an old Mission of the Spaniards, but is now very much dilapidated, the convent itself being in ruins.

No. 101.

List of Woodcutting Licenses and Grants of Occupancy in Demerara and Essequibo, existing December 31, 1857.

[From "Royal Gazette" of Georgetown, British Guiana, Tuesday, March 23, 1858.]

LISTS OF WOODCUTTING LICENCES AND GRANTS OF OCCUPANCY OF GOVERNMENT LAND IN EXISTENCE IN THE COUNTIES OF DEMERARA AND ESSEQUEBO ON THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1857.

Names of Grantees.	Extent in Acres.	Locality.	Date of Grant.	Amount per Acre.
Thomas Blair	300	Right Bank Mibirie Creek, Waratillo.....	7th Feb., 1853.	\$48 0
Manuel d'Ornellas & Juana Abrio.....	500	Left Bank Tenaboe Creek	8th Apl., 1853.	80 0
Herman Kersting	300	Both Banks Courouabarro Creek	20th Apl., 1853.	48 0
Joseph Hubbard	500	Ditto Ditto Hinarie Creek.....	26th May, 1853.	80 0
Elentherio Varella.....	300	Ditto Ditto Miberie Creek.....	26th May, 1853.	48 0
Antonio Parara.....	300	Ditto Ditto Waratilla Creek.....	26th May, 1853.	48 0
Samuel Rodie.....	1,000	West Bank Demerary River.....	20th Dec., 1853.	120 0
John Bremmer.....	500	Wynblacie Creek	1st Feb., 1854.	80 0
James Stewart.....	300	Howerskaboera Creek.....	16 Mch., 1854.	48 0
Hendrick Pauli.....	600	L. B. Demerary River above the rapids Comounie.....	3rd Apl., 1854.	96 0
Alexander Duff.....	500	Right Bank Hyama Creek	18th Apl., 1854.	80 0
Hugh Fraser.....	500	Hean s Creek, branch of the Pocarora....	3rd June, 1854.	80 0
Thomas Watson.....	612	Both Banks Oraocoya Creek	12th July, 1854.	97 92
Manuel de Saro.....	500	West Bank Yauracabera ditto.....	31st July, 1854.	80 00
Catharine King.....	300 30	Both Banks ditto.....	2nd Aug., 1854.	48 00
Antonio Veiro Nunes & Andriano Quintal	300	Ducara Creek	10th Aug., 1854.	48 00
Henry Murray.....	400	L. B. Demerara River above Campara Rapids.....	19th Sep., 1854.	64 00
Abraham Howard & George Newton.....	283 1/2	Right Bank Hayama Creek.....	2nd Oct., 1854.	53 00
Edward Cox.....	300	L. B. Demerara River above the Rapids...	9th Oct., 1854.	48 00
Henry Murray.....	400	L. B. Demerara River below Oomoparo Rapids.....	9th Oct., 1854.	64 00
Elentherio Varella.....	500 1/2	Right Bank Miberie Creek.....	30th Nov., 1854.	80 00
Antonio Debrae.....	300	North Bank Hayama ditto.....	18th Jan., 1855.	48 00
Benjamin A. Blount.....	300	South Side Hibibel Creek	22nd Jan., 1855.	48 00
Alexander Duff.....	600	Both Banks Hinarie Creek.....	22nd Jan., 1855.	96 00
William Alty.....	500	L. B. Demerara River above the Rapids...	1st Mch., 1855.	80 00
George Couchman.....	300	R. B. Demerara River above the Rapids...	1st Apl., 1855.	48 00
William Branch Follard.....	450	Both Banks Waratilla Creek, Camasani...	18th Apl., 1855.	72 00
Pellicarpo De France & Jose Rodrigues.....	300	Left Bank Yarraoabera Creek	26th Apl., 1855.	48 00
Charles Couchman.....	872	R. B. Demerara River above the Rapids...	11th June, 1855.	128 32
Jose de Freitas.....	500	Kariseroneror Creek Koeliseraboe Creek	26th June, 1855.	80 00
Francis Ferreira.....	300	Western Bank Mahaloony Creek	8th Oct., 1855.	48 00
Richard Stephen.....	499 1/2	Bank of Waratilla	14th May, 1856.	80 0
Jose de Freitas.....	300	Kariseroneror Creek.....	6th Nov., 1856.	48 0
J. G. Detering.....	400	Yacaruma Creek (Essequibo).....	7th Oct., 1856.	64 0
Francis Forsyth.....	300	Banks of Harriwa Creek	26th Dec., 1856.	48 0
Stafford Brittlebank.....	300	Right Bank Demerara River	5th Mch., 1857.	48 0
Benjamin Harrison.....	500	Both Banks Himarooni Creek	18th Mch., 1857.	80 0
Jane Young.....	461	Left Bank Winepero	4th May, 1857.	73 76
A. W. Chappentier.....	608	Both Banks Wary Werry Oooros (Esse- quibo)	26th Apl., 1857.	76 36
John Ontrige.....	366	Right Bank Demerara River	6th May, 1857.	58 56
John Bremmer.....	300	Left Bank Coreta Creek, Demerara River..	10th Sep., 1857.	48 0
Benjamin Harrison & Peter Peters.....	500	West Bank Camoonie Creek	11th Sep., 1857.	80 0
Benjamin A. Blount.....	300	West Bank Hillibes Creek.....	12th Oct., 1857.	48 0
Charles Spencer.....	300	Left Bank Eheboe Creek.....	12th Oct., 1857.	48 0
R. W. Peake.....	300	L. B. Demerara River above the Rapids...	12th Oct., 1857.	48 0
William Cameron.....	300	R. B. Demerara River below the Rapids...	21st Sep., 1857.	48 0
J. G. Detering.....	600	Both Banks Yasarumee (Essequibo).....	17th Oct., 1857.	96 0
Francis Gomes.....	300	Right Bank Madawine	17th Oct., 1857.	48 0
Joan Vieira.....	300	Right Bank Arabadamy Zenabo.....	17th Oct., 1857.	48 0
Christina Preeg.....	300	Right Bank Demerara River	24th Oct., 1857.	48 0
Mary Anna Stand.....	300	Head of Hyama Creek	24th Oct., 1857.	48 0
John S. Shaw.....	300	Right Bank Demerara River	10th Nov., 1857.	48 0
J. Brittlebank & A. V. B. Cameron.....	600	Both Banks Upper Wineperoo Creek.....	10th Nov., 1857.	96 0
Jose Ignacio da Silva.....	600	Both Banks Decara Creek, Madawine....	16th Nov., 1857.	96 0
James & William Mansfield.....	300	Left Bank Camaway Creek.....	10th Nov., 1857.	48 0
Antonina Pereira.....	400	Left Bank Demerara River, Waratilla Creek	18th May, 1857.	64 0
John de Govia.....	600	Left Bank Cassa Guya Creek	20th Dec., 1856.	96 0
M. R. Embleton.....	300	Haymurra Creek (Essequibo).....	1st July, 1854.	48 0
Joseph Stass.....	400	Left Bank Demerara River	26th Dec., 1857.	64 0
Jane Young.....	300	Left Bank Demerara River	26th Dec., 1857.	48 0

No. 101.**GRANTS OF OCCUPANCY DURING HER MAJESTY'S PLEASURE.**

Names of Grantees.	Extent in Acres.	Locality.	Date of Grant.	Amount per Annum.
R. W. Bennett.....	27	Second Island, Demerara River.....	29th Dec., 1834.	\$1 35
R. S. Turton.....	0	Tract of Land, East Coast Demerara.....	June, 1835.	2 0
S. R. L. Backer.....	0	Ditto Ditto	30th July, 1835.	2 0
Francis Chauguion.....	0	Ditto Brick Dam, Stabroek.....	10th Nov., 1835.	1 0
Federica Alborn.....	66	East Bank Camoonie Creek.....	16th Feb., 1835.	2 20
Proprietors of Pin. Glasgow.....	260	In the rear of Pin. Glasgow.....	8th Sep., 1836.	8 33
Ditto Pin. Great Diamond.....	25	Right Bank Demerara River.....	13 h Feb., 1854	4 0
Ditto Pin. Farm Demerara River.....	13 240	East Bank Demerara River.....	6th Oct., 1854.	2 20

WOOD-CUTTING LICENSES IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO FOR FIVE YEARS EACH.

Names of Grantees.	Extent in Acres.	Locality.	Date of Grant.	Amount per Annum.
Thomas Forrester.....	300	Ouruduny Creek, Aroary Creek.....	11th Dec., 1854.	\$45 0
John Cousler.....	300	Commencing at Oomarieple Creek.	8th June, 1855.	45 9
Louis Brunninghausen.....	533½	Both Banks Morabally Creek.....	26th July, 1855.	85 33

GRANTS OF OCCUPANCY DURING HER MAJESTY'S PLEASURE.

Names of Grantees.	Extent in Acres.	Locality.	Date of Grant.	Amount per Annum.
Duncan Clark.....	0	Tiger Creek.....	5th July, 1831.	\$110 0
Idem.....	400	Acarairoo Island.....	20th Feb., 1835.	20 0
James Scott.....	100	Eastern Bank Maasaroonie River.....	12th Feb., 1838.	3 33½
James Ausdale.....	100	Ditto ditto ditto	6th Oct., 1838.	3 33½
James M'Farlane.....	1	Simirie Hill.....	20th Dec., 1853.	Free.
Charles Ward.....	....	Island of Kykoverall.....	1st Jan., 1854.	1 0

No. 102.

List of Grantees in Arrears of Woodcutting Licenses and Grants of Occupancy of Government Land in Essequibo and Demerara, March 11, 1858.

[From "Royal Gazette" of Georgetown, British Guiana, Tuesday, March 23, 1858.]

LIST OF GRANTEES IN ARREARS OF WOODCUTTING LICENCES AND GRANTS OF OCCUPANCY OF GOVERNMENT LAND, COUNTY OF DEMERARA.

Names of Grantees.	Locality.	Number of Years Due.	Amount.
Hugh Fraser.....	Haans Creek, Camoenie Creek.....	1 year to 3d June, 1858	\$80 00
Jacobus Peters.....	Carouabarro Creek.....	2 years to 4th June, 1858	96 00
Proprietors of Plantation Glasgow.....	In the rear of Plantation Glasgow.....	15 " 8th Sep., 1858	125 00
Proprietors of Plantation Farm.....	East Bank, Demerary River.....	1 year to 6th Oct., "	122 20
W. O. Bosch and William Schults.....	Tenaboe Creek.....	2 years to 2d Nov., 1858	160 00
Manoel d'Oruelas and Juan d'Abris.....	Left Bank Tenaboe Creek.....	1 year to 5th Apl., 1858	48 00
Elentherio Varela.....	Both Banks Miberie Creek.....	1 " 25th May, "	48 00
Samuel Bodie.....	West Bank Demerara River.....	1 " 30th Dec., "	120 00
Hendrick Pauli.....	Left B. E. Demerara River, above the Rapids.....	1 " 3d Apl. "	96 00
Thomas Watson.....	Both Banks, Oracoea Creek.....	2 years to 12th July, "	195 84
Catherine King.....	Both Banks, Yauracalara Creek.....	1 year to 2d Aug., "	48 00
Henry Murray.....	L. B. Demerara River, above Comapara Rapids.....	1 " 19th Sep., "	64 00
Edward Cox.....	L. B. Demerara River, above the Rapids...	1 " 9th Oct., "	48 00
Henry Murray.....	L. B. Demerara River, above Comapara River.....	1 " 9th Oct., "	64 00
Elentherio Varela.....	Riglet Bank, Miberie Creek.....	1 " 20th Nov., "	80 00
William Alty.....	L. B. Demerara River, above the Rapids...	1 " 1st Moh., "	80 00
William Branch Pollard.....	Both Banks Waratilla Creek, Camoeni...	1 " 18th Apl., "	72 00
Francis Pereira.....	West Bank, Mahalacony Creek.....	2 years to 8th Oct., "	96 00
Jose de Freitas.....	Kariaero-amoroo Creek.....	1 year to 6th Nov., "	48 00
Francis Forsyth.....	Banks of Harriwa Creek.....	1 " 26th Dec., "	48 00
John de Gorla.....	L. B. Camasouga Creek.....	1 " 20th Dec., "	96 00

LIST OF GRANTEES IN ARREARS OF WOODCUTTING LICENSES AND GRANTS OF OCCUPANCY OF GOVERNMENT LAND, COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.

Names of Grantees.	Locality.	Number of Years Due.	Amount.
James Scott.....	East Bank Maesaronie River.....	11 years to 12th Feb., 1858	\$36 68
Duncan Clark.....	Acaraloroo Island.....	3 " 20th Feb., "	
Idem.....	Tiger Creek.....	11 " 5th July, "	1,210 00
Charles Ward.....	Island of Kykoverall.....	1 year to 1st May, "	1 00
The Commissioners of the.....	Tapacooma Canal and Lock.....	13 years to June, "	963 29

LIST OF PARTIES IN ARREARS FOR WOODCUTTING LICENSES AND GRANTS OF OCCUPANCY, ALREADY EXPIRED.

Daniel Sullivan.....	4 years, at \$48 per annum.	\$192 00
William Jeffrey (Camoenie).....	3 years, 48 "	144 00
Henry Jacobs.....	1 year, 48 "	48 00
James Audsle.....	4 years, 48 "	192 00
Aaron Knight.....	1 year, 48 "	48 00
William Jeffrey.....	4 years, 48 "	192 00
Minors Beard.....	1 year, 48 "	80 00

No. 103.**Change of boundaries of Essequibo and Demerara and new Subdivision of the Colony; Proclamation of June 22, 1858.**

[From the Official Gazette of British Guiana, Georgetown, Wednesday, June 23, 1858.]

PROCLAMATION.

By his Excellency, Philip Edmund Wodehouse, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the colony of British Guiana, Vice-Admiral and Ordinary of the same, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas, by the ordinance No. 16 of 1858, it is enacted that the Governor may, with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy, alter the limits of the counties of the colony and likewise divide the colony into Divisions.

Now, therefore, I, with the advice and consent of the Count of Policy, do hereby proclaim that for the purposes of the Ordinance No. 16 of 1858, so much of the County of Essequibo as lies between the Parika Creek and the Boerasirie Creek, shall be taken to be within the County of Demerara.

And I do, with the like advice and consent, further proclaim that the colony shall be divided into the following divisions, that is to say:

DIVISION No. 1.—The Arabian Coast, from the Western extremity, including Pomeroon, to Plantation Good Hope, inclusive, and Tiger Island.

DIVISION No. 2.—Wakenaam, Leguan, Hog Island, Troolie Island, Fort Island, the settlements in the Supenaam Creek, and on the River Essequibo, on both banks, to the south side of Parika Creek.

DIVISION No. 3.—The Parish of St. Luke, from Parika Creek, the Parish of St. Swithin, and the Parish of St. Mark, from the boundary of St. Swithin to Plantation Vive-la-Force, inclusive.

DIVISION No. 4.—The west bank of the Demerara river upwards from Plantation Vive-la-Force, and the east bank from the limits of Georgetown, with the settlements on the creeks running into the Demerara river.

DIVISION No. 5.—The City of Georgetown and its suburbs.

DIVISION No. 6.—The Parish of St. George from Plantation Thomas and the Parish of St. Paul.

DIVISION No. 7.—The Parish of St. Mary.

DIVISION No. 8.—The Parish of St. Michael, the Parish of St. Catherine, and so much of the Parish of St. Clement as lies to the south of Plantation Highbury with all the settlements on the river Berbice above those Parishes.

DIVISION No. 9.—The Town of New Amsterdam, the east Bank of the Berbice River to Plantation Highbury, inclusive, all the settlements on the Canje Creek, and the estates on the left bank of the East Coast Grand Canal.

DIVISION No. 10.—The east coast of Berbice from Plantation Seawell inclusive, and all the settlements on the Corentyn river.

No. 103.

Given under my hand and seal of office at the Guiana Public Buildings, Georgetown, Demerara, this 22d day of June, 1858, and in the 22d year of Her Majesty's reign.

God save the Queen.

By His Excellency's Command.

WILLIAM WALKER, Gov. Sec.

No. 104.

Division of Colony of British Guiana into Police and Fiscal Districts; proclamation of December 31, 1868.

[From the Official Gazette of British Guiana, Georgetown, Saturday, January 2, 1869.]

By His Excellency Francis Hincks, Esquire, C. B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Guiana, Vice-Admiral and Ordinary of the same, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas by Ordinance No. 30 of the present year, it is enacted that "for the purposes of this ordinance the Governor may by Proclamation, to be published in the Official Gazette, divide the Colony into Police and Fiscal Districts."

Now, therefore, I do hereby Proclaim that, for the purposes aforesaid, the Colony shall be and is hereby divided into the following Police and Fiscal Districts.

No. of
Districts.

Limits.

1. The River Pomeroon and its tributaries and islands, and all settlements on the banks of the said river and its tributaries, and on the said islands—as far as the settlements extend—and from the mouth of the said river Pomeroon, to, and inclusive of, the village of Queenstown, in the Parish of St. John.
2. From and inclusive of Pln. L'Union, in the Parish of St. John, to the Supenaam Creek and the Supenaam Creek and its tributaries, and all settlements on the banks of the said creek and its tributaries, as far as the settlements extend.
3. Wakenaam Island, in the Parish of St. James, Tiger Island, in the Parish of St. John, and Leguan and Hog Islands in the Parish of St. Peter. Also the Essequibo river with its tributaries and islands from the Supenaam Creek on its left bank, and the Parika Creek on its right bank, and all plantations and settlements on the banks of the said river and its tributaries, and on the said islands—as far as the settlements extend.
4. From the Parika Creek, inclusive on the right bank of the river

No. 104.No. of
Districts.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| | Essequibo in the Parish of St. Luke, to Pln. Nouvelle-Flandres, inclusive, in the Parish of St. Swithin. |
| 5. | From Pln. Best, inclusive, in the Parish of St. Swithin to Pln. Vive-la-Force, inclusive in the Parish of St. Mark, and to include Canals No. 1 and 2. |
| 6. | The river Demerara, from and inclusive of Plantation La Penitence, in the Parish of St. Matthew, on the right bank, and from the southern line of Pln. Vive-la-Force, in the Parish of St. Mark, on the left bank, and the tributaries and islands of the said river, and all plantations and settlements on the banks of the said river and its tributaries, and on the said islands—as far as the settlements extend. |
| 7. | The City of Georgetown, Pln. Vlissingen and Le Repentir, and the Lodge Village. |
| 8. | From Pln. Thomas, inclusive, in the Parish of St. George to Pln. Nooten-Zuyll, inclusive, in the Parish of St. Paul. |
| 9. | The Parish of St. Mary including the left bank of the Abary creek. |
| 10. | The Parish of St. Michael, including the right bank of the Abary creek, and the villages of Zorg-en-Hoop and Ithaca, in the parish of St. Catherine. |
| 11. | The town of New-Amsterdam, the Canje Creek and its tributaries, including all plantations and settlements on the banks thereof and the east coast of Berbice, to and inclusive of Pln. Port-Mourant, in the Parish of St. Saviour. |
| 12. | The Berbice river from and exclusive of the town of New Amsterdam, on its right bank and the village of Ithaca, on its left bank, and the tributaries and islands of the said river and all plantations and settlements on the banks of the said river and its tributaries and on the said islands—as far as the settlements extend. |
| 13. | From Pln. Port Mourant in the Parish of St. Saviour to and inclusive of Pln. Skeldon, and the left bank of the Corentyne river, as far as the settlements extend. |

Given under my Hand and the Public Seal of the Colony, at the Guiana Public Buildings, Georgetown, Demerara, this 31st day of December, 1868, and in the 32nd year of Her Majesty's Reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

By command,

JAS. R. HOLLIGAN,
Gov: Secretary.

No. 105.**Police and Fiscal Districts of British Guiana; Proclamation of July 1, 1873.**

[From The Official Gazette (extraordinary) of British Guiana, Georgetown, Tuesday, July 1, 1873.]

By His Excellency, Edward Everard Rushworth, Esquire, D. C. L., C. M. G., Administrator of the Colony of British Guiana.

Whereas by Ordinance No. 6, of the present year it is enacted, that the Governor may by Proclamation abolish the present Police and Fiscal Districts and establish Fiscal Districts:

Now, therefore, I do Proclaim that I do hereby abolish the Police and Fiscal Districts into which the Colony was divided by the Proclamation of His Excellency the Governor, dated the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, and further that I do hereby establish the following Fiscal Districts:—

North Essequibo Coast.—From the River Morucca, including all settlements on the right bank of the said river, as far as the settlements extend, and from the mouth of the said river Morucca, to and inclusive of the left bank of the Capoe Creek.

South Essequibo Coast.—From the left bank of the Capoe Creek, to and inclusive of the Supenaam Creek, and all settlements on the banks of the said creek and its tributaries, as far as the settlements extend, including also Tiger Island, Essequibo.

Essequibo River.—The islands of Leguan, Wakenaam, and Hog Island, also the Essequibo river with its tributaries and islands, from the Supenaam Creek on its left bank and From Plantation Philadelphia on its right bank, and all plantations and settlements on the banks of the said river, its tributaries and islands, as far as the settlements extend.

West Coast Demerara.—From and inclusive of Plantation Philadelphia on the right bank of the river Essequibo, to and inclusive of Plantation Nouvelle-Flandres.

West Bank Demerara River.—From Plantation Nouvelle-Flandres, to and inclusive of Plantation Vive la Force on the left bank of the Demerara river.

Demerara River.—From Pln. Vive la Force on the left and Pln. La Penitence on the right bank of the Demerara river upwards as far as the settlements extend, including all tributaries and islands of the said river.

Georgetown.—The City of Georgetown, including Pln. Vlissingen and Le Repentir and the Lodge Village.

East Coast Demerara.—From the Eastern Boundary of the City of Georgetown to and inclusive of the village of Friendship.

Mahaica.—From the village or Friendship to the left bank of the Mahaica Creek, inclusive all settlements on the said bank, as far as they extend.

No. 105.

Abary.—From the left bank of the Mahaica river to and inclusive of No. 43, or Pln. Rising Sun.

West Coast Berbice.—From No. 43, or Pln. Rising Sun, to and inclusive of the village of Ithaca.

Berbice River.—From the village of Ithaca on the left, and from and inclusive of Plantation Providence, and Overwinning on the right bank of the Berbice river, upwards on both banks of the said river, including its tributaries and islands, as far as the settlements extend.

New Amsterdam.—From Plantation Providence and Overwinning, to and including Plantation Port Mourant, also the town of New Amsterdam, and the Canje Creek and its tributaries, as far as the settlements extend.

Corentyne Coast.—From Plantation Port Mourant to the eastern boundary of the Colony, and thence up the Corentyne River, as far as the settlements extend.

Given under My Hand and the Public Seal of the Colony, at the Guiana Public Buildings, Georgetown, Demerara, this 1st day of July, 1873, and in the Thirty-seventh year of Her Majesty's Reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

By His Excellency's Command,

E. N. WALKER,

Actg. Govt. Secretary.

No. 106.

List of Grants of Occupancy of Government Lands for terms of years or during Her Majesty's Pleasure, in existence in the Counties of Demerara and Essequibo, on the 31st day of December, 1883.

[From the Royal Gazette of British Guiana, Georgetown, Tuesday, February 19, 1884.]

Name of Grantee.	Acreage.	Locality.	Years.	Date.	Amount per Annum.
J. F. L. O. da Graca.....	54	Left Bank Demerara River	21	27th July, 1863..	\$16 20
Julia E. Stoll.....	50	Left Bank Ackawine Creek, Pomeroon River	21	7th Apl., 1864..	15 00
George Couchman.....	25	Left Bank Demerara River.....	21	21st Oct., 1864..	1 00
John Bremner	50.46	Left Bank, Coreta Creek, Demerara River	21	20th June, 1865..	15 14
A. Roberts and H. Jack.....	100	Left Bank Ackawine Creek, Pomeroon River	21	30th June, 1866..	30 00
Charles Couchman.....	25	Left Bank Demerara River.....	21	4th July, 1866..	7 50
J. G. Allcock.....	25	Left Bank Wayniblaice Creek, Demerara River	21	6th Nov..	7 50

Grants of Occupancy—Continued.

Name of Grantee.	Acreage.	Locality.	Years.	Date.	Amount per Annum.
John Ferreira.....	100	Right Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	7th " 1868..	30 00
Presbyterian Missionary Society.....	10	Right Bank Supensam Creek, Essequibo River.....	21	29th " 1870..	3 00
A. de Grealar and M. Correia..	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	29th July, 1871..	30 00
Joseph Stoll.....	100	Right Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	11th Mar., 1873..	30 00
Proprietor of "Great Diamond".....	12½	Aback of Golden Grove, etc., Demerara River, for canal purposes.....	21	9th Nov.,	3 30
John Glasgow.....	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	1st Feb., 1873..	30 00
Willis J. Rodney.....	100	Left Bank Mahaicony Creek, Demerara.....	15	12th May,	30 00
R. Sample, A. Prince and J. Phillips.....	100	Left Bank Mahaicony Creek, Demerara.....	21	9th Sep.,	30 00
John S. Landroy.....	50	Right Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	13th Oct.,	15 00
John Ferreira.....	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	8th Dec., 1873..	30 00
W. Rogers and A. John.....	100	Left Bank Mahaicony Creek, Demerara.....	15	3rd Mar., 1874..	30 00
Tomey Calvin.....	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	.....	30 00
Joseph Faria.....	100	Left Bank Mahaicony Creek, Demerara.....	15	21st	30 00
Manoel Rodrigues.....	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	21	1st Sep.,	30 00
Manoel Rodrigues.....	38	" " " ".....	21	5th Oct.,	11 40
Antonio da Silva.....	100	" " " ".....	21	13th Jan., 1875..	30 00
Antonio A. Agrella.....	100	" " " ".....	21	.....	30 00
José Gonçalves.....	50	" " " ".....	21	18th Oct.,	15 00
Antonio Pereira.....	100	" " " ".....	15	.....	30 00
Adrian Roberts.....	100	" " " ".....	15	2nd Sep., 1876..	30 00
John Glasgow.....	100	" " " ".....	10	17th Apl., 1877..	30 00
M. Joaquin and M. Fernandes.....	100	" " " ".....	10	.....	30 00
Manuel Govia.....	100	" " " ".....	10	.....	30 00
Henry Stephney.....	100	" " " ".....	15	17th Dec.,	30 00
R. Farouse and M. Gonçalves.....	100	" " " ".....	10	21st	30 00
José Gonçalves.....	110	" " " ".....	15	29th Jan., 1878..	34 00
Manoel J. Lopes.....	5	Right Bank Oeracoeja Creek, Demerara River.....	10	13th May,	1 50
Theodore Kersting.....	5	Right Bank Hamora-Acuyl Creek, Demerara River.....	10	1st July,	1 50
John Pinto de Faria.....	10½	Left Bank Cassiquia Creek, Waradilla Creek, Camoenl Creek, Demerara River.....	5	13th Jan., 1879..	3 20
M. Marks & F. Peres.....	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	10	8th July, 1880..	30 00
J. H. D. Campbell.....	18.15	Right " " ".....	15	29th Sep.,	54 45
James Adolphus.....	200	Left " " ".....	5	4th Oct.,	60 00
José D'Agrella.....	100	Right " " ".....	7	19th Mar., 1881..	30 00
José da Silva.....	100	" " " ".....	5	26th	30 00
J. McConnell, Proprietor of Pln. Cane Grove.....	410 3/4	Left Bank Mahaica Creek, Demerara... ..	21	4th July,	123 15
J. McConnell, do. do.....	253 1/2	" " " ".....	21	.....	75 12
J. McConnell, do. do.....	144 1/2	" " " ".....	21	.....	43 20
J. McConnell, do. do.....	300	" " " ".....	21	.....	90 00
J. McConnell, do. do.....	233 1/2	Right " " ".....	21	.....	70 12
J. McConnell, do. do.....	100	" " " ".....	21	.....	30 00
Antonio D'Agrella.....	100	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	5	14th	30 00
George Garraway.....	100	" " " ".....	10	9th Sep.,	30 00
The Lord Bishop of Guiana and His Successor in the See.....	121 1/2	Right Bank Moruca Creek, Essequibo.....	D.H.M.P.	.....	30 00
Maria de Souza.....	100	Right Bank Pomeroon River.....	10	12th	30 00
Angelica J. Gomes.....	5	Confluence of Lower Wineperoo Creek with Demerara River.....	2	1st Jan., 1882..	1 50
James Sundac.....	5	Left Bank Cunnaucunah Creek, Areobajo Creek, Demerara River.....	2	11th Apl.,	1 50
Allan G. Van Sluytman.....	138 1/2	Left Bank Pomeroon River.....	15	27th June,	30 00
Antonio D'Agrella.....	70	Right " " ".....	5	16th Oct.,	21 00
J. F. L. O. da Graça.....	50 1/2	Left Bank Demerara River.....	5	19th June,	15 20
James H. Dow.....	5	Left Bank Upper Wineperoo Creek, Demerara River.....	3	1st Aug., 1883..	1 50
José Gonçalves.....	118	Right Bank Pomeroon River.....	5	29th June, 1883..	35 40
Leandro D'Abrio.....	5	Right Bank Little Creek, Koelerisraboe Creek, Demerara River.....	2	29th Oct., 1883..	1 50
Peter Farouse.....	100	Right Bank Pomeroon River.....	5	10th Dec.,	30 00
Manoel Marks.....	100	Left " " ".....	5	.....	30 00
John Gonçalves.....	100	Right " " ".....	5	.....	30 00
Bishop Butler and His Successor in Office.....	3 1/2	Left " " ".....	D.H.M.P.	.....	1 14
					\$1,747 22

No. 107.**Proposed Road from the Barima River to the Cuyuni River.**

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission Report, vol. vii, pp. 359-361, the article there printed being extracted from a newspaper *The Daily Chronicle*, Georgetown, Demerara, October 25, 1894.]

Mr. Weber proposed the following resolution, of which he had given notice:

"With reference to the resolution of the Combined Court, approved in its last session and by which His Excellency the Governor and this Honorable Court were authorized to expend certain sums, if they were deemed necessary for the development of the gold and other industries, except that of sugar;

"*Resolved*, That this Court respectfully ask of His Excellency the Governor that, at the briefest time possible, he give orders to make the plan for a wagon or mule road from the point where the Barima river is no longer navigable up to the Upper Cuyuni river, and if found practicable, to the Yuruán river, with the end of putting these rivers in direct communication."

He said that His Excellency knew, no doubt, how difficult it was to reach that very important District; that the numerous falls of the Cuyuni river made the trip to the Yuruán river so troublesome and difficult, that almost seven weeks were required to reach that place; that one private study had already been made for a road from the Upper Barima river to the Cuyuni river, and it had been found that the journey to this District, one of the most important, among the auriferous Districts of the Colony, could be made shorter than it is now. He expressed the hope that His Excellency would look for a way to have that region surveyed with the view of opening a road that, besides economizing an immense amount of time and expense to those interested in the gold industry of that District, would also facilitate a more prompt communication with the Government Station on the Yuruán river, subject matter the importance of which he hardly needed to suggest to the Government. Mr. Hunter supported the resolution.

The Customhouse Inspector, on admitting how beneficial such a road would be, said that he would like to suggest another point; that he believed that in a question as that of opening a road, the opinion of a man like Mr. Barnard would be of weight; that this man was of the opinion that the waterways should be utilized as far as possible, and hinted that the communication should be opened through canals with boats.

Mr. Davis thought that they had carried out the idea up to a certain degree in the Northwest District, and that they would keep the same in mind in the present case.

The Secretary of Government said that there were two points to be considered. In the first place, the amount of money proposed in the resolution approved by the Combined Court, for the development of the gold and other industries, had to be raised by means of a loan; and whilst the Government should not importune for the same the approval of the Secretary of State, it would be impossible for him to act. Of course no time

No. 107.

was lost in communicating to the Secretary of State the recommendation of the Combined Assembly, and no doubt an answer will soon be received. In regard to the other point, the honorable member perhaps did not know that as to connecting these two rivers some considerable study has already been made, and some plans have been presented that are still being considered. In effect, the Government Agent in the Northwest District is now in communication with the Government in regard to the very matter. The details belonging to it shall be presented to the Commission that His Excellency may appoint for the carrying out of the resolution approved by the joint Assembly in its last session, and he believes, therefore, that the honorable member might consent for the present to a postponement of the consideration of his proposition.

Mr. Weber said that it pleased him much to know from the Secretary of the Government that the Government understood the two aforesaid rivers should be connected, if it were possible. He was in accord with the justice of the remarks of the Customhouse Inspector in regard that the communication by canal should be preferred, but he said he was afraid that would be impossible.

It is understood that whenever the waterways could be employed with advantage, they should be used. With the consent of the member who supported it, he asked that the postponement of his proposition he allowed, knowing steps were being taken for that purpose.

No. 108.**Shipping Statistics of British Guiana, 1894-1895.**

[From Colonial Reports—Annual. No. 159. British Guiana, Annual Report for 1894-5. London, 1896.]

The following statement shows the number of vessels entered and cleared at the ports of the Colony during the year 1894-5:

Ports.	Entered.			Cleared.		
	No.	Tons.	Crews.	No.	Tons.	Crews.
Steam vessels—						
Georgetown, Demerara.....	242	211,196	8,787	244	211,118	8,706
New Amsterdam, Berbice.....	4	3,685	109	15	14,754	385
North-Western District.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Totals.....	246	214,881	8,846	259	225,872	9,091
Sailing vessels—						
Georgetown, Demerara.....	453	107,179	3,966	465	111,385	4,066
New Amsterdam, Berbice.....	22	5,456	167	27	6,388	203
North-Western District.....	*38	57	44	....	....	....
Totals.....	513	112,692	4,177	492	117,773	4,269
Total steam and sailing vessels ..	759	327,573	13,023	751	343,645	13,360

* These are small boats entering the Port of Barima. Clearance statistics have not been kept.

No. 109.

Extract from Report of C. C. Lees, Governor of British Guiana, to Mr. Chamberlain, as to the Construction of Roads and Railroads in the Northwest District and on the Cuyuni.

[From Colonial Reports—Annual. No. 159. British Guiana, Annual Report for 1894-5. London, 1896.]

* * * * *

Funds have also been provided for the survey and construction of roads from the Barima to the Barama rivers in the north-west district, and from the Potaro river to the gold fields on the Mahdia and Conawaruk creeks in the Essequibo, and these works are proceeded with. Transport on the rock-impeded Cuyuni is also being facilitated by the construction of *portages* at the more dangerous rapids, and bills which have since become law have been introduced to sanction the construction of two lines of railway communicating with the mines in the north-west district.

* * * * *

No. 110.

List of (a) Grants of crown lands, (b) Licenses of occupancy, (c) Wood-cutting licenses, British Guiana, 1897.

[Extracted from British Guiana, Annual Report of Government Land Department for 1896-1897 (No. 7958), fol. Georgetown, Demarara, 1897.]

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF GRANTS OF CROWN LAND, EXCLUSIVE OF THOSE AT BARTIKA, FROM 1889.

COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.

No.	DATE.	GRANTER.	AREA.	LOCALITY.
			ACRES.	
400	10th Feby., 1890.....	Jose Gonsalves.....	18	Right bank Pomeroon River.
450	9th Sept., 1891.....	J. da Silva.....	50	Left bank Ackawinni Creek, Pomeroon River.
492	8th Oct., 1891.....	E. Garraway.....	181.5	Right bank Pomeroon River, part of Pln. Friendship.
496	12th Oct., 1891.....	John Baird.....	100	Right bank Pomeroon River, above a tract in the occupancy of A. Cordeiro.
494	12th Oct., 1891.....	John Russell.....	101.1	"Dall," Right bank, Essequibo River.
502	12th Oct., 1891.....	Crown Surveyor.....	90.2	Right bank Waini River.
520	14th Dec., 1891.....	Bishop of Guiana.....	6.3	Lots A, B, C, D, & E Bartica, Essequibo River.
524	15th Dec., 1891.....	Robert Adams.....	100	Left bank Pomeroon River, below Pickersgill Police Station.
527	18th Dec., 1891.....	George Blackburn.....	100	Right bank Barima River, part of Lots 32 & 33.
533	19th Jan., 1892.....	Crown Surveyor.....	54	Right bank Barima River.
537	1st Feb., 1892.....	Ant. Gonsalves.....	100	Left bank Pomeroon River, above a tract in the occupancy of A. Sardinha.
474	15th Feb., 1892.....	F. Rodrigues.....	50	Left bank Ackawinni Creek, Pomeroon River.
493	7th March, 1892.....	F. F. Pierre.....	50	Left bank Ackawinni Creek, Pomeroon River.
569	10th March, 1892.....	J. I. Matthews.....	100	Left bank Essequibo River, at Wolgar.
464	17th March, 1892.....	Josephine Adams.....	38	Left bank Pomeroon River.
599	20th April, 1892.....	Jno. Glasgow.....	100	Left bank, Barima River, front portion of Lot 26.
608	21st " ".....	Wo Lee & Coy.....	50	Left bank, Barima River, N. ½ lot 14.

APPENDIX B—(Continued).

No.	DATE.	GRANTER.	AREA.	LOCALITY.
			ACRES.	
478	6th May, 1892.....	B. B. Garraway.....	50	Left bank, Achawinni Creek, Pomeroon River.
627	28th June, 1892.....	George Garraway.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, next above Jno. Glasgow.
626	2nd July, 1892.....	Robert Farouse.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, next below Tames Ferme.
648	20th July, 1892.....	Jose da Silva.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, between Tames Ferme and Maria's Delight.
666	" " ".....	M. J. da Silva.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, at Marowa Point.
674	9th August, 1892.....	W. H. Goring.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon River, near mouth.
702	15th Decr., 1892.....	Joseph Licorish.....	80	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
711	15th Jan'y, 1893.....	William Day.....	100	East side of Hog Island.
777	18th April, 1893.....	W. N. Lindore.....	100	Hog Island.
794	23rd May, 1893.....	William Fauset.....	72.75	Jockey Island, Essequibo River.
819	28th Aug., 1893.....	Jos. Brathwaite.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, above tract in occupancy of M. da Silva.
848	9th Nov., 1893.....	Wm. Cornelius.....	50	Left bank, Essequibo River, below Arrawarri Creek mouth.
849	" " ".....	Theodore Adams.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, below grant in occupancy of A. da Silva.
860	" " ".....	J. G. Ferreira.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, above tract occupied by J. Goncalves.
861	" " ".....	M. da Silva.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, below tract of J. Brathwaite.
918	" " ".....	Crown Surveyor.....	36.41	Right bank, Barima River, at Arakaka.
914	" " ".....	Do.....	1.11	Right bank, Barima River, at Koriabo.
929	17th April, 1894.....	Kheeseram.....	124	West side, Hog Island.
963	23rd June, 1894.....	J. H. Powell.....	50	Right bank, Barima River, next below Government reserve.
967	16th July, 1894.....	J. J. da Silva.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon River, upper half of expired grant of A. da Silva.
978	2nd August, 1894.....	A. Correia.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, near Eurawa Point.
984	" " ".....	Wm. Day.....	25	Eastern side, Hog Island.
985	" " ".....	B. B. Garraway.....	50	Left bank, Achawinni Creek, Pomeroon River.
987	" " ".....	Jose Goncalves.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
991	10th " ".....	Crown Surveyor.....	....	Right bank, Barima River, at Mount Everard.
992	7th Sept., ".....	G. L. Garraway.....	37.41	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
993	" " ".....	Do.....	35	Left bank, Pomeroon River, behind Marlborough.
994	" " ".....	J. Fortune.....	100	West side, Hog Island.
1,001	25th " ".....	J. Sullivan.....	100	East side, Hog Island.
1,002	" " ".....	J. Baird.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,004	" " ".....	Henninum.....	34	East side, Hog Island.
1,041	12th Decr., ".....	Mahommed Ackbar.....	102	East side, Hog Island.
1,044	12th Jan'y, 1895.....	Aaron Glan.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,061	16th Feby., 1895.....	H. Jack.....	12.51	Right bank, Achawinni Creek, Pomeroon.
1,068	25th March, 1895.....	Pomeroon Provision Company, Ltd.....	193½	Left bank, Pomeroon River, at Warrapana Creek.
1,064	" " ".....	Pomeroon Provision Company, Ltd.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon River, at Warrapana Creek.
1,085	" " ".....	Pomeroon Provision Company, Ltd.....	122.11	Left bank, Pomeroon River, at Warrapana Creek.
1,090	11th April, 1895.....	A. Garraway.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,139	17th July, 1895.....	Crown Surveyor.....	2	Left bank, Barima River, at Arakaka.
1,180	27th July, 1895.....	T. Luben.....	100	East side, Hog Island.
1,143	24th August, 1895.....	L. O. Callaghan.....	100	Left bank, Essequibo River.
1,154	26th Sept., 1895.....	B. N. Garraway.....	290.8	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,156	" " ".....	N. Evans.....	46.86	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,157	" " ".....	J. Affonso.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,158	" " ".....	E. Adams.....	40.2	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,207	16th January, 1896.....	J. Jonas.....	148.6	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1896-97.				
1,271	6th June, 1896.....	Crown Surveyor.....	15.18	Right bank, Potaro River, Tumatamari.
1,292	8th Aug., 1896.....	A. Glasgow.....	120	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,286	13th Aug., 1896.....	Crown Surveyor.....	19.9	Right bank, Potaro River (Potaro landing).
1,298	10th Sept., 1896.....	G. L. Garraway.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,299	" " ".....	S. Small.....	90	Right bank, Pomeroon River.
1,301	1st " ".....	Bishop Butler.....	25	Left bank, Moraka River, "Santa Rosa."
1,307	25th " ".....	Konhye.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,311	9th Oct., 1896.....	R. O. Clarke.....	135	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,313	1st Oct., 1896.....	Bishop Butler.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,314	21st Oct., 1896.....	Beatrice Glasgow.....	119.09	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,321	23rd Oct., 1896.....	Crown Surveyor.....	1	Left bank, Cuyuni River, at Kamaria Road.
1,322	28th Oct., 1896.....	Do.....	1	Left bank, Cuyuni River, at Kamaria Road.
1,338	8th Jan'y., 1897.....	David Tyson.....	120.86	Right bank, Wakapan Creek, Pomeroon River.
1,367	4th March, 1897.....	A. Fernandes.....	119.06	Left bank, Pomeroon River.
1,411	12th March, 1897.....	Crown Surveyor.....	100	East side, Gluck Island, Essequibo.

No. 110.

APPENDIX B 1.

DEMERARA.			ESSEQUIBO.		BERBICE.		GRAND TOTAL.	
Years.	No. of Grants issued.	Area.	No of Grants issued.	Area.	No of Grants issued.	Area.		
		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.	No. of Grants.	Acres.
1889.....	1	5	1	118	1	30	2	128
1890-91.....	1	25	1	90	1	30	2	55
1891-92.....	6	642	11	970·6	10	1,365·3	27	2,977·9
1892-93.....	16	7,306·82	11	900	9	1,102·88	36	9,309·4
1893-94.....	2	125	10	670·27	11	1,446·6	23	2,241·87
1894-95.....	10	684·75	21	1,701·66	10	828	41	3,061·41
1895-96.....	5	373	9	863·16	18	2,440·6	32	3,676·76
1896-97.....	11	1,248	15	1,066·08	23	2,145·4	49	4,460·48

APPENDIX B 2.

LIST OF GRANTS OF CROWN LAND ISSUED PREVIOUS TO 1890.

No.	DATE.	GRANTER.	AREA.	LOCALITY.
COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.				
Book 3 p. 159	6th Oct., 1835	Rector of Trinity Parish	10	Left Bank, Arapika Creek, Pomeroon River.
" 4 " 152	28th May, 1838	W. Blattein	100	Ithaca, Right Bank, Essequibo River.
" 3 " 231	25th Oct., 1841	J. Oastlerough	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River.
" 3 " 268	30th May, 1848	J. J. Struthers	100	Right Bank, Supenaam Creek.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF LICENCES OF OCCUPANCY

FROM 1806 OF CROWN LAND (OTHER THAN 2ND AND EXTRA DEPTHS TO ESTATES) FOR TERMS OF YEARS OR DURING HER MAJESTY'S PLEASURE, IN EXISTENCE IN THE COUNTIES OF DEMERARA, ESSEQUIBO AND BERBICE ON THE 1st MARCH, 1897.

No.	LICENCEE.	ACREAGE.	LOCALITY.	YEARS.	DATE FROM WHICH ACRES MONEY IS PAYABLE.	AMOUNT PER ANNUM.
COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.						
133	W. Brummell & T. G. Heyliger	166½	Lot 11, Aroabische Coast	DHM	15th Mar., 1806	
Book 4 p. 88	Pin. Zorg	100	Heemareebca Creek	DHMP	11th June, 1826	\$5.58
" " 69	" Parika	100	Hog Island	DHMP	9th July, 1826	3.34
" " 79	" Wisselvaligheid	160	Do.	DHMP	6th Oct., 1826	5.00
" " 85	" Zorg	300	Do.	DHMP	6th Oct., 1826	10.00
" " 89	J. & D. O. Struthers	160	Great Ducalaba Island	DHMP	18th April, 1838	7.50
" 3 " 466	Rev'd. W. Austin	84	Manati Island	DHMP	21st June, 1858	1.66
42	Bishop of Guiana	121·9	Right Bank, Meruka River	DHMP	6th Sep., 1881	Free.
251	Manoel Marques	150	Right Bank, Pomeroon River			
			River	12	18 h July, 1887	45.00
381	Joseph Jonas	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	10	30th April, 1899	30.00
488	A. E. Matthews	142	Kaow Island, Essequibo River	21	6th Oct., 1890	42.62
COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.						
418	Antonio Rodrigues	112	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	7	21st Nov., 1890	5.38
436	C. E. Piper	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	8	2nd April, 1891	4.80
436	A. Rodrigues	164	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	7	2nd " 1891	7.39
439	B. Garraway	108	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	6	2nd " 1891	4.94
440	A. da Grelia	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	7	2nd " 1891	4.80
452	Thos. Black	28	On Hog Island	7	12th " 1891	1.20
497	Manoel Goncalves	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	10	25th May, 1891	4.80
489	M. J. Fernandes	50	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	15	23th " 1891	2.40
454	Jeffery Garraway	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	10	26th " 1891	4.80
476	Wm. Jones	121·2	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	8	30th June, 1891	6.81
481	Frank Welcome	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	12	4th July, 1891	4.80
163	M. Goncalves	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	15	21st " 1891	4.80
486	John Goncalves	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	15	2nd Aug., 1891	4.80
498	Stephen Johnson	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River	15	1st Oct., 1891	4.80
501	Lord Bishop of Guiana	50	Right Bank, Barima River	DHMP	13th, " 1891	Free.
523	A. Sardinha	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	15	1st Nov., 1891	4.80
526	A. Goncalves	100	Left Bank, Pomeroon River	10	1st Dec., 1891	4.80
759	Presbyterian Missionary Society	10	Right bank, Supenaam Creek	DHMP	29th Nov., 1891	Free.

APPENDIX C.—(CONTINUED.)
LICENCES OF OCCUPANCY.—(CONTINUED.)
COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.—(CONTINUED.)

No.	LICENCEE.	ACREAGE.	LOCALITY.	YEARS.	DATE.	AMOUNT.
541	J. Duncan	100	Left bank, Amakura River, part lot 10	10	2nd Jan., 1892..	\$4.80
606	Joaquim da Costa.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River	10	2nd " " ..	4.80
626	James Boston	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River	20	2nd " " ..	4.80
629	Hy. Welcome	50	Right bank, Barima River, part lot 20	10	2nd " " ..	2.40
634	Mak-sy-Hung	50	Left bank, Aruka River	10	2nd " " ..	2.40
536	Bishop Butler and his successors	12.5	Right bank, Barima River.....	DHMP	19th " " ..	Free
632	Alex. Service	50	Right bank, Barima River, part lot 26	10	1st Mar., " ..	2.40
633	Sabina Herrera	50	Right bank, Amakura River, part lot 4	10	1st " " ..	2.40
476	Henry Jones.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	6	1st April, " ..	4.80
630	Jugroopsing.....	35	Hog Island.....	7	1st June, " ..	1.68
623	Henry Evans.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, next to Peter Farouse's Grant	10	28th April, " ..	4.80
630	William Battis.....	100	Right bank, Amakura River, front portion of lot 11.....	10	1st " " ..	4.80
749	G. M. English.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River	10	1st June, " ..	4.80
649	Manceol da Souza.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, opposite Bunbury's place.....	10	1st July, " ..	4.36
650	Manceol Goncalves.....	100	Left bank, Akawinnini Creek, Pomeroon River	15	" " " ..	4.80
651	Charles Obermuller	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River, about 100 roods below Jacklo Creek	7	" " " ..	4.80
652	Anastacio Goncalves	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, 5 roods below Manceol Goncalves' Grant	7	" " " ..	4.80
653	Manceol Goncalves.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, 5 roods above Anastacio Goncalves' Grant	10	4th July " ..	4.80
660	Antonio D'Agrella.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, 5 roods above another grant in his occupancy	10	15th " " ..	4.80
675	Jno. Joaquim da Silva.....	100	Right bank, Akawinnini Creek, Pomeroon River	15	8th Aug., " ..	4.80
676	M. J. da Silva	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River, 5 roods above M. Goncalves' Grant	15	12th " " ..	4.80
677	John Correia.....	114½	Right bank, Pomeroon River, 5 roods below José Goncalves' Grant.....	10	12th " " ..	5.48
682	Frances Peeres.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River, portion of expired grant of José da Silva	10	1st Sept., " ..	4.80
687	L. E. Campbell.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	26th Oct., " ..	4.80
690	Joseph Brathwaite.....	90	Left bank, Pomeroon River	5	17th Novr., " ..	4.33
694	Jose Ferreira	50	Lot 20, Perkins and Harrison's Chart, left bank, Barima River	20	1st " " ..	2.40
695	Alexander Soffly	123.7	Potaro Island, Essequibo River	5	25th " " ..	5.93
699	Joseph Manswell.....	100	Left bank, Oumaka Creek, Hog Island	21	1st Dec., " ..	4.80
705	Michael Garraway.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	31st " " ..	4.08
706	L. A. Campbell.....	93.8	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	15th Jan., 1893..	4.45
713	Benjamin Trotman	100	Right bank, Praparu Creek, Hog Island	5	" " " ..	4.30
718	George Blackburn.....	50	Left Bank, Barima River	10	1st Feby., " ..	2.40
717	Lawrence Ernandes.....	100	Right Bank, Pomeroon River ..	10	1st " " ..	4.80
716	George Eby	50	Right bank, Amakura.....	10	16th Jan., " ..	2.40
720	A. Barr, as Attorney of Messrs. Hogg and H. B. Hunter	119	West bank, Essequibo River, in rear of Plantation Ondermeering, Saddle and Mari's Lodge	DHMP	1st " " ..	5.71
726	George Haywood.....	108	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	15th Feb., " ..	4.80
735	Proprietors of Pln. Land of Plenty of Mainstay.....	31½	Company Path, between Land of Plenty & Mainstay, Aroabische Coast, Essequibo	DHMP	18th " " ..	Free
748	J. December	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River	5	15th March, " ..	4.80
780	J. C. Wellington	50	Right bank, Essequibo River, below Bonasika Creek	21	1st April, " ..	2.40
780	Benjamin Brock	100	Left bank, Barima River.....	10	15th " " ..	4.80
781	Samuel Cadogan.....	50	Left bank, Barima River	7	15th " " ..	2.40
792	Joseph William	50	Left bank, Barima River	10	15th " " ..	2.40
795	Burnett Adolphus.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River	10	1st May, " ..	4.80
816	Manceol Alphonso.....	125	Left bank, Pomeroon River	5	1st Aug., " ..	6.00
817	Jane A. Savory	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	10	1st " " ..	4.80
818	Charles Fraser	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River	6	1st " " ..	4.80
824	Christina Thomas	103½	Left bank, Pomeroon River	5	15th " " ..	4.98
840	Joseph Ignatius.....	100	Left bank, Barima River.....	21	1st Oct., " ..	4.80
852	James A. Cyrus	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	1st Nov., " ..	4.80
863	Adolphus Trim	32	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	6	1st " " ..	1.54
868	M. Farragher.....	50	Left bank, Barima River, part of Lot 18	21	1st Jan., 1894..	2.40
870	C. A. White.....	100	East side of Great Toodle Island, Essequibo River	15	15th " " ..	4.80

APPENDIX C—(Continued).

No	LICENSEE.	ACREAGE.	LOCALITY.	YEARS.	DATE.	AMOUNT.
881	Crown Surveyor	111 3/4	Right bank, Barima River, below Arakaka River.....	DHMP	22nd Jan., 1904..	Free
880	Crown Surveyor.....	2 1/2	Right bank, Barima River.....	DHMP	Free.	
885	Bishop Butler.....	3 1/4	Pomeroon River.....	DHMP	Free.	
886	Crown Surveyor.....	106 1/2	Left bank, Barima River.....	DHMP	Free.	
902	F. J. Kinch	50	South point of Great Troolie Island, Essequibo River	10	1st Feby., 1904..	2.40
889	Richard Taylor	200	East side of Great Troolie Island	7	15th " " "	9.60
888	A. S. Blackman	150	Left bank, Barima River.....	21	15th " " "	7.20
895	Mahon.....	100	West side, Hog Island, Essequibo River.....	12	15th " " "	4.80
906	L. Fraser.....	196	East side, Great Troolie Island.	7	1st Mar., " "	9.41
904	Deonarin	50	West side, Hog Island.....	7	1st " " "	2.40
921	Jugroopsingh.....	76	West side, Hog Island.....	7	15th " " "	3.65
927	S. Babb.....	100	Left bank, Essequibo River....	15	15th April, " "	4.80
928	A. S. Blackman.....	50	Left bank, Barima River.....	7	15th " " "	2.40
935	H. B. Bridgewater.....	59	Right bank, Barima River.....	21	15th " " "	3.28
936	F. B. Neames.....	50	Right bank, Barima River.....	21	15th " " "	2.40
943	M. de Freitas.....	50	Right bank, Amakura River....	21	1st May, " "	2.40
944	Z. A. Lewis.....	50	Right bank, Barima River.....	21	1st " " "	2.40
945	J. Garcia.....	100	Right bank, Barima River.....	21	1st " " "	4.80
946	Chansee.....	25	Right bank, Amakura River....	21	15th " " "	1.20
947	D. Campbell.....	50	Left bank, Barima River.....	10	15th " " "	2.40
948	J. Andrews.....	100	Right bank, Barima River.....	21	15th " " "	4.80
952	A. Sardinha.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	10	1st June, " "	4.80
955	H. B. Bridgewater.....	100	Right bank, Barima River.....	21	15th " " "	4.80
956	Gopee.....	100	Right bank, Barima River.....	7	15th " " "	4.80
961	J. Marcus.....	75	Left bank, Aruka River.....	10	1st July, " "	3.60
962	J. De Souza.....	50	Left bank, Barima River.....	21	1st " " "	2.40
964	Gopee.....	100	Left bank, Boerasirie Creek....	21	1st " " "	4.80
966	A. Sardinha.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	10	1st " " "	4.80
979	J. Robinson.....	50	East side, Hog Island.....	21	15th " " "	2.40
980	J. Calvan.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	10	1st Aug., " "	4.80
981	J. Pereira.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	1st " " "	4.80
982	E. Pearson.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	10	1st " " "	4.80
983	J. J. da Silva.....	100	Right bank, Akawini Creek, Pomeroon River	14	1st " " "	4.80
980	S. Babb.....	100	Left bank, Essequibo River....	15	15th " " "	4.80
995	T. Loxdale.....	100	East side, Hog Island.....	21	15th " " "	4.80
997	D. Trots.....	100	East side, Hog Island.....	10	1st Sept., " "	4.80
998	A. Frazer.....	100	East side, Hog Island.....	21	1st " " "	4.80
1,006	B. Martin.....	176 1/2	East side, Great Troolie Island.	7	1st " " "	8.40
1,007	A. Richards.....	100	West side, Hog Island.....	15	1st " " "	4.80
1,008	B. Henry.....	59	East side, Hog Island.....	21	1st " " "	2.80
1,018	Bishop of Guiana.....	11 3/4	Left bank, Waini River.....	21	1st Oct., " "	Free.
1,021	Mak-ey Hung.....	100	Right bank, Barima River.....	20	15th " " "	4.83
1,022	E. A. Lashley.....	45	Mother Bush, Leguan Island....	21	15th " " "	2.05
1,031	Bishop Butler.....	25	Left bank, Aruka River.....	DHMP	1st Nov., " "	Free.
1,035	M. D'Andrade.....	150	Left bank, Barima River.....	21	1st " " "	7.20
1,037	Dhurman.....	42 1/2	Left bank, Barima River.....	20	1st Dec., " "	2.04
1,038	A. Scott.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	7	1st " " "	4.80
1,089	M. Gomes.....	47 1/2	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	1st " " "	2.28
1,084	Eng-hoo Singh.....	50	Right bank, Aruka River.....	20	1st Jan., 1896..	2.40
1,085	J. J. Ford.....	79 1/2	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	1st " " "	3.81
1,078	W. H. Goring.....	48 1/2	Left bank, Waini River.....	21	1st Feby., " "	2.24
1,079	Raghoonath.....	100	Left bank, Barima River.....	20	1st " " "	4.80
1,077	W. H. Goring.....	147 1/2	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	3	15th " " "	7.10
1,081	W. Cameron.....	50	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	15th " " "	2.40
1,082	J. Correia.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	12	1st March, " "	4.80
1,093	Ant. Rodrigues.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	1st April, " "	4.80
1,098	Henry Jack.....	20	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	1st " " "	96
1,105	M. G. Roberto.....	101.8	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	15th " " "	4.88
1,111	Bhogers.....	100	West side, Hog Island.....	7	1st May, " "	4.80
1,131	F. Rodrigues.....	100	Left bank, Akawini Creek, Pomeroon River	10	1st " " "	4.80
1,109	H. Cornnellison.....	111.3	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	8	15th " " "	5.24
1,113	S. A. Johnson.....	75	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	8	15th " " "	3.60
1,128	J. D'Andrade.....	100	Left bank, Barima River.....	20	1st July, " "	4.80
1,145	F. F. Campbell.....	100	Left bank, Essequibo River....	21	1st Sept., " "	4.80
1,151	Sproston Dock & Foundry Co...	4	Left bank, Barima River, at Taouba Falls	21	1st " " "	19
1,163	E. Jeffrey.....	100	Left bank, Essequibo River....	10	1st Oct., " "	4.80
1,169	A. D'Agrella.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	2nd Nov., " "	2.40
1,171	W. Naughten.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon River....	5	23rd " " "	4.80
1,210	F. F. Campbell.....	100	Left bank, Essequibo River....	21	15th Jan., 1896..	4.80
1896-97.						
1,272	Forbes & Co.....	83	On an Island in the Arakak Ma-tope Falls, Oyuni River.....	21	1st June, 1896..	04
1,277	M. Goring.....	100	Left bank, Waini River, Lots 2 & 3	21	15th " " "	4.80
1,279	J. G. Ferreira.....	150	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	21	1st July, " "	7.20
1,281	S. Melville.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon "	8	1st " " "	4.80
1,287	H. A. Garraway.....	50	Left bank, Pomeroon "	5	1st Aug., " "	2.40
1,291	H. T. Norton.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon "	10	15th " " "	4.80
1,302	A. Rodrigues.....	100	Left bank, Pomeroon "	10	1st Sept., " "	4.80
1,309	M. de Costa.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon "	21	1st Oct., " "	4.80
1,310	Clara Peeres.....	68.37	Left bank, Pomeroon "	10	1st " " "	3.28
1,312	P. Lind.....	25	Left bank, Essequibo River....	10	1st " " "	1.20
1,339	J. Fraser.....	100	Right bank, Barima River.....	15	1st Jan., 1897..	4.80
1,364	H. Jones.....	100	Right bank, Pomeroon River....	5	15th Feby., " "	4.80
1,412	J. Braithwaite.....	50	Left bank, Aruka River.....	21	1st Mar., " "	2.40

No. 110.**SPECIAL LICENCES OF OCCUPANCY UNDER SECTION 6 OF CROWN LANDS ORDINANCE, 1887.**

No.	LICENCEE.	ACREAGE.	LOCALITY.	YEARS.	DATE FROM WHICH ACRES MONEY IS PAYABLE.	AMOUNT PER ANNUM.
COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.						
2.	Gopee.....	25	Lot 10, Barima River Left Bank, upper portion.....	21	11th Nov., 1890.	\$1.20
3.	John Sam.....	50	Lot 11, Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
4.	Manoel de Freitas.....	50	Lot 12, Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
5.	Gregorio Correia.....	75	Lot 16, and upper front portion Lot 15, Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.80
6.	Gregorio Correia.....	50	Lot 17, Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
7.	Alexander Smith.....	25	Lot 18, Left Bank, Barima River, lower portion.....	21	" " "	1.20
9.	John Glen.....	41	Lot 32, at Junction of the Aruka and Barima River, upper portion.....	21	" " "	1.97
14.	Z. A. Lewis.....	75	Lot 3, and upper part Lot 2, Right Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.80
17.	H. B. Bridgewater.....	50	Lot 17, Right Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
20.	Thomas Jacob.....	50	Lot 26, Right Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
21.	R. Haddington.....	41½	Lot 27, Right Bank, Barima River, lower front portion.....	21	" " "	1.98
28.	Henry Higgins.....	35	Lot 28, Right Bank, Barima River, upper portion.....	21	" " "	1.68
25.	Edward Harry.....	37½	Lot 1, Right Bank, Aruka River, lower portion.....	21	" " "	1.80
26.	Samuel Joseph.....	51	Lot 10, Right Bank, Aruka River, upper portion.....	21	" " "	2.45
27.	Heirs of Semoo.....	50	Lot 2, Right Bank, Aruka River.....	21	" " "	2.40
28.	Jas. McClellan.....	50	Lot 3, Right Bank, Aruka River.....	21	" " "	2.40
29.	Jno. Addison.....	50	Lot 4, Right Bank, Aruka River.....	21	" " "	2.40
31.	William Pieters.....	32½	Lot 6, Right Bank, Aruka River, upper portion.....	21	" " "	1.58
32.	M. Gomes.....	38	Lot 8, upper portion and Lot 9, lower portion, Right Bank, Aruka River.....	21	" " "	1.8
33.	Lee-sew-Moi.....	50	Lot 9, Right Bank, Aruka River, upper portion.....	21	" " "	2.40
34.	George Anthony.....	50	Lot 12, Right Bank, Aruka River.....	21	" " "	2.40
36.	George Blackburn.....	50	Lot 6, Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
38.	John Gomes.....	50	Right Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.48
39.	Wm. Campbell.....	100	Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	4.88
40.	Alphonse Figueroa.....	50	Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	" " "	2.40
42.	Manoel de Freitas.....	51½	Lot 2, upper portion, and Lot 3, Right Bank, Amakura River.....	21	" " "	2.95
49.	Prospero Sabinho.....	50	Right Bank, Waini River.....	21	" " "	2.40
51.	Daniel de Freitas.....	50	Lot 19, Left Bank, Barima River.....	21	29th Sept., 1891.	2.40
62.	Robert Wells.....	32	Lot 1, lower portion Right Bank, Amakura River.....	21	" " "	1.54
53.	Francisco Murgado.....	59	Lot 6, upper portion, and Lot 7, lower portion Right Bank, Amakura River.....	21	" " "	2.83
8sq. Roads.						
2.	H. Buchanan, Sr.....	144	Lot 2, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	DHMP	1st March, 1893.	6.00
3.	H. Buchanan, Jr.....	168	Lot 3, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
4.	N. D. Rhodius.....	174	Lot 4, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
5.	A. Buchanan.....	252	Lot 5, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
6.	A. Collinet, Snr.....	173	Lot 6, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
7.	A. Collinet, Snr.....	185	Lot 7, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
8.	A. Collinet, Jr.....	150	Lot 8, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
9.	W. A. Boter.....	159	Lot 9, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
10.	E. A. Collinet.....	283	Lot 10, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
11.	M. E. Embleton.....	295	Lot 11, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
12.	M. V. Manoel.....	186	Lot 12, Klip, Right Bank, Mazaruni River..	do.	" " "	6.00
13.	J. Mounier.....		John Island, Mazaruni River.....	do.	10th Sept., 1894.	6.00
14.	A. Hector.....		Left Bank, Essequibo River, at "Agataah," Lot 1.....	do.	22nd Feby., 1895.	6.00
15.	Ann Brown.....		Do. Do. " 3.....	do.	" " "	6.00
16.	J. F. Mouwroth.....		Do. Do. " 4.....	do.	" " "	6.00
17.	M. G. Pequeno.....		Do. Do. " 5.....	do.	" " "	6.00
18.	J. Adams.....		Do. Do. " 7.....	do.	" " "	6.00
19.	Rachael Aaron.....		Do. Do. " 8.....	do.	" " "	6.00
20.	Harriet Fye.....		Do. Do. " 9.....	do.	" " "	6.00
21.	J. Hall.....		Do. Do. " 11.....	do.	" " "	6.00

No. 110.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF WOOD CUTTING LICENCES IN EXISTENCE, 31st MARCH, 1897.

No.	LICENCEE.	ACREAGE.	LOCALITY.	YEARS.	DATE FROM WHICH LICENCE IS HELD.
COUNTY OF ESSEQUIBO.					
638	J. P. Waith.....	486	Right Bank, Abraham Creek, Pomeroun.	7	29th Jan., 1892.
692	H. Sproston & H. Sproston, Jr..	515	Right Bank, Tiger Creek, Essequeibo....	5	8th Nov., 1893.
719	A. E. Matthews.....	1,967	Left Bank, Essequeibo, at Almanac Creek.	5	1st Feb, "
828	Do.	145	Left Bank, Cameron Creek, Makauria Creek.....	5	21st " "
829	Do.	759½	Right Bank, Makauria Creek.....	5	21st " "
797	W. Grenville.....	208½	Right Bank, Tapakuma Creek.....	5	1st May, "
798	J. I. Matthews.....	825	Both Banks, Arriwarri.....	3	1st " "
839	J. Gonsalves.....	363.75	Right Bank, Essequeibo River at Koka- tiri Creek.....	5	9th July, "
835	J. I. Matthews.....	1,180	Left Bank, Pairuku Creek, Mazaruni River.....	3	15th Aug, "
863	H. Sproston & H. Sproston, Jr..	977½	Right Bank, Tiger Creek, Essequeibo River.....	5	1st Oct., "
965	J. C. Wellington.....	34.2	Right Bank, Bonasika Creek.....	3	1st July, 1894.
1,069	J. I. Matthews.....	401.75	Right Bank, Pairuku Creek, Mazaruni River.....	3	15th Feb., 1895.
1,070	A. E. Matthews.....	850	Left Bank, Labakabra Creek, Tiger Creek	3	30th May, "
1,071	Do.	1,075.50	Right Bank, Labakabra Creek, Tiger Creek.....	3	30th " "
1,136	H. Sproston & H. Sproston, Jr..	116.6	Kamawani Creek, Tiger Creek.....	2	1st July, "
1,133	M. G. de Freitas.....	35	Right Bank, Pomeroun River.....	3	18th " "
1,162	H. Sproston & H. Sproston, Jr..	508	Tiger Creek.....	2	15th Sept., "
1,421	J. A. Wellington.....	122	Left Bank, Kurubuka Creek, Bonasika Creek, Essequeibo.....	3	26th June, 1896.
1,392	C. E. Piper.....	100	Left Bank, Dutchman's Creek, Pome- roon River ..	5	15th Aug., "
1,296	A. P. Bugle.....	93	Right Bank, Marahaurikabra Creek, Bonasika Creek, Essequeibo River.....	1	1st " "
1,329	Do.	255	Left Bank, Marahaurikabra Creek, Bon- asika Creek, Essequeibo River.....	1	1st Nov., "
1,380	Do.	1,394	Both Banks, Kiruni Creek, Supenaan Creek, Essequeibo River.....	1	1st " "
1,380	J. I. Matthews.....	43.44	Left Bank, Pyraku Creek, Mazaruni River.....	1	15th Feby., 1897.
1,351	Do.	872	Right Bank, Wylkabra Creek, Mazaruni	4	15th " "
1,448	Do.	782	Right Bank, Marshall Creek, Mazaruni.	2	26th Jan., "

APPENDIX

PART 4

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS

No. 111.**Origin of domestic animals in America; by Father Joseph de Acosta, 1590.**

[Translated from Acosta (*Father Joseph de*). *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Seville, 1590.]

[*Chap. 33. Relating to Small (Sheep) and Black or Horned Cattle.*]

I find animals of three kinds in the Indies: some which have been brought over by Spaniards; others which, though not brought over by Spaniards, are found in the Indies of the same species as in Europe; others that are peculiar to the Indies and not found in Spain. To the first-mentioned class belong sheep, cows, goats, swine, horses, asses, dogs, cats and such like, for these are found in the Indies. The small cattle have multiplied greatly, and if the wool could be turned to profitable account by shipping it to Europe, it would prove one of the greatest resources of the Indies. Because there the small cattle have a great abundance of pasture, the grass in many localities not being parched by the sun; and the freedom of grass lands and common pastures is such that in Peru there are no private grazing grounds, everybody tending his cattle wherever he pleases. Hence meat there is usually abundant and cheap, as also all the other sheep products such as cheese, milk, etc. At one time they allowed the wool to be wholly wasted, until manufactures were established wherein woollen stuffs and blankets are made, which has proved a great help in that country to the poor people, as clothing from Castile is very costly. There are several manufactures in Peru, many more in New Spain, though now the wool is not so fine, and as the looms do not turn out such good fabric, the clothing going from Spain has great advantage over that made in the Indies. There were men owning from seventy to one hundred head of small cattle (sheep), and at present there are proprietors with not much less. This, in Europe, would be considered great wealth, while there it is looked upon as moderate. In many parts of the Indies, and I believe the most, small cattle are not raised properly, owing to the tallness of the grass, the soil being so luxurious that only black cattle can graze thereon, and consequently there are innumerable herds of the latter. There are two classes of these: one, the tame cattle, which roam about their ranches, as is the case in the country of the Charcas, and in other provinces of Peru, and throughout New Spain. This cattle they make use of, as is done in Spain, for meat, lard, veal, and oxen for the plow, etc. There is another kind of cattle which roam wild, and both on account of the asperity and thickness of the forest and their great number, they are not branded, nor are owned by anybody, but as game belong to the first hunter stalking them. In this manner have bulls multiplied in Hispaniola, and other neighboring islands, where they roam at large by thousands without owners, through forests and fields. These

No. 111.

cattle are hunted for the sake of their hides. Negroes or white men sally out on horseback, armed with houghing knives, in pursuit of bulls or cows, each animal being claimed by the one who brings it down. They flay it, and taking the hide home, leave the flesh to rot on the spot, no one caring for it, owing to its great abundance. This is such, indeed, that I was assured that in some parts of that island there was pestilence arising from the large quantity of putrified meat. This hide, which comes to Spain, constitutes one of the most lucrative industries of those islands, and of Nueva España.

There arrived from San Domingo, in the fleet of eighty-seven [1587], 37,444 bull hides. From Nueva España [Mexico] came 64,350 hides, valued at 96,582 *pesos*. When one of these fleets unloads, the river of Seville and that beach where such great quantities of hides and merchandise are heaped, is a sight to behold.

Goats are also raised with the products of cheveril, milk, etc. Of these a very important one is tallow, which is generally used by rich and poor alike, for illuminating purposes, because owing to its abundance, it comes cheaper than oil, although not all the tallow thus consumed proceeds from the goat. It is also used for dressing shoe-leather, but I do not think that this leather is as good as that brought from Castile.

Horses have been reared, and are still reared of select species, in many or the greater parts of the Indies, and some of the breeds are as good as the best of Castile, no less for racing and show, than for riding and draught. Therefore, the use of horses for traveling is most common there, though mules are not wanting, but plentiful, rather, especially where the droves are composed of them, as in Terra Firma.

Of asses there are not so many, nor are they in so much use, and for working they are of very little service.

Some camels, though few, I saw in Peru, brought over from the Canaries, and reproduced there but to a limited extent.

Dogs in Hispaniola have grown in number and size, so that they have become the pest of that island, as they devour the cattle and roam in packs about the country. Those who kill them receive a reward, as is the case with wolves in Spain. There were no genuine dogs in the Indies, but a species resembling puppies which the Indians called *Alco*; and from their similarity to those brought from Spain, these they also call *Alco*; and they are so fond of these little dogs that they would take the food out of their own mouth to give it to them; and when they travel they take them along with them upon their shoulders or in their bosom. And if they are ill the little dog must be there with them, though of no service whatever, except to keep them company.

No. 111.

[*Chapter 34. Relating to some animals of Europe, which the Spaniards found in the Indies and how they got there.*]

Certain it is that all these animals whereof I have spoken, were brought over from Spain, and that none of them existed in the Indies at the time of their discovery, not yet one hundred years ago; and besides its being a matter regarding which there are witnesses still living, proof enough is furnished by the fact that the Indians have no words in their language wherewith to designate these animals, but avail themselves of the same Spanish terms, though corrupted; because from the place whence they received the thing, not being acquainted with it, they took the word to call it by. This rule I have found to hold good in ascertaining what things the Indians had before the advent of the Spaniards, and what things they had not. Because such as they already had and knew, they also had names for, while those which came to them as new they likewise designated by new names; these, as a rule being the same Spanish names, though pronounced after their own fashion, as horse, wine, wheat, etc. Animals, then, were found of the same species as those of Europe, which, however, had not been brought over by the Spaniards. There are lions, tigers, bears, boars, foxes, and other wild beasts and animals, concerning which in Book First we made the strong point that inasmuch as it is not likely that they came to the Indies by sea, for they could not possibly have swum across the ocean; and for men to bring them aboard with them, is madness; it follows that at some point where one continent stretches out and approaches the other, they must have crossed and gradually peopled the new world. For, according to divine scripture, all these animals escaped in Noah's ark, and thence multiplied themselves throughout the world. The lions that I have seen over there are not of a reddish color, nor do they have those bushy locks with which they are usually painted; they are grey, and not so brave as they are represented to be. To hunt them the Indians get together in a circle which they call *chaco*, and kill them with stones, sticks and other weapons. These lions are also wont to climb trees, where they are killed with javelins or crossbows, or better still, with arquebuses. The tigers are held to be more daring and cruel, and in their spring there is more danger, because it is treacherous. They are spotted, precisely as described by naturalists. I have sometimes heard say that these tigers fatten upon Indians, and that this was the reason why they seldom attacked Spaniards, from among whom they would snatch an Indian and carry him away. The bears, which in the Cuzco language are called *otoroncos*, are of the same species as those found here, and are ant-eaters. As to bee-hives there is little experience of them here, because honey-combs, wherever found, are produced on trees or underground, and not in hives as in Castile; and the honey-combs that I have seen in the province of Charcas, which is called there *Lechiguanas*, are of a dark color and contain very little honey; they seem more like sweet straw than honey-combs. It is said that the

No. 111.

bees are as small as flies, and that they swarm under ground; the honey is acid and black. At other places better honey is found as also more developed honey-combs, as in the province of Tucuman, in Chili, and in Cartagena. Of boars I know little beyond the testimony of people who say that they have seen them. Foxes and animals that prey upon cattle, are more plentiful than shepherds would wish. Aside from these animals which are ferocious and destructive there are useful ones, not brought over by the Spaniards, such as deer of which there is a great quantity in all those forests, but most of them are not altered; at least I have neither seen nor heard of any one who had seen them with antlers; all are hornless like roes. There is no doubt in my mind, but I rather find it quite probable and almost certain, that all these fleet and naturally wild animals, crossed over from one hemisphere to the other at a point where both come closer together, inasmuch as they are not to be met with in some very large islands situated at a great distance from the mainland. This is what I arrive at after some experience and observation.

No. 112.

Notes on the West Indies, made during an expedition under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, 1806: By George Pinckard, M. D., Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals to His Majesty's Forces, etc.

[FROM PINCKARD (George, M. D.). *Notes on the West Indies, etc.* London, 1806, vol. 2, pp. 161, 401; vol. 3, pp. 108, 403.]

[*Vol. 2, p. 161.*]

"Our destination is no longer a secret! The captain went yesterday on board the *Commodore*, and received his instructions—when the Dutch colonies upon the coast of Guiana were avowed to be the object of our expedition."

[*Vol. 2, p. 164.*]

"I have again the pleasure of addressing you upon terra firma, and of telling you that the united colony of Essequibo and Demerara is ours."

[*Vol. 2, p. 176.*]

"Having secured possession of the colony of Essequibo and Demerara, a division of our armament has been detached to the attack of the adjoining settlement of Berbische, which separates us from Surinam."

[*Vol. 2, p. 177.*]

"We are taught that it will not be possible to procure fresh animal provisions in these colonies, in the quantity necessary for the army; but it is

No. 112.

suggested that we may obtain a supply from the Spaniards, who have great numbers of wild cattle, in the island of Trinidad, and upon the neighbouring coast of Oronoko."

[*Vol. 2, p. 182.*]

"Religion, and even its forms seem to be, here (Demerara) dispensed with, for they have neither a place of worship, nor of interment."

[*Vol. 2, p. 212.*]

"Consistent with the order of narrative you wish me to observe in offering you my notes, I may now tell you that the general, and part of the detachment that accompanied him, are returned to Demerara, leaving the 93d regiment, in garrison, at Berbische—that colony having capitulated upon the same terms as Essequibo and Demerara. The commerce of the colonies is to be directed to the ports of England; in return for which she offers them protection and defense. All that concerns the military proceedings is to rest with the English; but, in all that regards the civil administration, the colonies are to preserve the established laws and form of government, until the end of the war; and the present Dutch governors are not to be removed."

[*Vol. 2, pp. 213-214.*]

"The Dutch colony of Surinam borders Berbische, on our right, and a little further up the coast is the French colony of Cayenne. With such restless neighbours about us, we shall require to be watchful and alert. On our left we approach the river Oronoko, and what is termed the Spanish Main: and not far from the coast of Essequibo is the Spanish island of Trinidad. From this quarter we hope to procure beef—from the other we expect only blows."

"A communication is to be opened directly with the Spaniards, in order to negotiate the purchase of cattle from the woods, which, we are told, they will be glad to sell at six or seven dollars per head."

[*Vol. 2, p. 316.*]

"The whole scenery at New Amsterdam, as well as at Fort William Frederic, betrays the infant state of the colony. The dreariness of the land, just robbed of its thick woods—the nakedness that prevails around the Government house—the want of roads and paths—the wild savanna—the heavy forest; in short all that meets the eye conveys the idea of a country just emerging from its original wildness, into cultivation."

[*Vol. 2, pp. 399-401.*]

"At the distance of about nine miles from Johanna, the estate Arends suddenly opened to our view, and the scene before the eye became unusually varied and European.

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No 112.

"Our reception at Arends was friendly and cordial. *
 * * * * *

Accordingly in the evening, M. Pairels, with his own boat and slaves, undertook to conduct the party to M. Heynemann's the remotest European settlement of the colony. We embarked from Arends on a small river or creek,—which, at a small distance from M. Pairels, falls into the great river Berbische. On the point of land, at the angle formed by the two streams, is a small battery, and an old established military post, which is still kept up by a Dutch guard, or at least the semblance of it, formed of a few antiquated invalids. We called to request of them to tell the negroes who were about to pass with our boat, that we were gone from Arends; and to direct them to follow us to M. Heynemann's. The guard consisted of about thirty of the old Dutch soldiers: nearly the whole of whom were in a state of intoxication, and not a man at his post. You will believe that it was not a station of high importance. Indeed, on account of its distance from the coast, it seemed only calculated to overawe the negroes, and the Indians of the vicinity, or to afford a sort of provision for a few of the soldiers who had been worn out in the service."

[*Vol. 3, pp. 108-109.*]

"Of news you will expect but little from this quarter. We hold quiet possession of the colonies which surrendered to us, and the cultivation and commerce is prosecuted with as much industry as though we were resting in the bosom of peace. Great numbers of slaves have been imported, since our arrival, and British property is employed to extend and improve the settlements, with no less ardor than might be expected if these valuable possessions were confirmed to England by a definite treaty, guaranteed by the strongest powers in Europe."
 * * * * *

[*Vol. 3, pp. 168-170.*]

For some time past we have been anxiously looking for news from England. Papers are at length arrived, and we read, that instead of drawing nigh to a peace, we are only now entering upon a wide-spreading war. The great coalition against France appears to be falling away—or rather to be veering round, and to point against the defenders, instead of the disturbers of mankind! Our sailors will not lament that the Spaniards have thrown away the scabbard, and joined the list of their enemies; for, with them, they always expect to exchange cannon-ball, for the more fulminating ore of the Mexican mines.

Among the flimsy pretences urged by Spain for their act of folly, and self-degradation, we read that the capture of these colonies is wrought up into a mighty offence. Poor slaves of the great nation, they must plead something, however absurd! They are told to do it: and in their shameless imbecility, it only remains to them * * * to obey.

No 112.

By inspecting the map you will find that our situation upon this coast is now rendered peculiarly interesting, having enemies on each side, the wild Indians and deep woods behind, and the foaming ocean before us. The Spaniards are on our left and to leeward; the Dutch and French to windward on our right;—close in our rear are heavy and impenetrable forests, inhabited by wild and naked tribes; and our whole front is bounded by the open sea. Our new foes will have more cause of alarm from us, than we can possibly have from them;—being to leeward of us, we shall be able to run down, at any time, and surprise them at Trinidad, or the Caraccas: whereas it might cost them a voyage of many days to make their passage, against the trade winds, far enough to annoy us with any effect: further, the superiority of our fleet give us so entirely the command of the coast, that the Spanish vessels may be expected to afford a plentiful harvest to our sloops and privateers.”

[*Vol. 3, pp. 177-178.*]

“ Rumour has lately threatened us with an attack from Surinam, but we feel no alarm on the subject; having an adequate force to meet the enemy at sea, and troops enough, on shore, to resist any detachment which the Dutch might be able to send from the colony.”

[*Vol. 3, pp. 249-251.*]

“ A considerable time has now passed since our arrival upon this coast, and, having remained so long without any interruption, we had almost believed that the many foes upon our borders meant to leave us in quiet possession of the colonies we had taken; but we have, at length, been assailed from the quarter, whence we last expected it, having had a skirmish with the Spaniards to leeward, instead of the Dutch or French, who in a more imposing aspect, threatened us from windward. Fixing upon a favorable moment when they expected that the garrison might be sunk in repose, after the festivities of the Queen’s birthday, a party of Spaniards crossed the river Oronoko in the night of the 19th inst.,* and made an attack upon our outpost at Moroko, the remotest point of the colony of Essequibo. To their disappointment our troops were upon the alert, and they were observed before they landed. Quickly the whole force at the post was under arms, and at stepping on shore the Dons met a very warm and lively reception. The firing was returned on the part of the Spaniards, who boldly rushed forward, expecting to subdue the garrison, but, after the contest had continued a short time, they were defeated, and some being killed, some wounded, and others driven into the river, those who were able to make their escape, precipitately took to their boats and retreated. Happily not one of our men was killed, but the commanding officer and nine of the soldiers were wounded, some of the latter, we fear, mortally.

* 19th of February, 1797.

No. 112.

This is the first rencontre we have had with the enemy since our arrival in Guiana; and from the result it is probable that the next assault will not be from the quarter of the Oronoko.

* * * * *

“Two of the Bucks, or Indians, were dispatched from the post, to bring us the news of the action, and they, with the zeal and punctuality of more regular couriers, reached Stabroek on the 23d, four days after the battle.”

[Vol. 3, p. 305.]

“Anticipating much of information and amusement from his conversation, we were desirous to have the old Spaniard (*Pezano*) as our guide, from the Post-holder's to the Falls, and therefore invited him to accompany us in the boat to Mr. Mutz's.

* * * * *

Having obtained his promise, we were satisfied, and leaving to his choice the mode in which he should travel, we took our leave, and proceeded, without further delay, to Ooest Vriesland, the abode of the Post-holder.

* * * * *

This is the remotest home of the white people, the furthest from the coast and the sea, and the most distant habitation possessed by Europeans in the settlement. It forms the link of connection between the bay inhabitants of the woods, and the white inhabitants of the colony, being established by the latter as a post of communication for the purpose of administering friendly offices, and cultivating an amicable intercourse with the Indians.

[Vol. 3, p. 307.]

“From Mr. Mutz we learned that, by making a long day of the morrow, we might complete our journey to the “Falls,” and return to his house in the evening. This was pleasant as unexpected intelligence; for beyond the Post holder's lived neither European nor colonist; nor was there any place of call whatsoever. The wild forest was possessed only by its wild inhabitants, and for every accommodation, we must depend upon the limited resources of our boat.”

[Vol. 3, pp. 332-333.]

“No party, so numerous,* had preceded us in journeying so far up the river (200 miles); and we are told that there is not in the whole colony an equal number of white persons, who have travelled to so great a distance from the coast.”

* * * * *

“It had happened to me to make a somewhat similar expedition up the river Berbische, and I frequently hear it remarked, that I have already

* 7 whites and 15 servants.

No. 112.

seen more of the country, the forests, and the rivers of these colonies, than almost any of the inhabitants, although many of them have been here a greater number of years, than I can yet count of months."

[*Vol. 3, pp. 347-348.*]

"The leading heads of news which met our return, were the king's proclamation on the unsuccessful issue of Lord Malmsbury's Embassy to Paris—the confirmation of an expedition from Martinique having captured the Island of Trinidad—and a report that another expedition was fitting out against Porto Rico. We have since heard of the disastrous fate of a French squadron upon our coast, and their unsuccessful invasion of Ireland; and it is now rumoured that an expedition will soon sail from the islands to attack Surinam." "The capture of Trinidad we hail as an event peculiarly fortunate for these colonies, as it again opens to us the prospect we had contemplated, previous to the rupture with Spain, and promises to us a supply of fresh provisions, by our establishing a contract for the purchase of some of the wild cattle, which are found in the woods of that settlement."

[*Vol. 3, pp. 388-389.*]

"Before the coast was brought into cultivation, the forest reached very near to the edge of the water, and from the land being low, it was frequently overflowed by the tides. Now, there is a cultivated territory, a mile and a half in depth, between the ocean and the forest; but this is so entirely flat, as wholly to escape the eye, and on sailing towards the coast, the trees still look as if they were growing within the edge of the sea.

"Perhaps none but the plodding industrious Hollander would have attempted to settle such a country—where wood and water concealed every appearance of the land, and seemed to bid defiance to all the powers of cultivation. Nor indeed were the early labours of the first settlers directed to this part of the coast. They sailed far up the rivers, and established the settlements upon their more elevated banks, at a distance remote from the sea; not venturing to devote their industry to the immediate borders of the ocean, until they were prompted to it by the enterprise of more adventurous planters from the British islands."

[*Vol. 3, p. 398.*]

"The country is divided into a certain number of districts, with a burgher-captain appointed to each, on whom devolves the more immediate execution of the public regulations, whether made for the particular convenience of the respective districts, or for the common benefit of the colony at large."

[*Vol. 3, pp. 402-403.*]

"The Dutch upon originally establishing the settlements, as I have already said, cultivated only the banks of the rivers, and until within the

No. 112.

last twelve or fifteen years, scarcely any plantations were formed upon the coast. It is since this period that English adventure has taught the plodding Hollander that he had overlooked his best interests, in not bestowing his industry upon the immediate border of the ocean; and the seashore already exhibits one rich and fertile field, nearly throughout the whole extent, from the river Demerara to the river Berbische."

"The colony of Berbische was the first settled; but that of Demerara has proceeded with far the most rapid improvement. The number of estates now in cultivation upon the sea coast, from the Demerara river to the border of the colony of Berbische, is one hundred and sixteen; all of which are planted with cotton, except the 'Kitty' belonging to Mr. T. Cuming, which has been recently planted with sugar.* This part of the colony is divided into four districts, the Burgher Captains, presiding over which, are all British planters, viz.: Mr. Lockland Cuming, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Telfer and Mr. Sutherland."

No. 113.

Description of the Colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, Pomeroon and Berbice, 1809, by Henry Bolingbroke, Deputy Vendue-Master at Surinam.

[From BOLINGBROKE (Henry), *A Voyage to the Demerary, etc.*, London, 1809.]

[Chapter I.]

This sketch of the settlements on the Berbice, the Demerary, the Essequibo, and the Pomeroon, is, in great part, copied from successive letters written by the author to his family, during the course of seven years' residence, at Stabrock, without any view to publication.

* * * * *

The only object for attempting this statistical account, is a wish of displaying the importance of the settlements, now possessed by the British, along the northern coast of South America. They are undervalued; and were abandoned at the peace of Amiens, with a levity, which lowered the character of our statesmen for information. If this endeavour, to make the district more known, should succeed, the author's end is reached.

* * * * *

Accident determined my destiny. The partner of a house in Stabrock, who was at London in 1798, wished to engage an articled clerk on terms which my friends thought liberal. Fancy and ambition painted, at the termination of a West Indian voyage, new forms of pleasure and of gain;

* Since these notes were written the number of estates has much increased, and several that were only planted with cotton, now produce the most luxurious crops of sugar.

No. 113.

and I embarked with delight on board the *Comet*, Captain Barrow, at Liverpool, on the 25th December, 1798.

* * * * *

After a passage of seven weeks, it may naturally be supposed we were very happy when one of the seamen, from the foretop gallant masthead, gave us the joyful warning of "Land, ahead!" which was on the 24th of February, [1799].

[Chapter III.]

Stabrock, the political metropolis, and principal seat of exchange for produce of all the countries adjacent to the Demerary and Essequibo, is situated on the east side of the river Demerary.

* * * * *

The population of Stabrock consists of about fifteen hundred whites, two thousand free people of colour, and five thousand negroes.

* * * * *

The laws oblige every man from the age of sixteen to fifty to enroll himself in the burgher militia.

[Chapter VI.]

Nine miles west of the Demerary is the river Essequibo, which, at its mouth, commencing from Borasierre, and extending to Kapoeja creek, is twenty-one miles broad. The former serves as a boundary to the two colonies.

* * * * *

The shires of Essequibo and Demerary, from their conjunction with each other, are comprised under one government, though two distinct colonies. Each has its court of justice and subordinate officers, but one court of police suffices for both, which is held in Demerary, at Stabrock.

But to return to the Essequibo river—Fort Island, about fifteen miles from the mouth, is the seat of the administrative government, and the residence of the commander, who is president of the court. A considerable expence was incurred here in the erection of a battery, which mounted forty pieces of cannon, with covered ways and ramparts, surrounded by a deep moat, over which a draw-bridge was thrown. This is now fast decaying. The cannon are dismounted; and the fort is totally deserted, save by the wash-women, who still find it a convenient place for hanging linen to dry. A few starved cattle of mynheer Blecker's, the tavern-keeper, are allowed to browse there, being intended for the repast of the very honourable members of the court of justice exclusively, who in this instance shewed their spirit of selfishness, in not permitting the numerous people that are obliged to dance attendance, when the court is sitting, to share

No. 113.

with them the conveniency of the only tavern in the island, and indeed,
in the colony. * * * * *

* * * * *

The river Supinama falls into the Essequibo. Many estates and settle-
ments are already made on its banks, and it is also the residence of several
timber cutters, and brickmakers, the soil for which is particularly good.

* * * * *

In 1698, the first settlement was founded on the Essequibo; but,
owing to an erroneous idea that the land adjacent to the sea was too low
and swampy for cultivation, it was commenced on the higher land, nearly
one hundred miles from the mouth, where the soil was by no means so
favourable. The land was granted gratis, under express stipulations that
such a proportion should be under cultivation in a given time, with the
farther inducement of a larger grant, should the terms of the first have
been complied with; and as a punishment for non-compliance, a fine was to
be levied, which, if not paid, the land and improvements were to be sold
for that purpose. A governor was appointed, and a conditional code of
laws was given by the West Indian Company of Holland.

* * * * *

The high price of land on the east coast of Demerary had advanced so
much, as soon induced adventurers with a small capital, to seek for other
lands at a distance from Stabroek, which from that circumstance could be
purchased at a much lower price. An extensive range of sea coast to the
westward of Essequibo, called the Arabische coast, and Pomaroon river,
and the coast contiguous to it, presented themselves as eligible situations
for cultivation, and accordingly a number of adventurers found settle-
ments there, which are at this time held in as high estimation for the pro-
duction of cotton as any land in the colonies. The west coast of Pomaroon
juts on the boundary of the Orinoko, where there is a military post es-
tablished.

Since the English took possession of the colonies, they have cultivated
the whole of that coast, extending upwards of fifty miles, and are now
making estates on the banks of the Pomaroon, which river is half a mile
broad at its entrance, and is difficult of access from projecting banks of
mud on each side, and a bar of the same consistency, which runs across,
prevents any vessels entering drawing more than nine feet water.

Up to the edges of this river the melancholy traces of ancient cultiva-
tion and abandoned residences, are frequently apparent. Above the fork,
formed by the junction of the Harlipyak with the Pomaroon, the Hollanders
had formerly three settlements of some extent. Fort Zealand, which the
English destroyed in 1666; Middleburg, which at the same period was
plundered and abandoned; and Harlipyak, which borrowed or lent the
name of the contiguous stream. The present English system of cultivation
begins with the lands nearest to the sea; but the Dutch, probably from the
fear of those buccaneering expeditions, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had

No. 113.

given a specimen, at the expence of the Spanish settlers in Guyana, began, but fruitlessly, their establishments at the interior extremity of the low-lands, and as far up the different rivers as they found the navigation convenient and the evil docile. I trust it will not be long before the British have covered the reproachful traces of ruin and desertion, with new dwellings and wider cultivation.

The estates already made between the Essequibo and Pomaroon rivers, are variously valued from five to eighty thousand pounds sterling each, according to the extent of cultivation, number of buildings, etc., etc.

* * * * *

No. 114.

The Boundaries of Essequibo, by T. S. St. Clair, 1834.

[ST. CLAIR (*Lt.-Col. Thomas S.*), Residence in the West Indies, etc., London, 1834.]

[*Volume I., Chapter 3.*]

To return to my journal. I had been nearly nine months with the fourth battalion of the Royals, in Hamilton, when an order came down from His Royal Highness for Lieutenant St. Clair and Ensigns Grant and Gordon to prepare themselves for embarkation, to join the first battalion in the West Indies. I immediately obtained leave of absence to prepare myself for a residence in so warm a climate, and, ascertaining that the vessel in which we were ordered to take our passage, would not sail from Greenock before the month of November, I arrived in Edinburgh with a joyous heart at the idea of going on foreign service.

* * * * *

The maps of South America had long been my study, and I found the small spot to which I was bound (British Guyana) a mere speck on this enormous continent. The rivers Corantine, Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo, were the four large arms of our possessions, which bordered on Colombia; and it appeared as if British, Dutch, and French Guyana, were merely stepping-stones for these countries in South America.

[*Volume I., Chapter 5.*]

On New Year's day, the 1st January, 1806, we made soundings in thirty-five fathom water, extremely muddy, but no appearance of land.

On the 2d at 3 P. M. "Land ho!" was sung out from the mast-head; but it was late in the evening before we could discover it from the deck; and then merely the tops of lofty trees were visible.

* * * * *

By the ship's reckoning we supposed ourselves to be off the mouth of the Corantine river, which empties itself into the Atlantic between the

No. 114.

Surinam and Berbice rivers. During the night we altered our course, and, bearing off before the wind, stood down the coast with easy sail, keeping in five fathoms water.

* * * * *

While the boat was preparing, he invited myself and Ensigns Grant and Gordon to accompany him on shore; and, after a tedious sail of three hours and a half through high breakers as we neared the shallow coast, I at last distinctly behold the continent first discovered by that extraordinary navigator, Columbus. The finest trees were growing in wild luxuriance to the water's edge. The plantain-tree, the cocoanut, and the beautiful feathered cabbage-tree, were seen grouped among the stately wallaba, the lofty mora, and other magnificent forest-trees. The tints of their foliage, with the clear ethereal sky, struck us with astonishment. We at length safely jumped from our boat on *terra firma*, after a voyage of thirty-nine days, the *Brilliant* being a fast sailer.

[Volume I., Chapter 7.]

The three colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice, surrendered to the British flag on the 23d April, 1796, to an expedition under the orders of General White.

* * * * *

The Government-house, small and inconvenient for the representative of majesty, is situated in this street, having immediately opposite to it a large wooden building, which the Dutch call the barrack or gaol, and which is generally too well filled with unfortunate culprits.

* * * * *

The Court-house, an old tottering building, supported with poles, is near the river, and consists of two apartments, the upper used for the court, the lower as a place of divine worship, in which service is performed every Sunday and prayers are read, first by a Dutch and afterwards by an English clergyman.

From the church may be seen the decayed and rotten condition of the flooring of the Court House, which is a perfect emblem of the state of the laws in this colony.

The river Demerara is navigable for ships of burden for a considerable distance from its entrance, and its banks were at one time cultivated for above one hundred miles into the interior; but the planters, finding the lower parts of the river and the sea-coast more profitable, and congenial to the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and coffee, have deserted the upper parts and settled nearer to the sea.

* * * * *

The colony of Demerara, which derives its name from the river, is bounded on the east by the Albany creek; this takes its course from the interior of the country, and, running in a northerly direction, empties

No. 114.

itself into the Atlantic Ocean. The western limits are marked by the small creek Bonnosique, a distance of twenty miles up the great river Essequibo; formerly the Bossicay creek was the western boundary, but by an act passed by Governor Bentinck, in 1806, it was extended to the present limits.

The southerly limits are undetermined, being a boundless tract of almost impenetrable forest, thinly inhabited by the wild Indians, through which innumerable small creeks and rivers take their winding course, and empty themselves, with few exceptions, into the larger streams, such as the Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, Corantine, and Surinam. All these run in a northerly direction, at the rate of six or seven knots an hour, and in the rainy season even at ten knots, entering the sea with such force as to discolour the water of the ocean to an astonishing distance from land. Owing to the strong current of these rivers, a bank of mud is generally formed across the channel, about six or seven miles from its entrance, which circumstance renders the navigation of these rivers difficult to those unacquainted with the nature of the coast. The bar of Demerara has, at low water, eleven feet, and rises to eighteen. The bottom, being soft, does not injure vessels, which frequently run on it, and wait for the tide to float them off.

The colony of Essequibo adjoins to Demerara, being under the same governor, and is our most leeward possession in this country. The creek or river, called Morocco, is the boundary line between this colony and the Spanish Main, which is not far from the Pomeron creek.

Besides the four great rivers above named, there are numerous smaller ones, called, in this country, creeks, but which in Europe would be considered large rivers. The principal of these is the Mahaica, which runs about twenty miles to windward of the Demerara, between that river and the Albany creek. At the entrance of the Mahaica is a small military post, with a battery of two guns, to prevent a surprise from an enemy by sea, and it is at present commanded by Lieutenant McBeth of the Royals.

From its being rather more openly situated to the breeze of the trade-winds than any other place in these colonies, it has been considered the most healthy spot in this part of the country, and all the convalescents from the garrison in Demerara, and sometimes Berbice, are sent thither for recovery, and generally with good effect.

The Maicony creek is likewise on the east or windward coast, and not very far from the Mahaica.

The Bossary is on the leeward coast, near the river Essequibo. Others, too numerous to mention here, empty themselves into the large rivers as tributary streams.

* * * * *

As I have just mentioned, a little above Fort St. Andrews, the Canje river runs into the Berbice. This stream takes its source an immense distance back in the country, and runs in a winding direction between the

No. 114.

Corantine and Berbice; its banks are cultivated only at a distance of twelve miles from its entrance. It is not known precisely where this stream takes its rise; from the accounts of some Indians it is supposed to come from a large lake. The source of the Berbice river has likewise never yet been discovered, which appears extraordinary, considering the enterprising spirit of my countrymen.

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[*Volume II, Chapter 1.*]

The Essequibo river runs about twelve miles to leeward of the Demerara. The colony of that name commences at the Bonesique creek, and is bounded on the west by a supposed line which divides the Spanish settlement of Oronoko from the English possessions. This stream is upwards of twenty miles in breadth at its mouth, and is the finest river in possession of the English in this part of the world.

The cultivation along the coast extends a little to leeward of the Pomeroon river; and, on its banks, at a short distance from the sea, is situated a strong military post, containing a block house, at present commanded by Lieutenant Cook, of the 4th West India Regiment. This fort is separated from the Spanish possessions on the banks of the Oronoko by an extensive space of wild and savage country; but, notwithstanding this barrier, the Spaniards distress and annoy the planters on the leeward coast and their coasting vessels exceedingly, having a number of small boats and canoes fitted out and numerous manned with Negroes, Indians, and runaway slaves, who pass from these colonies into the Colombian government; and many of these individuals have shown them the way to their master's estates, which have been plundered and their boats loaded with produce seized and carried into the Oronoko.

There are four fine cultivated islands within the mouth of this river, which yield the finest crops of cotton and sugar: they are called Wake-nam, Leguan, Varkin, or Hog Island, and Tiger Island.

* * * * *

Fort Island is situated about fifteen miles above these, and twenty from the sea; and, owing to this series of obstructions in the current of the river, many banks of mud are formed, and, running out to sea, cause the navigation to be exceedingly difficult and dangerous: for this reason, the Demerara is much more convenient for trade, and consequently is quite the Thames of this part of the world.

The Essequibo was the first of these rivers upon which the Europeans settled; and when this district was raised to a government, the spot chosen for the seat of authority was about fifty miles from its entrance; but this situation was soon found to be inconvenient, on account of its distance from the sea, and the difficulty experienced by vessels in sailing up to the

No. 114.

settlement, owing to the strong currents of these rivers, to which I have already adverted. The seat of government was, therefore, soon removed lower down to Fort Island, only twenty miles from the sea; and, since the cession of Dutch Guiana to the English in 1796, the commandeur is the chief personage residing in this colony; he acts under the lieutenant-governor of Demerara. The Essequibo courts are held in Fort Island, the commandeur sitting as president.

In November, 1807, strong suspicions of a revolt among the Indians of the interior against the Whites, or Europeans, were entertained. Great bodies of these wild people had been observed crossing different rivers toward the Essequibo; and it was supposed that some tribes from Colombia, or, as they are here called, Spanish Indians, had joined them, and were urging the quiet Arrawakas to commit depredations on us for the sake of plunder. It was likewise reported to Colonel Nicholson by the postholder up the Demerara, whose duty I have already stated it to be to watch the movements of the savages, that they had all of them deserted wigwams, or huts, on the banks of this river, and had proceeded in great numbers, with all their families, towards the Essequibo. Dispatches were received daily by the acting governor from the commandeur of Essequibo, describing the great alarm prevailing among the planters on the banks and islands of this colony, in consequence of the arrival of information that the postholder up this river had been attacked, and that the inhabitants of one or two settlements had also been surprised, and some of them put to death. It was further intimated that great fears were entertained, lest with the force which the Indians had collected they might risk an attack on Fort Island, which was now entirely defenseless, being without arms, ammunition, or troops to defend it.

* * * * *

In consequence, however, of so many alarming reports, the acting lieutenant-governor thought proper to send, for the defence of Fort Island, a military party composed of detachments from the Royal Regiment and 4th West India Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Baillie of the Royals, with muskets and ammunition sufficient to arm the whole inhabitants in case of necessity.

We were kept nearly a fortnight in suspense, when intelligence was brought that the Indians had retired into the interior; and it was supposed, from the little information which had been collected respecting them, and some complaints which had been made, that their anger and discontent had been caused by the free coloured people, residing on the banks of the Essequibo, having defrauded them, and detained their young children as slaves. The procedure charged in this last accusation would have been a direct violation of the laws of these colonies, which are particularly strict on this head; because it is to the interest of our government to reconcile this people to our possession of their lands, and conducive to our peace and comfort to keep on amicable terms with them. Colonel Nicholson there-

No. 114.

fore determined to make a journey in person up this river, to visit the different settlements, and, if possible, to discover the offenders and give redress to the injured Indians.

On the 22d of November, 1807, we left Stabroek, and slept at Perica point, on the east bank of the Essequibo river. * *

* * * *

The 23d of November we spent at Perica plantation; and after breakfast I sauntered out with my gun in my hand and shot several beautiful birds, the trees being actually covered with them.

* * * *

But to return to South America. The next morning, the 24th of November, by eight o'clock, the colonel, myself, and servants, were seated on the deck of a small schooner, and steering our course up the right bank of the Essequibo River, in order to make Fort Island, which was scarcely visible in the centre of it.

* * * *

On the governor's touching land a salute was fired from two petararoes, and Lieutenant Baillie's detachment presented arms. The commandeur, Mr. P. C. Ouckama, Mr. Rassin, fiscal, and Mr. De Grout, secretary of the colony of Essequibo, came down to the water's edge to receive him, and attended us up to the commandeur's house, where we had accommodation.

This settlement, or town, if it can be so called, consists of only a few scattered wooden houses, intermixed with Negro huts, placed on the east side of this island. To the right of the landing-place is situated Fort Zeelandia, a small regular work, consisting of four redoubts, with a large building occupying its centre; this is a kind of block-house built of brick, and from its parapet-roof troops may defend all approaches to it. This place was erected by the Dutch in 1766, as a place of security, in case of a revolt amongst the Negroes, or to defend themselves against the native Indians. Since 1803 this fort has been disarmed, and is now fast falling into decay.

* * * *

I found that the land about this settlement to be the most barren spot I have yet seen in this country. The soil consists entirely of a binding clay, which scarcely affords nourishment enough for the production of a short, stunted grass; still, the common bushwood of this country grew in abundance, and a few trees of the palm species raised their feathery heads.

[Volume II., Chapter 2.]

On the morning of Wednesday, the 25th of November, our little fleet, consisting of three schooners and four canoes, weighed anchor and stood up the river with a light breeze.

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No. 114.

Our party now consisted of Mr. P. C. Ouckama, the commandeur; Rassin, the fiscal; de Grout, secretary; Messrs. Van Sertina, Moliere, Stall, de Fallois, Strahan, the garrison chaplain of Demerara, who joined us last evening; Lieutenant Baillie, and myself; and the servants and boatmen augmented our number to nearly fifty persons.

* * * * *

At three in the afternoon we made the Masserony river, entering the left bank of the Essequibo. It is nearly two miles in breadth at its mouth; and here the scenery differed much from that which we had already passed. * * * At five we landed at Mon Repos, and de Grout made immediate preparations for dinner.

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[*Volume II., Chapter 3.*]

As I seized every opportunity of amusing myself with my pencil, Mr. de Grout accompanied me a short distance down the river in one of our canoes, with a couple of Negro paddlers, to Bartica Point, a small settlement which we had passed the preceding day. It consisted of three small huts, placed on the top of a gentle declivity, which commands a fine view down the Essequibo river to the right hand, and up the Masserony to the left. These huts are situated immediately over the junction of these two large streams. On the right or opposite bank of the Essequibo are situated the remains of the first settlement formed by the Dutch in this river, as the seat of Government, but which was afterwards abandoned, as already stated. The old cultivated estates are now covered with wild bush and underwood.

From this point, looking down the river, the Negro Cap and Three Brothers are not to be seen, owing to the point of the left bank of the Masserony river projecting far into the Essequibo; and on this neck of land was formerly situated the old sugar estate, called Quarrona, the first planted in this country, but long since deserted.

* * * * *

Above this point, in the centre of the Essequibo, is an island named by the Indians Potupatima; it is a most beautiful little spot, covered with lovely trees of the finest foliage; and not far from it is another fine island called Koay.

The huts situated on the point are neatly built from the manicol tree, and are habitations for the slaves belonging to this wood-cutting plantation. These people earn a considerable profit for their owners by their labour, in cutting and sending the wood down the river to Fort Island, where it is disposed of to the numerous estates on this river, sawed up, and made into barrels for conveying sugar or cotton to Europe; employed in building houses and bridges, and for other purposes.

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No. 114.

Fearful of detaining our friends at Mon Repos, we now returned to our canoe, and started for that settlement, scratching ourselves by the way, and enduring great torment from our new enemies.

On arriving at this settlement, we found only one schooner at anchor, and soon heard that the rest had proceeded up the river. *

* * * * *

We then passed the settlement Yonk Man, and at three in the afternoon came to off the settlement called Agitos. Here we found our friends already landed, and waiting our arrival, as they intended to sleep higher up the river, at the settlement Patarima.

* * * * *

This settlement was so large as to resemble a small village; and, fearing an attack from the Indians, who had lately threatened them, they had erected a large block-house, on the top of a sandy eminence, as a place of security, with slits cut in it to discharge arrows through at their enemies. They told us that it was musket-proof, but were much astonished on our proving to them the contrary, by sending a ball quite through it.

* * * * *

Our boats being prepared for their departure for Patarima settlement, our colonel obliged the chief of these free people to accompany us, and hired two young men to assist us in getting up the rapids, above which the Indians were collected; and, our cooks having been sent up with orders to prepare our dinner, we weighed anchor, but were soon compelled to quit the schooners and take to our canoes, the wind having entirely ceased, and the current being now against us. We accordingly left them at anchor, and did not reach Patarima until nearly eight o'clock, after a tiresome pull of three hours, during which we were nearly starved, the dinner having been ordered for five o'clock, and our appetites made up for that hour.

* * * * *

On looking about us from this settlement, we found the river to be about one mile in breadth, and making so sudden a turn to the west, which is completely hidden by a few well wooded islands, that it has all the appearance of a lake. I now concluded we saw the head or source of this river, but could not help laughing on being told of a party of adventurous planters, who had once got up thus far, and, forming the same opinion with myself, did not take the trouble to proceed farther, to ascertain whether it was correct. Concluding that this was the source of the great river Essequibo, they immediately returned to the lower settlements; and it was for some time believed among the Europeans that it took its rise from this presumed lake.

Koumaka Serima, or Koumaka Point, is the last settlement of free coloured people up this river. Situated on a high point of land that runs into the river from its left bank, it commands a fine view both up and down

No. 114.

the stream, which is here nearly one mile in breadth. The river now becomes so rocky that nothing larger than a small canoe can proceed further up or be dragged against the rapids.

* * * * *

We were now informed by the post-holder, who was a native of this settlement, that the Macoushi Indians, a race dwelling inland, on the confines of the Portuguese territories, on the great river of Amazons, had lately joined the tribes resident in our territories; and that many others from the interior of the Spanish main had come up to their assistance. We found this to be the settlement which had been attacked by them as reported in Demerara.

* * * * *

Next morning, the 5th of December, the sun again rising in all his magnificence, we found ourselves opposite to the Masserony river, and determined to visit the ancient seat of government, called Ampa. Having anchored our schooner close to the shore, we found great difficulty in landing, from the thickness of the underwood quite down to the water's edge. Not a vestige now remained of any buildings, which, having been constructed entirely of wood, must have soon fallen to decay, or more probably been carried away. At last, one of the party found an old foundation of brick, now quite covered with leaves and trees; this we were informed had been the first Christian church built in these colonies. The only things like dwellings, which we were enabled to discover, were a few Indian huts, or wigwams, now also deserted, which we deemed a fortunate circumstance, as we expected to find them a convenient shelter from a heavy storm that was fast approaching; but, to our astonishment, we had hardly got under the manicol thatch, before we found our legs covered with fleas and jiggers; and, choosing rather to get wet to the skin than to be tormented by those insects, we all rushed into the rain, which presently descended in torrents. The squall ended, we again embarked, and, getting under weigh, stood down for Fort Island, where we arrived after a tedious sail against tide at six o'clock in the morning, and occupied the same beds on shore as we had done eleven nights before, previously to our departure.

No. 115.

Instructions given to Mr. Schomburgk by the Royal Geographical Society, as to his proposed expedition; with brief report thereon, 1836.

[From Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. London, 1836, Vol. 6.]

At the general meeting, May 16, 1836,

The following Report from the Council was read:

The Council again report to the Society the state of its affairs.

Finances.—

No. 115.

Publications.—

His Majesty's Donation.—

Original Expeditions.—

* * * * *

The two expeditions directly patronized by the Society next claim notice. Of these, the one into the interior of South Africa from Delagoa Bay has been entirely suspended by the Caffre war; and a year has thus been lost in its prosecution. This interval, however, it is not to be doubted that Captain Alexander has turned to account by gaining experience in South African manners, and facility in the use of the native tongues; and he is probably at this moment leaving the Cape on his original errand, better prepared than he could have been last year to accomplish the task before him. Mr. Schomburgk, on the other hand, has entered on his field of inquiry; and the Council has already received two detailed reports of his proceedings, which would have been now published, but that they are as yet imperfect from the want of a sketch map. The following abstract, however, will exhibit his general progress.

His instructions were as follows:

I.—Regent street, 19th Nov., 1834,—“Sir,—I am now authorized and directed by the Council of the Royal Geographical Society to pledge it definitively to co-operate with you in carrying into effect an expedition of discovery into the interior of British Guiana, on the following conditions:

“1.—The expedition is to have two distinct objects, viz.—first, thoroughly to investigate the physical and astronomical geography of the interior of British Guiana, and, secondly, to connect the positions thus ascertained with those of Mr. Humboldt on the Upper Orinoco. The second of these undertakings is not to be begun till the first is completed; and the two together are to occupy a period of three years from the time of your departure from George Town in the prosecution of your journey.

“2.—Towards the expense the Society will contribute 900l., viz., 600l. the first year, the outfit, estimated at 200l., and all pecuniary advances whatsoever, included; and 300l. during the two following years, to be advanced in such proportions as may seem mutually most desirable. The Society will also procure you such letters of introduction and recommendation as may seem calculated to promote the objects of the expedition. But it will not be responsible for any debts or expenses which you may incur beyond the sum above specified.

“3.—In return you are to proceed to Demerara, at your early convenience, and there report your arrival to his Excellency Sir James Carmichael Smyth, Bart. or other, the Governor of that colony for the time being,” receiving instructions from him in the name of the Society, and acting at all times on these instructions to the best of your ability.—(For the general nature of these instructions, but subject to modification as may seem afterwards expedient, see my accompanying letter of this date, marked No. II.)

No. 115.

"4.—All geographical information obtained by you during the above period of three years, whether physical, political, or astronomical, shall be considered the property of the Society, and at its disposal to be published in any manner it may think fit. But collections of natural history shall be your property,—with the exception of one set of any collections you may make of dried plants, birds, fishes or insects, which the council would be happy to have it in its power to present, in your name, to the British Museum; and one set of any geological specimens procured, which it would, in like manner, desire to present (if possible with accompanying memoirs from you) to the Geological Society of London.

"I am also authorized by the Council to inclose you a draft for 50l. (which I must, at the same time, remind you will be deducted, together with the expense of outfit, from the 600l. allowed for the first year) to defray your current expenses to Demerara; and your negotiating this draft will be considered an expression of your acquiescence in the above terms. I have the honour, etc.—(Signed) "A Maconochie."

II.—Regent street, 13th (19th) Nov. 1834.—"Sir,—Referring to my letter No. I. of this date, I now proceed to sketch out the general views entertained by the Council of what your proceedings should be, on and subsequent to your arrival in Demerara. Substantially, too, it is presumed that these will be adhered to; though it does not appear desirable to complete their detail till you shall have seen Sir Carmichael Smyth, and ascertained his opinions on the subject.

"You will observe that the objects of the expedition are specific, and more limited than were originally contemplated in your sketch. This arises partly from the extreme desire of the Society, in return for the patronage extended to the undertaking by His Majesty's Government, to do full justice to the physical geography of the colony of British Guiana, partly to the extended and about to be renewed, labours of the Geographical Society of Paris in French Guiana, which promise to render investigations in that part direction unnecessary, the French travellers there having instructions to connect their observations with yours.

"Accordingly, the Council wishes you to understand most distinctly that, for the first year or eighteen months, every thing is to be subordinate to the object of thoroughly investigating the physical character and resources of that portion of the central ridge traversing this part of South America, which furnishes tributaries to the Demerara, Essequibo, and other rivers flowing into the Atlantic, within, or immediately contiguous to the British Colony of Guiana. The limits of this may be roughly defined to be the meridians of 55° and 62° west longitude from Greenwich, and the general character of its mineral composition, with detailed accounts of its plants, animals and inhabitants, and the astronomical determination of a reasonable number of its principal points, will be required of you before you proceed further. Particulars regarding its soil and climate, the origin and course of its rivers, the degree in which they may

No. 115.

be severally navigable, or capable of being made so, &c., will also occupy your attention; and generally, whatever may tend to give an exact idea both of the actual state and future capabilities of this tract of country.

“When your researches here shall be completed, then, but not till then it is contemplated that you may pass the mountains, and extend your views to the further interior. The great object in this, as already intimated, will be to connect your positions with those of Mr. Humboldt on the Upper Orinoco; for as the French travellers will bring down their labours from the eastward, it will only remain for you to proceed westerly. In attempting this, the Council, as at present informed, is against your descending the Rio Branco, as you propose, afterwards to ascend the Rio Negro and Padaviri. Much of this tract is already known; and if there be any jealousy whatever on the part of the Indians against the Spanish colonists, it will be more difficult for you to ascend the Orinoco from Esmeralda than to descend it by keeping the height of land throughout. But regarding this, it will probably be in your power to make important communications while yet employed within the colony, so that it is unnecessary at present to enlarge on it.

“Your proposed expedition up the Cuyuni to explore the Sierra Imataca would be interesting, if practicable, with due attention to the other objects of the expedition. But as this district is not within British Guiana, and a minute knowledge of it would not further your ulterior views, besides which, it is easily accessible at any time, and its investigation now would cause an expense which might be inconvenient,—it must not be made a first object. With regard to it you should be guided entirely by the opinions and advise which you may receive, particularly from Sir Carmichael Smyth, at Demerara.

“The expedition into the interior cannot be begun till August; consequently, in so far as regards it, your arrival at Demerara before June is of little importance. But if you attach extreme value to Imataca yourself, and think that you can accomplish a journey to it between the time of your earliest possible arrival at Demerara and the month of August, then you are at liberty to proceed thither earlier; always remembering, however, both that the expense of such a journey, even if sanctioned by Sir Carmichael Smyth, must be deducted from the entire fund provided, and also, that if deemed imprudent, or otherwise inexpedient, by him, it will not be allowed at all.

“Other circumstances connected with the present state of the colony of Demerara seem to offer additional reasons against your precipitating your measures. But having thus fully explained the views of the Society on the subject, something must necessarily be left, in conclusion, to your own judgment and discretion.

I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) A. MACONOCHE.

No. 115.

In pursuance of these instructions, then, Mr. Schomburgk left George Town, Demerara, on the 21st of September last, and remained some days at the post at the confluence of the Cuyuni with the Essequibo, engaging Indian rowers and other attendants to accompany him. He availed himself of this interval to ascend the Cuyuni some little distance and to gain a cursory knowledge of its upper navigation. This, he was told, continues uninterrupted almost to its source, where, being separated by only a short portage from the Carony, the Indians are in the habit of crossing to that river; and by descending it and ascending the Orinoco, maintaining an inland communication even with Angostura. Quitting the Cuyuni, Mr. Schomburgk next ascended the Essequibo, and in his reports gives a lively picture of the richness and exuberance of the vegetation on its banks. He and his party suffered much fatigue and some sickness at this time, but, overcoming all difficulties they entered the Ripanuny on the 23rd October. Ascending this, they then entered the Creek of Anna-y, which falls into it, on its right bank, about twenty miles above its confluence with the Essequibo; and here, at what is usually considered the S. W. extremity of the British colony, they formed a temporary habitation, or headquarters, whence they proposed to diverge in all directions, as occasion might serve, in the prosecution of their purpose, thoroughly to ascertain the mineral and vegetable character of the neighbourhood. From this point, therefore, Mr. Schomburgk's first report was dated,—the period the 29th October; his second brings the account of his proceedings down to the 15th January; 1836. The interval had been passed in ascending the Ripanuny as far as it had been found possible to push the lightest canoe, which was to lat. $2^{\circ} 36' N.$, whence it appears that the sources of this river are further south than have been imagined; and Mr. Schomburgk thinks that they are at least in 1° or $1^{\circ} 30' N.$, but they were not actually reached by him. His descriptions of the country thus penetrated by him are interesting, from the high character of fertility which he attributes to it; but until his map shall arrive little can be made of its topography. He diverged at intervals from the course of the river, and thus visited Lake Amercu, stood on the highest ridge of the Parima mountains, examined their structure and vegetation, in particular brought away specimens of the plant from which the famous Mowrali poison is extracted, and examined carefully the indications of mineral wealth which the rocks contain. The Council hopes shortly to be able to communicate the whole results in a more satisfactory manner to the Society, when the remaining materials for doing so shall have arrived."

No. 116.**Short description of British Guiana, 1862; by Sir W. H. Holmes, Special Commissioner to the Exhibitions of 1855 and 1862.**

[From HOLMES (Sir W. H.), *Free Cotton; how and where to grow it.* London, 1862.]

[Chapter I.]

If you take a map of South America, and look along the coast, to the northward of the Line, you will find a comparatively small spot marked "*British Guiana.*" It is the only part of that Continent which belongs to Great Britain, and, though discovered centuries ago by Raleigh, it remained comparatively unknown to the English public, until brought into notice by the works of Sir Robert Schomburgk, the discoverer of the Victoria Regia, and subsequently by that most popular writer, Mr. Anthony Trollope, who visited the Colony in 1860, and who thus describes it in his book on the West Indies:

"It is hardly necessary to explain that Georgetown is the capital of the province of Demerara, and that Demerara is the centre province in the colony of British Guiana, or that there are three provinces, Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo, so called from the names of the three great rivers of the country. Demerara is flat; and the Berbice is flat, and so is Essequibo. The whole of this land is formed by the mud which has been brought down by these great rivers, and by others.

The Corentyne is the most easterly, separating our colony from Dutch Guiana, or Surinam. Then comes the Berbice. The next (counting only the larger rivers) is the Demerara. Then, more to the west, the Essequibo, and, running into that, the Mazarony and Cuyuni; and then, northwest along the coast, the Pomeroon; and lastly of our own rivers, the Guiana (or Whynee), though I doubt whether, for absolute purposes of colonization, we have ever gone so far as this. And beyond that are rolled, in slow but turbid volume, the huge waters of the Orinoco. On its shores we make no claim. Though the Delta of the Orinoco is still called Guiana, it belongs to the Republic of Venezuela.

These are the boundaries along the South American shore, which hereabouts, as all men know, looks northward with an easterly slant towards the Atlantic.

Between us and our Dutch friends on the right hand, the limits are clear enough. On the left hand, matters are not quite so clear, with the Venezuelians. But to the rear! To the rear there is an eternity of sugar and cotton capability in mud. Turning back by unknown mountains, the wilderness of Brazil, the river Negro, and the tributaries of the Amazon, an endless extent of sugar capability, to which England's colony can lay claim, if only she could manage so much as the surveying of it.

Guiana is an enormous extent of flat mud, the alluvial deposit of those

No. 116.

mighty rivers which for so many years have been scraping together earth in those wild unknown upland countries, and bringing it down conveniently to the seaboard, so that the world might have sugar to its tea. There is no limit to the fertility and extent of this region. The only limit is in labour. The present culture only skirts the seaboard and the river sides.

You will hardly find an estate,—I do not think that you can find one,—that has not a water frontage. This land formerly belonged to the Dutch, and by them was divided out into portions, which on a map have about them an Euclidical appearance. Let A, B, C, D, be a right-angled parallelogram, of which the sides A B and C D are three times the length of the other sides A C and B D. 'Tis thus you would describe a Demerara property, and the C E D would have reference to the relative quantities of sugar, molasses and rum producible therefrom.

But these strips of land, though they are thus marked out on the maps with four exact lines, are presumed to run back to any extent that the owner may choose to occupy. He starts from the water, and is bounded on each side; but backwards! Backwards he may cultivate canes up to the very Andes, if only he could get coolies."

Though there is a vein of humour in this account, I do not know any description which conveys a better or more accurate idea of the colony, which, I may add, was first settled by the Dutch nearly three hundred years ago, and finally passed into our possession in 1803. It is within easy reach of England, and the Royal Mail steamers call at Georgetown twice a month—being timed to do the distance from Southampton *via* St. Thomas in twenty-one days.

No. 117.**A Journey up the Cuyuni in 1880; by Michael McTurk.**

[Reprinted from *Timehri*, being the Journal of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana, 12". Demerara, 1882. Vol. 1, pp. 126–132.]

Three separate parties of Indians having reported that some Venezuelans were making boats up the Cuyuni, and some Venezuelans having come down that river, and others having been seen in the forest in the neighbourhood of the Penal Settlement, it seemed right that I should ascend the Cuyuni to investigate the state of the inhabitants of the upper reaches of the river. Accordingly, I left Kalacoon on the Mazaruni on Thursday, 14th October, 1880.

Rain began to fall before we left, and the aeta-Calli and hackea (*Tecoma* sp.?) trees were budding—a sure sign of the approach of wet weather. Rain continued to fall from the 14th to 18th, the first three days after leaving, and the river commenced to swell, and the downward current to increase, so much that we did not reach Warriri, the place where the Gold

No. 117.

Mining Company carried on operations some years ago, until Saturday evening. The place is now overgrown with bushes and creepers, but the house still stands, though much out of repair. Here I saw recent tracks of persons wearing boots, who had remained for some time, and had slept under the house; there was also a buoy, such as is used for fishing lines, in the river opposite. Shortly after passing Warriri we saw a broken paddle in the water under the bushes, and a little further a half-made paddle. About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from these was a bark canoe (woodskin) overturned in the water. That evening we camped above the Yeniah Falls, above which none of us had ever ascended. Before this fall there are two portages, where boats have to be unloaded and hauled over the rocks on rollers. After passing the second of these, the river for some miles is free from any large falls such as require the boats to be unloaded and hauled over, Yanamoo and the Payuco being the largest. The land too, except near the portages, is comparatively low, with a small hill here and there. Above Payuco we had no more rain. The sun was very hot, and either in front or behind nearly all the way; so that when we could do so we journeyed at night. At mid-day on the 23rd, while hauling up the falls at Wohmopoh, we saw some Indians (Acowois), the first we had seen since leaving. They were drying their hammocks and cassava on the rocks, and soon became friendly on my giving them some tobacco. These Indians were from the head of the Urawan; and having been working with the Venezuelans, were now on their way to Georgetown to spend the money they had earned, which was all gold, English, American and Venezuelan.

Although the distance is much greater, these people prefer to go to Georgetown rather than purchase from the Venezuelans at Cayou and Caratal, where they said there were plenty of shops and English people. Everything there is very dear; a flask of powder, such as costs 20 cents in Georgetown, costing 96 cents at Cayou, and a cake of cassava, such as costs 8 cents in Essequibo, costing 24 cents. The Venezuelans on the Urawan told me the same. One of the Acowois agreed to turn and go with us as far as the Urawan. After unloading and hauling over the boats at Wohmopoh (where there is a portage), we remained in camp until Monday morning.

On the 26th we came to the first Carib settlement above Timoonie falls, and shortly after to another on the opposite side, called Koratoka (the cock). On 28th we passed three more Carib settlements, at one of which, called Arra-outa (the baboon), the people undertook to make cassava for us by the time we came back. At 4 P. M. the same day we first saw the mountains, Akarecoo-tepoo and Anakare-ye-tepoo; and the next day we passed these mountains on our left, as also another called Tirimbandaboo. These mountains are of sand-stone, and are of similar formation to those on the Polaro and in the neighbourhood of Noraima; flat-topped, with precipitous sides, the bare, red sand-stone being exposed in many places.

On 24th we passed the last Carib settlement on the Cuyuni. Above,

No. 117.

but a long way off, are other settlements of Acawois and Kamaracotas. This last Carib settlement is called Apo-ye-kifoo (the place burnt by fire). On the 3rd, at 8 P. M., we entered the Urawan. The Cuyuni and the Urawan are here each 300 yards wide, the latter coming from about N. E. At 10 A. M. we turned up the Urawan. The water of the creek is white and muddy in appearance, but leaves no sediment after being put to subside. On the 4th, at 8 A. M., I could not get the larger boat any further; the whole creek, as far as I could see, seemed filled by rocks, great boulders of granite, 40 or 50 feet square, with small rills of water running between. There is a considerable fall here in rainy weather called "Rurreewa." The men carrying the small boat over the rocks, at 11 A. M. we came to water sufficient to float her. From there I went on in the small boat with two men, often having to carry the boat over the rocks for considerable distances. On two of the rocks at Rurreewa, at about the level of the water when the creek is full, were drawings of frogs—several on one rock and one on another. They were about nine inches long, and seem to have been made by rubbing on the rock with some harder substance. Many, on the larger rock, had become detached by the scaling of the granite. About a mile above these there is another drawing of a frog on a rock, differing from the others in that it has a line down its centre and another of about four inches long from its mouth upward to the left. The Accawoi Indians call these drawings Parrah-coosa, from Parrah, a frog. They knew nothing of their origin, but that they were made many moons since. At 4 P. M. we passed the first Accawoi houses on this creek. One of the Indians here spoke Spanish. The Savannah opens down to the creek a little below this place, on the opposite side. On the 5th, at 7 A. M., we saw several Venezuelans camped on the rocks. They civilly enough asked what we had to sell, and eventually begged for some ammunition and tobacco. About a mile farther we came to a landing apparently of some importance. The path leads from this over the Savannah to Cayou, which is the nearest Venezuelan town or village. About a mile from the landing, along the path, is the nearest house, Francisco's. It is a two days' journey over the Savannah along this path to Cayou. From Francisco the Savannah is open and undulating, with clumps of trees several acres in extent here and there; and where the grass had not been burnt off it was over six feet high and excellent as pasture. The many Venezuelan houses scattered here and there on the Savannah were very similar in structure and material to those of Indians, but that some were partly enclosed, the rough doors and windows being of raw deer skins. The people who inhabit these houses seem to be of the same class as the squatters on our own rivers, and are of mixed Indian and Spanish blood. I saw neither white men nor negroes, though one or two had mulatto hair. They live like Indians, by cultivating cassava and plantains, or by grazing a few cattle or mining for gold at Caratal and in the neighbourhood. They use donkeys to carry their cassava and firewood from

No. 117.

their fields to their houses. The Accawoi Indians work with these Venezuelans, and are paid wages up to 27 dollars per month; but they say they are often beaten by their masters without redress. The Caribs will not work in this way; but I am told that during the revolution they take wages to fight for either or both factions, there being an understanding among them that they are not to injure their own countrymen if possible, but to kill the opposing Venezuelans. From the Caribs I learned that a number of Spaniards had come down the Urawan in canoes taken from the Indians and had taken away the guns of the men living above Arravuta; they had also dug up and taken away the cassava. From the appearance of the fields, the robbery appeared to have been committed about three months previously. At Koratoka the cassava had also been stolen, but not to such an extent as at Arravuta. Most of the Venezuelans went back up the Urawan, but some came down to Timmoonie and got the Caribs there to make cassava bread for them, promising payment, but took it away after it had been baked, threatening to beat the Indians when they remonstrated. The Caribs say they were too few to resist the Spaniards, who, moreover, had taken away their guns. These occurrences were, I think, the origin of the reports I had heard, and the Spaniards seen near the settlement were those who came down from Timmoonie; and these probably made their way back to Venezuelan territory by way of Moroooca and Trinidad.

The land up the Cuyuni seems lower than that on the Essequibo and Mazzaruni, but is now fertile, there not being so much sand in it, so that grass springs up wherever a large tree falls or a small clearing is made. The forest trees above Payuco Falls are different. I saw no greenheart or Souari-nut trees above that fall, but quantities of long-john, silk-cotton and hog-plum trees. Bamboo grew all along the side of the river from above Payuco to the mouth of the Urawan. From Apo-ye-kiffoo upwards, the forest for miles on both banks of the river and for considerable distance inland had been burned. The Indians say such fires occur spontaneously, and burn until stopped by the rains or some large creek.

I left Francisco's on the afternoon of the 5th and called at Arravuta for the promised cassava. No occurrence of note happened until the 15th when we nearly lost one of our boats while lowering it over a large fall. The rocks were slippery; and one of the men fell just as the boat was going over, the jerk throwing most of the others down, which caused a sudden strain on the rope, burying the bow of the boat in the fall, so that it immediately filled and was carried away. Luckily there were no rocks, or it would have been broken into small pieces. The load had been taken out and carried across, so fortunately we lost nothing but the time taken to bale.

The rain commenced on the 14th and fell continuously, so that the river rose about four inches during the night of 16th.

We ran the last of all the falls at 8 P. M. on the 18th and arrived at Kalacoon without further incident at 10.30 A. M., having been exactly five weeks away.

No. 118.**The gold industry of British Guiana, 1895.**

[Reprinted from *British Guiana, and its Resources*, by the author of "*Sardinia and its Resources*" (Robert Tennant) 12.^o London, 1895; pp. 3-77.]

[Page 30.]

"The official records of gold produced from 1884 to the present time show in a succinct form the progress of the gold industry. They are as follows:

Years.	Gold.		
	oz.	d.	g.
1884.....	250	0	0
1885.....	939	0	0
1886.....	6,518	1	12
1887.....	10,986	14	0
1888-89.....	20,216	1	8
1889-90.....	32,332	16	5
1890-91.....	66,864	4	21
1891 92.....	110,555	12	5
1892-93.....	134,124	7	23
1893-94.....	138,527	16	14
1894 (April 1 to December 31).....	110,432	4	16
Total.....	631,746	19	8

These results, marvellous as they are, are rendered still more astonishing when the great physical difficulties and general surroundings are taken into account; and when, too, it is borne in mind that the whole of this output has been obtained *exclusively* from the washing of alluvial deposits along the banks of the smaller rivers and creeks, and that the work has been carried on in the most primitive and unsystematic manner, by means of old-fashioned "sluices," "battels," and "toms," handled by men unversed in gold-working, and supervised by overseers, many of whom are equally ignorant and inexperienced.

These alluvial deposits appear to be impartially distributed over almost every part of the colony, and are now being worked on nearly every tributary of the great rivers, Essequibo, Mazaruni, Cuyuni, Barima and Demerara. The deposits lie at a depth varying from a few inches to 15 feet below the surface, which is for the most part covered by a slight layer of soil and vegetable matter; they consist of coarse and fine sand, pebbles of quartz, quartzite and greenstone, held together by tenacious brownish yellow clay, under which are found the auriferous strata, varying in thickness from six inches to six feet, and beneath is a plastic clay, white or green, but generally green, in colour. These beds have evidently been formed from the wearing away in past ages, by the action of water and weather, of the rocky formations on the higher grounds, and have been carried down by water or glacial action into the valleys and flats below;

No. 118.

and they must, therefore, in a limited course of years—the exact period being necessarily dependent on their extent and the rapidity with which they are worked—be exhausted. Up to the present time no shafts have been sunk to any depth through the upper strata of these deposits for the purpose of testing whether there are deeper beds below.”

[Page 38.]

“Meanwhile, however, public attention has been drawn towards the general development of the country by an announcement from the Colonial Office of the willingness of Government to grant large concessions to capitalists—whether in England or the colony—who will embark their money and devote their influence and energies to carrying out schemes for colonisation and sound development. The inducements thus held out, with the implied promise of Government support in the making of roads and improving of access generally, have already led to preliminary arrangements being entered into for the formation of such syndicates; and there is a confident expectation that, ere many months are over, they will be brought in a practical shape before the public. It is to be hoped when these companies make their appearance, that their objects and purposes will be clearly defined, that the direction and management will be such as to inspire and deserve public confidence, that they will be free from the speculative taint which too frequently characterises commercial enterprises, and—what is also of paramount importance—that they will be backed by a large capital, amply sufficient to carry out fully and effectually the objects and purposes for which they are formed. Hitherto the want of these essentials has been the cause of the lukewarmness with which such undertakings have been received, and of the ill success they have so far met with in this country.”

[Page 41.]

“When these preliminary formalities have been complied with, an application has to be made within two months to the Mines Office for a ‘grant.’ This application has then to be advertised four times in the *Official Gazette*; and, if no objection by a rival claimant be lodged, the location is at once allowed. From this time, not less than six men must be kept continuously at work on the claim (or ‘grant’ as it is then called) and a rent of \$2 per month for a mining, and \$1 per month for a placer grant has thenceforth to be paid; the grant, though nominally at the will of the Crown, is perpetual, so long as the rent is paid. The only other payment is a royalty of ninety cents per oz., which is equal to 5 per cent. upon the total value of the gold actually obtained.”

[Page 43.]

“During the short period that placer working has been carried on there have been several marvellous successes. One small syndicate on the Mazaruni river, no great distance from the disputed ground,

No. 118.

with a capital of \$13,500 in 4,500 shares of \$3 each, returned in the first three years to its fortunate members a dividend of \$1 per share per month, which is equal to 400 per cent. per annum, but it is now almost exhausted; and there are other placers worked by individuals which are producing still more, one placer on the Essequibo having paid no less than £20,000 a year for the first four years on a capital of £180 contributed by two Portuguese merchants, the other partner (a Frenchman) taking the remaining one-third for his share, as 'discoverer and locator.' Many other instances could be given of working men, in conjunction with small capitalists, making as many hundred dollars per month as were originally embarked in the enterprise. These, of course, are some of the prizes; but the blanks are many, arising, however, in most cases from ignorance or dishonesty."

The *modus operandi* of prospecting has generally been as follows: A prospector, usually a coloured man, knows of some place where there is, or he thinks, or has been told, there is, alluvial gold; he applies to some tradesman or clerk, or any one else, who is known to have speculative tendencies and a small sum of money at command, and he proposes that, if provisions and a crew be found, he will proceed to "prospect" and "locate" in their joint names, "on sharing terms," the person finding the capital taking the larger share (generally two-thirds), and the prospector the other third in the enterprise; and, if the prospector has any mining knowledge or common honesty, success generally follows. When gold has been found, either on the surface, or by digging and panning the alluvial soil, the claim is "located." A journey back to the capital is then usually taken to perfect the location at the Mines Office, and to make arrangements for working. For effecting this, a gang of black labourers, with a few shovels, picks, and battels, wages and provisions for three months, are all that is needed. A sum of from £50 to £150, dependent on the scale of operations, will amply provide these requisites, within two months, even if the placers were only of moderate richness, there will be enough gold produced to pay off the first expenditure, keep the placer at work, and give profitable returns in the future. On arriving at the location with men and stores, the first operation is to select the site for a camp, and to build sheds (called "logies") for the prospector and men to live in, and for sheltering the provisions and stores."

[Page 45.]

"In this selection water is an essential, not only for domestic purposes, but for working the placer, and the situation should be either on or near to the banks of a creek, so as to enable a trench to be cut with the requisite fall to work the sluices. The line of the proposed trench, and the ground it is proposed to work, must then be cleared of wood, the trench dug, sluices with 'stop-offs' and dams (where necessary) made, and the sluice-boxes set up; meanwhile other men having been clearing off the top layer of earth, and exposing the 'pay-dirt' ready for washing. Great care

No. 118.

is taken to ensure that the sluice is placed in a position to work as much ground as possible, otherwise, as the workings proceed, a fresh trench has to be dug. The sluice-boxes should not, however, be sunk with too much fall, for although the greater fall allows more 'pay-dirt' being washed in a given time, yet it also allows the finer portions of gold to be carried over the 'riffles' by the rush of water; and the advantage of treating a greater quantity of gravel is thus often more than counterbalanced by the less saving of gold. The number of men employed at a sluice varies according to its size and extent; for an average sluice eight to nine men are usually allowed, two to uncover the soil and fill the sluice, two to deal with the tailings, or refuse soil, and the rest to attend to the sluice-box and keep it clear. Hydraulicing, which has been adopted on a large scale with such wonderful results in California and other countries, does not seem to be practicable in the country, for though a sufficient volume of water could generally be obtained, the necessary fall for the tail race would be wanting; for the gold deposits are found on the low and flat lands lying along the river banks where the water is sluggish, and indeed almost a dead level for miles."

[Page 47.]

"The wages paid to the ordinary black labourer are sixty-four cents per day; but, in addition, he has to be fed, housed, and supplied with medicine and medical comforts, and these latter items form no inconsiderable sum; for, though there is seldom serious illness amongst the blacks, there is much 'shamming' to avoid work, and the average cost per man (including over-lookers) cannot be put down at less than \$1 per day, inclusive of Sundays, when no work is carried on. The other working expenses are, however, comparatively trifling; on a fairly good-yielding and fairly-managed placer the total cost varies from 50 to 70 per cent. of the value of the gold obtained; on rich placers it is considerable less, not more than one-third, and on the poorer placers it is much greater. This percentage of expenses is, however, undoubtedly high, and it is mainly, indeed almost wholly, caused by the great cost and loss of time in the transport of men and provisions to the field of operation. This, however, will be materially reduced when the steamer and railway communications now contemplated are completed. The saving in working expenses at the more inaccessible workings will be reduced at least one-third, in some cases even more, and the whole of this saving will, of course, be so much additional profit. Moreover, when this reduction of cost is brought about, many placers which now barely pay their way will be brought into profitable working and others which cannot be worked now except at a loss, will be able to resume operations, and add to the general output. There are, it is estimated, upwards of 200 placers now in actual work, the returns from which vary from a few oz. to 1,000 oz. gold per month, or an average of about 50 oz. each; the aggregate capital invested in these workings does not, it is stated, amount to more than the value of a year's production."

No. 118.

[Page 48.]

“Amongst these many ventures there are, of course, many failures and many losses, owing, in some cases, to the prospector being mistaken as to the richness of the location, but far oftener to dishonesty and idleness. It is no uncommon occurrence for prospecting or working parties, fully equipped and provisioned for three or four months, never to get further on their way to the diggings than the first falls on the river they have to ascend, and if there is no store or shop where alcohol of some kind or other is to be had (and this, of course, is well known before starting, and a stock has been previously laid in) they move to the nearest resting-place, and remain idly there till the store of liquor and provisions is exhausted. They then either return to town with a dismal story of ‘no gold to be found’ or they have been ‘down with fever;’ or, if they think there is a chance of getting further supplies and playing the same game over again, a few small nuggets or some fine gold (which has been either borrowed or stolen) are produced as convincing proof that gold is there, and that further prospecting is all that is required to ensure a certain fortune. It need scarcely be said that, when such appeals are successful, the second expedition is as disastrous as the first.”

“The great problem of the day, the labour question, is pushing its way to the front in this colony, though in a somewhat different phase from that presented in England and other countries. It is estimated that there are now engaged in the ‘diggings’ between 6,000 and 7,000 negroes, many of whom have no doubt been taken from the sugar plantations, where they formerly worked for a few months in the year in cane cutting, for which work, from their fine physique, they are more fitted than coolies, who, on the other hand, are better suited for the lighter and more intelligent labour in the sugar factories.”

[Page 51.]

“Owing to the peculiar physical features of this colony, prospecting for gold, or, indeed, travelling at all, is slow and difficult and attended with unusual risks and hardships. The country is intersected in all directions by large rivers, creeks, and swamps, and, from the coast to the higher lands in the interior, it is clothed with forest trees and a dense undergrowth. There are no roads that can be traversed by mules or carts, except those along the sea-coast through the plantations; the Indian tracks, or paths, that can be travelled on foot are few and far between; and to make headway through the forest a path has to be slowly and laboriously hewn with a hatchet, shaped like a cutlass, and especially adapted for such work. Game, fur or feather is scarce, and owing to the thick bush, can only be got by native hunters, who are not always to be relied on; provisions have, therefore, to be carried either by the prospectors themselves, or by bearers hired for the purpose. To reach the gold-fields the large rivers are, of course, utilised to the utmost available

No. 118.

extent, but, unfortunately, none of the rivers (except the Barima) are navigable for a greater continuous length than forty miles. There are either rapids or falls which no steamer can contend against, or shallow water which no ocean-going ship can get through, and transshipment of passengers and cargo into small launches or boats to be made—a tedious and costly operation, which, when the contemplated railways are completed and steamers are placed on the higher reaches of the rivers, will be rendered less and less frequent; but, even with the present facilities of access, communication with the gold-fields contrasts most favourably, both as to cheapness and speed, with transport in other gold-producing countries; and as labour, fuel, and water (the three great items in the cost of production) are abundant everywhere, the colony possesses every requisite for working its gold-fields more economically and efficiently than in any other country in the world.”

[Page 58.]

“Timber did not commence to be an article of export till 1850, some years after the cultivation of coffee was discontinued.”

“All the timber lands belonged to Government, and a ‘grant’ for felling is to be had on very easy terms—viz., the cost of the survey and a royalty of a few cents (varying from 1½ cent to ½ cent per cubic foot). Nearly all the best timber lands adjoining the navigable rivers, where the trees can be felled and floated easily down to market, have been ‘gone over,’ but there are hundreds of thousands of acres in the interior still untouched by the axe, which are virgin forests. The heavier logs have to be kept on the surface while floating down the river by light punts, but a good sized raft can be thus supported, as the actual weight is only the difference between the gravity of the wood and the water.”

“Wood-cutters are paid generally by piece-work from 3 to 5 cents (depending on the hardness of the wood) per cubic foot, cut and squared, and a good workman will fell 50 cubic feet a day, thus earning \$2, which is considered a high wage in this country.”

[Page 92.]

“The navigation of the rapids, which on some of the larger rivers occur at intervals of a few miles, causes great cost and delay, and is always attended with danger. Scarcely a month elapses without the record of a boat being swamped, and most of its crew drowned, and the cargo lost.”

“Inland travelling has to be done on foot; there are no roads or tracks where even a mule (the most sure-footed of all beasts of burden) could make its way, except along the sea-coast, where there are macadamised carriage roads for short distances. There is only one railway; it was constructed in 1840, and is amongst the earliest of Colonial railways. It runs from the capital, through the sugar plantations, along the east coast to the river Mahaica for about twenty miles.”

APPENDIX

PART 5

DOCUMENTS FROM DIPLOMATIC SOURCES

No. 119.

The Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington, February 23, 1895.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)," No. 9, pp. 5-6.]

On the 25th ultimo the United States' Ambassador referred in conversation to the dispute between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Venezuela with regard to the boundary of British Guiana, and said that his Government would gladly lend their good offices to bring about a settlement by means of an arbitration.

I explained to Mr. Bayard that Her Majesty's Government had expressed their willingness to submit the question, with certain limits, to arbitration, but that they could not agree to the more extensive reference on which the Venezuelan Government insisted. At his Excellency's request I promised to communicate to him a Memorandum on the present position of the matter, and to show him a map setting out the points in dispute.

Mr. Bayard called here again on the 20th instant, and, in pursuance of my promise, I read to him the Memorandum, of which a copy is inclosed for your Excellency's information, and showed him a map of the territory in dispute. I told his Excellency that the Venezuelans had recently made an aggression upon the territory in our occupation, and had, according to the reports which had reached us, ill-treated some of the colonial police stationed there.

On Mr. Bayard observing that the United States' Government were anxious to do anything in their power to facilitate a settlement of the difficulty by arbitration, I reminded his Excellency that, although Her Majesty's Government were ready to go to arbitration as to a certain portion of the territory, which I had pointed out on the map, they could not consent to any departure from the Schomburgk line.

I am, &c.

(Signed) **KIMBERLEY.**

[Inclosure in above.]

Memorandum on the Venezuelan Boundary Question read to the Ambassador of the United States, dated February 20, 1895.

The readiness of Her Majesty's Government to discuss this question in a friendly spirit has been shown by the fact that although the Government of Venezuela broke off relations with Her Majesty's Government in 1887, and have as yet offered no apology for their conduct, yet informal Representatives of Venezuela have three times been received at the Foreign Office with a view to preliminary negotiations on the question of boundary.

No. 119.

The negotiations between the two Governments for the settlement of the disputed boundary which have taken place during the last fifty years have led to no result, because Venezuela has insisted on maintaining a claim extending beyond the River Essequibo and including a large portion of long-settled districts of the Colony of British Guiana.

On the other hand, Great Britain has throughout been prepared to make large abatements from her extreme claim, although Her Majesty's Government have been continually accumulating stronger documentary proofs of the correctness of that extreme claim as being their inheritance from their Dutch predecessors.

When, therefore, persistent attempts at encroachment by Venezuela, and the increasing demand for the due exercise of jurisdiction within the western districts of the Colony of British Guiana, made it impossible to leave the question of boundary quite uncertain, Her Majesty's Government in 1886 decided to proclaim what is known as the Schomburgk line as the minimum limit of their jurisdiction and of their territorial claim, and that line has since been treated as the provisional boundary of the Colony. This is the boundary which has lately been violated in a marked manner by the Venezuelans.

Her Majesty's Government have consistently declined, and still decline, to submit to arbitration the question of the right to territory long settled and governed as part of a British Colony, nor are they now prepared to accept any material modification of the provisional boundary proclaimed in 1886.

On the other hand, they have offered to concede to Venezuela without arbitration a large portion of the territory comprised in their extreme claim, and they are ready to go to arbitration respecting an intermediate zone, as to the exact limit of which they would be prepared to accept modifications having a proper regard to natural boundaries.

These views of Her Majesty's Government have been communicated to the Government of Venezuela in 1890, and again in 1893. To the last of those communications no answer has been returned.

No. 120.

The Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington, March 20, 1895.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)," No. 10, pp. 6-7.]

SIR:

Foreign Office, March 20, 1895.

The United States' Ambassador asked me to-day if I could give him any further information as to the differences between this country and Venezuela.

No. 120.

I said I could add nothing to the Answer which Sir E. Grey had given in the House of Commons.*

Her Majesty's Government were awaiting a communication from the Government of Venezuela, but they would certainly require redress for the outrages committed by Venezuelan soldiers on District Inspector Barnes and other British subjects.

Mr. Bayard suggested that it might be advantageous that Venezuela should send a Special Envoy to discuss the boundary question. He thought that that had been done on more than one occasion.

I said I did not remember exactly what had taken place as to sending a Special Envoy here, but that diplomatic relations had been broken off in 1887 by the Venezuelan Government, who had given the British Minister his passports.

I am, &c.
(Signed)

KIMBERLEY.

* Extract from Hansard, p. 2, March 11, 1895:—

Sir G. Baden-Powell (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether officers and members of the British Guiana police last winter were attacked by Venezuelan armed forces, seized, and carried into Venezuelan territory from British territory; whether he can state what has happened to these British subjects, and when they were enabled to return to their homes; whether the Venezuelan Government have offered any explanation; and what steps the Government proposes to take to arrange the questions in dispute which give rise to such international complications.

Sir Edward Grey: Some officers and members of the British police force were seized on the right bank of the River Cuyuni and taken to a Venezuelan station at El Dorado early in January. They were released on the 20th January, and all of them have now returned to Demerara. The Government of Venezuela have summoned the General Commissioner on the Cuyuni and the Military Commander to Carácas to give explanations, and have appointed a Special Commission to investigate the matter. Her Majesty's Government will wait for a reasonable time to hear what is the result of the inquiry instituted by the Government of Venezuela before they determine what reparation should be required.

March 14, 1895:—

Mr. A. Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government are now represented at Carácas with the Republic of Venezuela; and, if so, what steps, if any, are being taken to bring about a *modus vivendi* for the settlement of disputes now pending?

Sir Edward Grey: Her Majesty's Government have no diplomatic Representative in Venezuela, but British interests in that country are in charge of the German Representative at Carácas. Her Majesty's Government are, and always have been, ready to come to an amicable arrangement with the Venezuelan Government for the settlement of pending disputes, and their views on the subject were communicated to that Government in 1890 and again in 1893, to the latter of which communications no answer has been returned. Her Majesty's Government must therefore maintain the provisional boundary proclaimed in October 1886. This boundary does not embrace their whole claim, and the Venezuelan Government have more than once been informed that Her Majesty's Government are willing to submit the right to certain territory outside this boundary to arbitration.

No. 121.

Extracts from Instruction of Mr. Olney, Secretary of State of the United States, to Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, July 20, 1895.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)" No. 11, pp. 7-13, 19-20.]

SIR:

I am directed by the President to communicate to you his views upon a subject to which he has given much anxious thought, and respecting which he has not reached a conclusion without a lively sense of its great importance, as well as of the serious responsibility involved in any action now to be taken.

It is not proposed, and for the present purposes is not necessary, to enter into any detailed account of the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela respecting the western frontier of the Colony of British Guiana. The dispute is of ancient date, and began at least as early as the time when Great Britain acquired, by the treaty with the Netherlands of 1814, "the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice." From that time to the present the dividing line between these "establishments" (now called British Guiana) and Venezuela has never ceased to be a subject of contention. The claims of both parties, it must be conceded, are of somewhat indefinite nature. On the one hand, Venezuela, in every Constitution of Government since she became an independent State, has declared her territorial limits to be those of the Captaincy-General of Venezuela in 1810; yet, out of "moderation and prudence," it is said, she has contented herself with claiming the Essequibo line—the line of the Essequibo River that is—to be the true boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. On the other hand, at least an equal degree of indefiniteness distinguishes the claim of Great Britain. It does not seem to be asserted, for instance, that in 1814 the "establishments" then acquired by Great Britain had any clearly-defined western limits which can now be identified, and which are either the limits insisted upon to-day, or, being the original limits, have been the basis of legitimate territorial extensions. On the contrary, having the actual possession of a district called the Pomeroon district, she apparently remained indifferent as to the exact area of the Colony until 1840, when she commissioned an engineer, Sir Robert Schomburgk, to examine and lay down its boundaries. The result was the Schomburgk line, which was fixed by metes and bounds, was delineated on maps, and was at first indicated on the face of the country itself by posts, monograms, and other like symbols. If it was expected that Venezuela would acquiesce in this line the expectation was doomed to speedy disappointment. Venezuela at once protested, and with such vigour and to such purpose that the line was explained to be only tentative—part of a general boundary scheme concerning Brazil and the Netherlands, as well as Venezuela—and the monuments of the line set up by Schomburgk were removed by the express order of Lord Aberdeen.

No. 121.

Under these circumstances, it seems impossible to treat the Schomburgk line as being the boundary claimed by Great Britain as matter of right, or as anything but a line originating in considerations of convenience and expediency. Since 1840 various other boundary lines have from time to time been indicated by Great Britain, but all as conventional lines—lines to which Venezuela's assent has been desired, but which in no instance, it is believed, have been demanded as matter of right. Thus, neither of the parties is to-day standing for the boundary line predicated upon strict legal right—Great Britain having formulated no such claim at all, while Venezuela insists upon the Essequibo line only as a liberal concession to her antagonist.

Several other features of the situation remain to be briefly noticed. The continuous growth of the undefined British claim, the fate of the various attempts at arbitration of the controversy, and the part in the matter heretofore taken by the United States. As already seen, the exploitation of the Schomburgk line in 1840 was at once followed by the protest of Venezuela and by proceedings on the part of Great Britain which could fairly be interpreted only as a disavowal of that line. Indeed—in addition to the facts already noticed—Lord Aberdeen himself in 1844 proposed a line beginning at the River Moroco, a distinct abandonment of the Schomburgk line. Notwithstanding this, however, every change in the British claim since that time has moved the frontier of British Guiana farther and farther to the westward of the line thus proposed. The Granville line of 1881 placed the starting-point at a distance of 29 miles from the Moroco in the direction of Punta Barima. The Rosebery line of 1886 placed it west of the Guiana River, and about that time, if the British authority known as the "Statesman's Year Book" is to be relied upon, the area of British Guiana was suddenly enlarged by some 33,000 square miles—being stated as 76,000 square miles in 1885, and 109,000 square miles in 1887. The Salisbury line of 1890 fixed the starting-point of the line in the mouth of the Amacuro west of the Punta Barima on the Orinoco. And finally, in 1893, a second Rosebery line carried the boundary from a point to the west of the Amacuro as far as the source of the Cumano River and the Sierra of Usupamo. Nor have the various claims thus enumerated been claims on paper merely. An exercise of jurisdiction corresponding more or less to such claims has accompanied or followed closely upon each, and has been the more irritating and unjustifiable if, as is alleged, an agreement made in the year 1850 bound both parties to refrain from such occupation pending the settlement of the dispute.

While the British claim has been developing in the manner above described, Venezuela has made earnest and repeated efforts to have the question of boundary settled. Indeed, allowance being made for the distractions of a war of independence and for frequent internal revolutions, it may be fairly said that Venezuela has never ceased to strive for its adjustment. It could, of course, do so only through peaceful methods, any resort to

No. 121.

force as against its powerful adversary being out of the question. Accordingly, shortly after the drawing of the Schomburgk line, an effort was made to settle the boundary by Treaty, and was apparently progressing towards a successful issue when the negotiations were brought to an end in 1844 by the death of the Venezuelan Plenipotentiary. In 1848 Venezuela entered upon a period of civil commotions which lasted for more than a quarter of a century, and the negotiations thus interrupted in 1844 were not resumed until 1876. In that year Venezuela offered to close the dispute by accepting the Moroco line proposed by Lord Aberdeen. But, without giving reasons for his refusal, Lord Granville rejected the proposal, and suggested a new line comprehending a large tract of territory all pretension to which seemed to have been abandoned by the previous action of Lord Aberdeen. Venezuela refused to assent to it, and negotiations dragged along without result until 1882, when Venezuela concluded that the only course open to her was arbitration of the controversy. Before she had made any definite proposition, however, Great Britain took the initiative by suggesting the making of a Treaty which should determine various other questions as well as that of the disputed boundary. The result was that a Treaty was practically agreed upon with the Gladstone Government in 1886 containing a general arbitration clause under which the parties might have submitted the boundary dispute to the decision of a third Power or of several Powers in amity with both. Before the actual signing of the Treaty, however, the Administration of Mr. Gladstone was superseded by that of Lord Salisbury, which declined to accede to the arbitration clause of the Treaty, notwithstanding the reasonable expectations of Venezuela to the contrary, based upon the Premier's emphatic declaration in the House of Lords that no serious Government would think of not respecting the engagements of its predecessor. Since then, Venezuela on the one side has been offering and calling for arbitration, while Great Britain on the other has responded by insisting upon the condition that any arbitration should relate only to such of the disputed territory as lies west of a line designated by herself. As this condition seemed inadmissible to Venezuela, and as, while the negotiations were pending, new appropriations of what is claimed to be Venezuelan territory continued to be made, Venezuela in 1887 suspended diplomatic relations with Great Britain, protesting, "before Her British Majesty's Government, before all civilized nations, and before the world in general, against the acts of spoliation committed to her detriment by the Government of Great Britain, which she at no time and on no account will recognize as capable of altering in the least the rights which she has inherited from Spain, and respecting which she will ever be willing to submit to the decision of a third Power." Diplomatic relations have not since been restored, though what are claimed to be new and flagrant British aggressions forced Venezuela to resume negotiations on the boundary question—in 1890 through its Minister in Paris and a Special Envoy on that subject—and in 1893 through a confidential Agent, Señor Mi-

No. 121.

chelena. These negotiations, however, met with the fate of other like previous negotiations—Great Britain refusing to arbitrate except as to territory west of an arbitrary line drawn by herself. All attempts in that direction definitely terminated in October 1893, when Señor Michelena filed with the Foreign Office the following declaration :—

“I perform a most strict duty in raising again in the name of the Government of Venezuela a most solemn protest against the proceedings of the Colony of British Guiana, constituting encroachments upon the territory of the Republic, and against the declaration contained in your Excellency’s communication that Her Britannic Majesty’s Government considers that part of the territory as pertaining to British Guiana, and admits no claim to it on the part of Venezuela. In support of this protest, I reproduce all the arguments presented to your Excellency in my note of the 29th of last September and those which have been exhibited by the Government of Venezuela on the various occasions they have raised the same protest.

“I lay on Her Britannic Majesty’s Government the entire responsibility of the incidents that may arise in the future from the necessity to which Venezuela has been driven to oppose by all possible means the dispossession of a part of her territory; for, by disregarding her just representations to put an end to this violent state of affairs through the decision of Arbiters, Her Majesty’s Government ignores her rights, and imposes upon her the painful though peremptory duty of providing for her own legitimate defence.”

To the territorial controversy between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela, thus briefly outlined, the United States has not been, and, indeed, in view of its traditional policy, could not be indifferent. The note to the British Foreign Office by which Venezuela opened negotiations in 1876 was at once communicated to this Government. In January 1881 a letter of the Venezuelan Minister at Washington respecting certain alleged demonstrations at the mouth of the Orinoco was thus answered by Mr. Evarts, then Secretary of State:—

“In reply, I have to inform you that, in view of the deep interest which the Government of the United States takes in all transactions tending to attempted encroachments of foreign Powers upon the territory of any of the Republics of this continent, this Government could not look with indifference to the forcible acquisition of such territory by England if the mission of the vessels now at the mouth of the Orinoco should be found to be for that end. This Government awaits, therefore, with natural concern, the more particular statements promised by the Government of Venezuela, which it hopes will not be long delayed.”

In the February following Mr. Evarts wrote again on the same subject as follows:—

“Referring to your note of the 21st December last, touching the operations of certain British war-vessels in and near the mouth of the Orinoco

No. 121.

River, and to my reply thereto of the 31st ultimo, as well as to the recent occasions in which the subject has been mentioned in our conferences concerning the business of your mission, I take it to be fitting now, at the close of my incumbency of the office I hold, to advert to the interest with which the Government of the United States cannot fail to regard any such purpose with respect to the control of American territory as is stated to be contemplated by the Government of Great Britain; and to express my regret that the further information promised in your note with regard to such designs had not reached me in season to receive the attention which, notwithstanding the severe pressure of public business at the end of an administrative term, I should have taken pleasure in bestowing upon it. I doubt not, however, that your representations in fulfilment of the awaited additional orders of your Government will have like earnest and solicitous consideration at the hands of my successor."

In November 1882 the then state of negotiations with Great Britain, together with a copy of an intended note suggesting recourse to arbitration, was communicated to the Secretary of State by the President of Venezuela, with the expression of the hope that the United States would give him his opinion and advice, and such support as it deemed possible to offer Venezuela, in order that justice should be done her. Mr. Frelinghuysen replied, in a despatch to the United States' Minister at Carácas, as follows:—

" This Government has already expressed its view that arbitration of such disputes is a convenient resort in the case of failure to come to a mutual understanding, and intimated its willingness, if Venezuela should so desire, to propose to Great Britain such a mode of settlement. It is felt that the tender of good offices would not be so profitable if the United States were to approach Great Britain as the advocate of any prejudged solution in favour of Venezuela. So far as the United States can counsel and assist Venezuela, it believes it best to confine its reply to the renewal of the suggestion of arbitration and the offer of all its good offices in that direction. This suggestion is the more easily made, since it appears, from the instruction sent by Señor Seijas to the Venezuelan Minister in London on the same 15th July, 1882, that the President of Venezuela proposed to the British Government the submission of the dispute to arbitration by a third Power.

" You will take an early occasion to present the foregoing considerations to Señor Seijas, saying to him that, while trusting that the direct proposal for arbitration already made to Great Britain may bear good fruit (if, indeed, it has not already done so by its acceptance in principle), the Government of the United States will cheerfully lend any needful aid to press upon Great Britain in a friendly way the proposition so made; and at the same time you will say to Señor Seijas (in personal conference, and not with the formality of a written communication) that the United States, while advocating strongly the recourse of arbitration for the adjustment

No. 121.

of international disputes affecting the States of America, does not seek to put itself forward as their Arbiter; that, viewing all such questions impartially, and with no intent or desire to prejudge their merits, the United States will not refuse its arbitration if asked by both parties; and that, regarding all such questions as essentially and distinctively American, the United States would always prefer to see such contentions adjusted through the arbitrament of an American rather than an European Power."

In 1884 General Guzman Blanco, the Venezuelan Minister to England, appointed with special reference to pending negotiations for a general Treaty with Great Britain, visited Washington on his way to London, and, after several conferences with the Secretary of State respecting the objects of his mission, was thus commended to the good offices of Mr. Lowell, our Minister at St. James':—

"It will necessarily be somewhat within your discretion how far your good offices may be profitably employed with Her Majesty's Government to these ends, and at any rate you may take proper occasion to let Lord Granville know that we are not without concern as to whatever may affect the interests of a sister Republic of the American Continent and its position in the family of nations.

"If General Guzman should apply to you for advice or assistance in realizing the purposes of his mission you will show him proper consideration, and, without committing the United States to any determinate political solution, you will endeavour to carry out the views of this instruction."

The progress of General Guzman's negotiations did not fail to be observed by this Government, and in December 1886, with a view to preventing the rupture of diplomatic relations—which actually took place in February following—the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, instructed our Minister to Great Britain to tender the arbitration of the United States in the following terms:—

"It does not appear that at any time heretofore the good offices of this Government have been actually tendered to avert a rupture between Great Britain and Venezuela. As intimated in my No. 58, our inaction in this regard would seem to be due to the reluctance of Venezuela to have the Government of the United States take any steps having relation to the action of the British Government which might, in appearance even, prejudice the resort to further arbitration or mediation which Venezuela desired. Nevertheless, the records abundantly testify our friendly concern in the adjustment of the dispute; and the intelligence now received warrants me in tendering through you to Her Majesty's Government the good offices of the United States to promote an amicable settlement of the respective claims of Great Britain and Venezuela in the premises.

"As proof of the impartiality with which we view the question, we offer our arbitration, if acceptable, to both countries. We do this with

No. 121.

the less hesitancy, as the dispute turns upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts.

“Her Majesty’s Government will readily understand that this attitude of friendly neutrality and entire impartiality touching the merits of the controversy, consisting wholly in a difference of facts between our friends and neighbours, is entirely consistent and compatible with the sense of responsibility that rests upon the United States in relation to the South American Republics. The doctrines we announced two generations ago, at the instance and with the moral support and approval of the British Government, have lost none of their force or importance in the progress of time, and the Governments of Great Britain and the United States are equally interested in conserving a status the wisdom of which has been demonstrated by the experience of more than half-a-century.

“It is proper, therefore, that you should convey to Lord Iddesleigh, in such sufficiently guarded terms as your discretion may dictate, the satisfaction that would be felt by the Government of the United States in perceiving that its wishes in this regard were permitted to have influence with Her Majesty’s Government.”

This offer of mediation was declined by Great Britain with the statement that a similar offer had already been received from another quarter, and that the Queen’s Government were still not without hope of a settlement by direct diplomatic negotiations. In February 1888, having been informed that the Governor of British Guiana had by formal Decree laid claim to the territory traversed by the route of a proposed railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati, Mr. Bayard addressed a note to our Minister to England, from which the following extracts are taken:—

“The claim now stated to have been put forth by the authorities of British Guiana necessarily gives rise to grave disquietude, and creates an apprehension that the territorial claim does not follow historical traditions or evidence, but is apparently indefinite. At no time hitherto does it appear that the district of which Guacipati is the centre has been claimed as British territory, or that such jurisdiction has ever been asserted over its inhabitants, and if the reported Decree of the Governor of British Guiana be indeed genuine it is not apparent how any line of railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati could enter or traverse territory within the control of Great Britain.

“It is true that the line claimed by Great Britain as the western boundary of British Guiana is uncertain and vague. It is only necessary to examine the British Colonial Office List for a few years back to perceive this. In the issue for 1877, for instance, the line runs nearly southwardly from the mouth of the Amacuro to the junction of the Cotinga and Takutu Rivers. In the issue of 1887, ten years later, it makes a wide détour to the westward, following the Yuruari. Guacipati lies considerably to the westward of the line officially claimed in 1887, and it may perhaps be in-

No. 121.

structive to compare with it the map which doubtless will be found in the Colonial Office List for the present year.

"It may be well for you to express anew to Lord Salisbury the great gratification it would afford this Government to see the Venezuelan dispute amicably and honourably settled by arbitration or otherwise, and our readiness to do anything we properly can to assist to that end.

"In the course of your conversation you may refer to the publication in the London "Financier" of the 24th January (a copy of which you can procure and exhibit to Lord Salisbury), and express apprehension lest the widening pretensions of British Guiana to possess territory over which Venezuela's jurisdiction has never heretofore been disputed may not diminish the chances for a practical settlement.

"If, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of grave concern."

In 1889, information having been received that Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, has been declared a British port, Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, authorized Mr. White to confer with Lord Salisbury for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela on the basis of a temporary restoration of the *status quo*, and on May 1 and May 6, 1890, sent the following telegrams to our Minister to England (Mr. Lincoln):—

" May 1, 1890.

"Mr. Lincoln is instructed to use his good offices with Lord Salisbury to bring about the resumption of diplomatic intercourse between Great Britain and Venezuela as a preliminary step towards the settlement of the boundary dispute by arbitration. The joint proposals of Great Britain and the United States towards Portugal, which have just been brought about, would seem to make the present time propitious for submitting this question to an international arbitration. He is requested to propose to Lord Salisbury, with a view to an accommodation, that an informal conference be had in Washington, or in London, of Representatives of the three Powers. In such conference the position of the United States is one solely of impartial friendship towards both litigants."

" May 5, 1890.

"It is nevertheless desired that you shall do all you can consistently with our attitude of impartial friendship to induce some accord between the contestants by which the merits of the controversy may be fairly ascertained, and the rights of each party justly confirmed. The neutral position of this Government does not comport with any expression of opinion on the part of this Department as to what these rights are, but it is confident that the shifting footing on which the British boundary question has rested for several years past is an obstacle to such a correct appreciation of the nature and grounds of her claim as would alone warrant the formation of any opinion."

No. 121.

In the course of the same year, 1890, Venezuela sent to London a Special Envoy to bring about the resumption of diplomatic relations with Great Britain through the good offices of the United States' Minister. But the mission failed, because a condition of such resumption, steadily adhered to by Venezuela, was the reference of the boundary dispute to arbitration. Since the close of the negotiations initiated by Señor Michelena in 1893, Venezuela has repeatedly brought the controversy to the notice of the United States, has insisted upon its importance to the United States as well as to Venezuela, has represented it to have reached an acute stage -- making definite action by the United States imperative--and has not ceased to solicit the services and support of the United States in aid of its final adjustment. These appeals have not been received with indifference, and our Ambassador to Great Britain has been uniformly instructed to exert all his influence in the direction of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela, and in favour of arbitration of the boundary controversy. The Secretary of State, in a communication to Mr. Bayard, bearing date the 13th July, 1894, used the following language:—

“The President is inspired by a desire for a peaceable and honourable settlement of the existing difficulties between an American State and a powerful Transatlantic nation, and would be glad to see the re-establishment of such diplomatic relations between them as would promote that end.

“I can discern but two equitable solutions of the present controversy. One is the arbitral determination of the rights of the disputants as the respective successors to the historical rights of Holland and Spain over the region in question. The other is to create a new boundary-line in accordance with the dictates of mutual expediency and consideration. The two Governments having so far been unable to agree on a conventional line, the consistent and conspicuous advocacy by the United States and England of the principle of arbitration, and their recourse thereto in settlement of important questions arising between them, makes such a mode of adjustment especially appropriate in the present instance, and this Government will gladly do what it can to further a determination in that sense.”

Subsequent communications to Mr. Bayard direct him to ascertain whether a Minister from Venezuela would be received by Great Britain. In the Annual Message to Congress of the 3rd December last, the President used the following language: “The boundary of British Guiana still remains in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Believing that its early settlement, on some just basis alike honourable to both parties, is in the line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with Powers beyond the sea, I shall renew the efforts heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants, and to induce a reference to arbitration, a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favours in principle and respects in

No. 121.

practice, and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary." And, on the 22nd February, 1895, a Joint Resolution of Congress declared, "That the President's suggestion . . . that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundaries to friendly arbitration be earnestly recommended to the favourable consideration of both parties in interest."

The important features of the existing situation, as shown by the foregoing recital, may be briefly stated:—

1. The title to territory of indefinite but confessedly very large extent is in dispute between Great Britain on the one hand, and the South American Republic of Venezuela on the other.

2. The disparity in the strength of the claimants is such that Venezuela can hope to establish her claim only through peaceful methods—through an agreement with her adversary either upon the subject itself or upon an arbitration.

3. The controversy with varying claims on the part of Great Britain has existed for more than half-a-century, during which period many earnest and persistent efforts of Venezuela to establish a boundary by agreement have proved unsuccessful.

4. The futility of the endeavour to obtain a conventional line being recognized, Venezuela, for a quarter of a century, has asked and striven for arbitration.

5. Great Britain, however, has always and continuously refused, and still refuses, to arbitrate except upon the condition of a renunciation of a large part of the Venezuelan claim, and of a concession to herself of a large share of the territory in controversy.

* * * * *

Great Britain, however, assumes no such attitude. On the contrary, she both admits that there is a controversy, and that arbitration should be resorted to for its adjustment. But, while up to that point her attitude leaves nothing to be desired, its practical effect is completely nullified by her insistence that the submission shall cover but a part of the controversy—that, as a condition of arbitrating her right to a part of the disputed territory, the remainder shall be turned over to her. If it were possible to point to a boundary which both parties had ever agreed or assumed to be such either expressly or tacitly, the demand that territory conceded by such line to British Guiana should be held not to be in dispute might rest upon a reasonable basis. But there is no such line. The territory which Great Britain insists shall be ceded to her as a condition of arbitrating her claim to other territory has never been admitted to belong to her. It has always and consistently been claimed by Venezuela. Upon what principle—except her febleness as a nation—is she to be denied the right of having the claim heard and passed upon by an impartial Tribunal? No reason or shadow of reason appears in all the voluminous literature of the subject.

No. 121.

"It is to be so because I will it to be so" seems to be the only justification Great Britain offers. It is, indeed, intimated that the British claim to this particular territory rests upon an occupation, which, whether acquiesced in or not, has ripened into a perfect title by long continuance. But what prescription affecting territorial rights can be said to exist as between Sovereign States? Or, if there is any, what is the legitimate consequence? It is not that all arbitration should be denied, but only that the submission should embrace an additional topic, namely, the validity of the asserted prescriptive title either in point of law or in point of fact. No different result follows from the contention that as a matter of principle Great Britain cannot be asked to submit, and ought not to submit, to arbitration her political and sovereign rights over territory. This contention, if applied to the whole or to a vital part of the possessions of a Sovereign State, need not be controverted. To hold otherwise might be equivalent to holding that a Sovereign State was bound to arbitrate its very existence. But Great Britain has herself shown in various instances that the principle has no pertinency when either the interests or the territorial area involved are not of controlling magnitude, and her loss of them as the result of an arbitration cannot appreciably affect her honour or her power. Thus, she has arbitrated the extent of her colonial possessions twice with the United States, twice with Portugal, and once with Germany, and perhaps in other instances. The North-West Water Boundary Arbitration of 1872 between her and this country is an example in point, and well illustrates both the effect to be given to long-continued use and enjoyment, and the fact that a truly great Power sacrifices neither prestige nor dignity by reconsidering the most emphatic rejection of a proposition when satisfied of the obvious and intrinsic justice of the case.

By the Award of the Emperor of Germany, the Arbitrator in that case, the United States acquired San Juan and a number of smaller islands near the coast of Vancouver as a consequence of the decision that the term "the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island," as used in the Treaty of Washington of 1846, meant the Haro Channel, and not the Rosario Channel. Yet a leading contention of Great Britain before the Arbitrator was that equity required a Judgment in her favour, because a decision in favour of the United States would deprive British subjects of rights of navigation of which they had had the habitual enjoyment from the time when the Rosario Strait was first explored and surveyed in 1798. So though, by virtue of the Award, the United States acquired San Juan and the other islands of the group to which it belongs, the British Foreign Secretary had in 1859 instructed the British Minister at Washington as follows:—

"Her Majesty's Government must, therefore, under any circumstances, maintain the right of the British Crown to the Island of San Juan. The interests at stake in connection with the retention of that island are too important to admit of compromise, and your Lordship will consequently

No. 121.

bear in mind that, whatever arrangement as to the boundary-line is finally arrived at, no settlement of the question will be accepted by Her Majesty's Government which does not provide for the Island of San Juan being reserved to the British Crown."

Thus, as already intimated, the British demand that her right to a portion of the disputed territory shall be acknowledged before she will consent to an arbitration as to the rest seems to stand upon nothing but her own *ipsi dixit*. She says to Venezuela, in substance:—

"You can get none of the debatable land by force, because you are not strong enough; you can get none by Treaty, because I will not agree; and you can take your chance of getting a portion by arbitration only if you first agree to abandon to me such other portion as I may designate."

No. 122.

Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, to the Marquis of Salisbury, August 8, 1895.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)," No. 13, pp. 21-22.]

My Lord,

With reference to the subject of the interview which you did me the honour to accord to me yesterday, and as connected with the instruction of the Secretary of State of the United States which I had then the honour to communicate to your Lordship, and to place a copy thereof in your hands, I beg leave now to communicate the purport of a supplementary instruction, dated the 24th July, since received by me, in reference to the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary dispute, and the alleged enlargement of the territorial area claimed for British Guiana of 33,000 square miles between 1884 and 1886.

This statement is made on the authority of the British publication entitled "The Statesman's Year Book," edited by Mr. J. Scott Keltie, Assistant Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society, and is corroborated by the British "Colonial Office List."

Under the head of British Guiana in the issue of 1885, and at p. 24, it is therein stated: "It is impossible to specify the exact area of the Colony, as its precise boundaries between Venezuela and Brazil respectively are undetermined, but it has been computed to be 76,000 square miles." In the same publication for 1886 the same statement occurs, with the change in the area to "about 109,000 square miles."

The maps in the volumes mentioned are identical, so that the increase of 33,000 square miles thereby claimed for British Guiana is not thereby explained; but later "Colonial Office List" maps show a varying sweep of the boundary westward into what previously figured as Venezuelan territory, while no change is noted in the Brazilian frontier.

I am duly mindful of your Lordship's emphatic disavowal to me yester-

No. 122.

day of any official authority for the statements contained in the "Colonial Office List," but communicate the fact of their publication, in serial continuity, here in London, and the absence of any known correction. It may also be noted that, on the title-page, the work is alleged to be compiled from official records, by permission of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Mr. John Anderson, an official of the Colonial Office.

I have also the honour to transmit herewith a volume, published by the United States' Government, of Papers relating to their Foreign Relations for 1894, in which (at p. 812, &c.) is contained a Memorandum on the Guiana and Venezuela boundary question, communicated to the late Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, by Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Envoy to the United States—a compendium which may be of convenience to you, and which is sent in accordance with your Lordship's intimation of a desire to receive the same.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

T. F. BAYARD.

No. 123.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington, November 26, 1895.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)," No. 16, pp. 25-32.]

Sir,

In my preceding despatch of to-day's date I have replied only to the latter portion of Mr. Olney's despatch of the 20th July last, which treats of the application of the Monroe doctrine to the question of the boundary dispute between Venezuela and the colony of British Guiana. But it seems desirable, in order to remove some evident misapprehensions as to the main features of the question, that the statement of it contained in the earlier portion of Mr. Olney's despatch should not be left without reply. Such a course will be the more convenient, because, in consequence of the suspension of diplomatic relations, I shall not have the opportunity of setting right misconceptions of this kind in the ordinary way in a despatch addressed to the Venezuelan Government itself.

Her Majesty's Government, while they have never avoided or declined argument on the subject with the Government of Venezuela, have always held that the question was one which had no direct bearing on the material interests of any other country, and have consequently refrained hitherto from presenting any detailed statement of their case either to the United States or to other foreign Governments.

It is, perhaps, a natural consequence of this circumstance that Mr. Olney's narration of what has passed bears the impress of being mainly, if not entirely, founded on *ex parte* statements emanating from Venezuela, and gives, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, an erroneous view of many material facts.

No. 123.

Mr. Olney commences his observations by remarking that "the dispute is of ancient date, and began at least as early as the time when Great Britain acquired by the Treaty with the Netherlands in 1814 the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. From that time to the present the dividing line between these establishments, now called British Guiana, and Venezuela has never ceased to be subject of contention."

This statement is founded on misconception. The dispute on the subject of the frontier did not, in fact, commence till after the year 1840.

The title of Great Britain to the territory in question is derived, in the first place, from conquest and military occupation of the Dutch settlements in 1796. Both on this occasion, and at the time of a previous occupation of those settlements in 1781, the British authorities marked the western boundary of their possessions as beginning some distance up the Orinoco beyond Point Barima, in accordance with the limits claimed and actually held by the Dutch, and this has always since remained the frontier claimed by Great Britain. The definitive cession of the Dutch settlements to England was, as Mr. Olney states, placed on record by the Treaty of 1814, and although the Spanish Government were parties to the negotiations which led to that Treaty, they did not at any stage of them raise objection to the frontiers claimed by Great Britain, though these were perfectly well known to them. At that time the Government of Venezuela had not been recognized even by the United States, though the province was already in revolt against the Spanish Government, and had declared its independence. No question of frontier was raised with Great Britain either by it or by the Government of the United States of Colombia, in which it became merged in 1819. That Government, indeed, on repeated occasions, acknowledged its indebtedness to Great Britain for her friendly attitude. When in 1830 the Republic of Venezuela assumed a separate existence its Government was equally warm in its expressions of gratitude and friendship, and there was not at the time any indication of an intention to raise such claims as have been urged by it during the latter portion of this century.

It is true, as stated by Mr. Olney, that, in the Venezuelan Constitution of 1830, Article 5 lays down that "the territory of Venezuela comprises all that which previously to the political changes of 1810 was denominated the Captaincy-General of Venezuela." Similar declarations had been made in the fundamental laws promulgated in 1819 and 1821.

I need not point out that a declaration of this kind made by a newly self-constituted State can have no valid force as against international arrangements previously concluded by the nation from which it has separated itself.

But the present difficulty would never have arisen if the Government of Venezuela had been content to claim only those territories which could be proved or even reasonably asserted to have been practically in the

No. 123.

possession and under the effective jurisdiction of the Captaincy-General of Venezuela.

There is no authoritative statement by the Spanish Government of those territories, for a Decree which the Venezuelan Government allege to have been issued by the King of Spain in 1768, describing the Province of Guiana as bordered on the south by the Amazon and on the east by the Atlantic, certainly cannot be regarded as such. It absolutely ignores the Dutch settlements, which not only existed in fact, but had been formally recognized by the Treaty of Munster of 1648, and it would, if now considered valid, transfer to Venezuela the whole of the British, Dutch, and French Guianas, and an enormous tract of territory belonging to Brazil.

But of the territories claimed and actually occupied by the Dutch, which were those acquired from them by Great Britain, there exist the most authentic declarations. In 1759, and again in 1769, the States-General of Holland addressed formal remonstrances to the Court of Madrid against the incursions of the Spaniards into their posts and settlements in the basin of the Cuyuni. In these remonstrances they distinctly claimed all the branches of the Essequibo River, and especially, the Cuyuni River, as lying within Dutch territory. They demanded immediate reparation for the proceedings of the Spaniards and reinstatement of the posts said to have been injured by them, and suggested that a proper delineation between the Colony of Essequibo and the Rio Orinoco should be laid down by authority.

To this claim the Spanish Government never attempted to make any reply. But it is evident from the archives which are preserved in Spain, and to which, by the courtesy of the Spanish Government, reference has been made, that the Council of State did not consider that they had the means of rebutting it, and that neither they nor the Governor of Cumaná were prepared seriously to maintain the claims which were suggested in reports from his subordinate officer, the Commandant of Guiana. These reports were characterized by the Spanish Ministers as insufficient and unsatisfactory, as "professing to show the Province of Guiana under too favourable a light," and finally by the Council of State as appearing from other information to be "very improbable." They form, however, with a map which accompanied them, the evidence on which the Venezuelan Government appear most to rely, though it may be observed that among other documents which have from time to time been produced or referred to by them in the course of the discussions is a Bull of Pope Alexander VI in 1493, which, if it is to be considered as having any present validity, would take from the Government of the United States all title to jurisdiction on the Continent of North America. The fundamental principle underlying the Venezuelan argument is, in fact, that, inasmuch as Spain was originally entitled of right to the whole of the American Continent, any territory on that Continent which she cannot be shown to have acknowledged in positive and specific terms to have passed to another

No. 123.

Power can only have been acquired by wrongful usurpation, and if situated to the north of the Amazon and west of the Atlantic must necessarily belong to Venezuela, as her self-constituted inheritor in those regions. It may reasonably be asked whether Mr. Olney would consent to refer to the arbitration of another Power pretensions raised by the Government of Mexico on such a foundation to large tracts of territory which had long been comprised in the Federation.

The circumstances connected with the marking of what is called the "Schomburgk" line are as follows:—

In 1835 a grant was made by the British Government for the exploration of the interior of the British Colony, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Schomburgk, who was employed on this service, on his return to the capital of the Colony in July 1839, called the attention of the Government to the necessity for an early demarcation of its boundaries. He was in consequence appointed in November 1840 Special Commissioner for provisionally surveying and delimiting the boundaries of British Guiana, and notice of the appointment was given to the Governments concerned, including that of Venezuela.

The intention of Her Majesty's Government at that time was, when the work of the Commissioner had been completed, to communicate to the other Governments their views as to the true boundary of the British Colony, and then to settle any details to which those Governments might take objection.

It is important to notice that Sir R. Schomburgk did not discover or invent any new boundaries. He took particular care to fortify himself with the history of the case. He had further, from actual exploration and information obtained from the Indians, and from the evidence of local remains, as at Barima, and local traditions, as on the Cuyuni, fixed the limits of the Dutch possessions, and the zone from which all trace of Spanish influence was absent. On such data he based his reports.

At the very outset of his mission he surveyed Point Barima, where the remains of a Dutch fort still existed, and placed there and at the mouth of the Amacura two boundary posts. At the urgent entreaty of the Venezuelan Government these two posts were afterwards removed, as stated by Mr. Olney, but this concession was made on the distinct understanding that Great Britain did not thereby in any way abandon her claim to that position.

In submitting the maps of his survey, on which he indicated the line which he would propose to Her Majesty's Government for adoption, Sir R. Schomburgk called attention to the fact that Her Majesty's Government might justly claim the whole basin of the Cuyuni and Yuruari on the ground that the natural boundary of the Colony included any territory through which flow rivers which fall into the Essequibo. "Upon this principle," he wrote, "the boundary-line would run from the sources of the Carumani towards the sources of the Cuyuni proper, and from thence

No. 123.

towards its far more northern tributaries, the Rivers Iruary (Yuruari) and Iruang (Yuruan), and thus approach the very heart of Venezuelan Guiana." But, on grounds of complaisance towards Venezuela, he proposed that Great Britain should consent to surrender her claim to a more extended frontier inland in return for the formal recognition of her right to Point Barima. It was on this principle that he drew the boundary-line which has since been called by his name.

Undoubtedly, therefore, Mr. Olney is right when he states that "it seems impossible to treat the Schomburgk line as being the boundary claimed by Great Britain as matter of right, or as anything but a line originating in considerations of convenience and expediency." The Schomburgk line was in fact a great reduction of the boundary claimed by Great Britain as matter of right, and its proposal originated in a desire to come to a speedy and friendly arrangement with a weaker Power with whom Great Britain was at the time, and desired to remain, in cordial relations.

The following are the main facts of the discussions that ensued with the Venezuelan Government:—

While Mr. Schomburgk was engaged on his survey the Venezuelan Minister in London had urged Her Majesty's Government to enter into a Treaty of Limits, but received the answer that, if it should be necessary to enter into such a Treaty, a survey was, at any rate, the necessary preliminary, and that this was proceeding.

As soon as Her Majesty's Government were in possession of Mr. Schomburgk's reports, the Venezuelan Minister was informed that they were in a position to commence negotiations, and in January 1844, M. Fortique commenced by stating the claim of his Government.

This claim, starting from such obsolete grounds as the original discovery by Spain of the American Continent, and mainly supported by quotations of a more or less vague character from the writings of travellers and geographers, but adducing no substantial evidence of actual conquest or occupation of the territory claimed, demanded the Essequibo itself as the boundary of Venezuela.

A reply was returned by Lord Aberdeen, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, pointing out that it would be impossible to arrive at any agreement if both sides brought forward pretensions of so extreme a character, but stating that the British Government would not imitate M. Fortique in putting forward a claim which it could not be intended seriously to maintain. Lord Aberdeen then proceeded to announce the concessions which, "out of friendly regard to Venezuela," Her Majesty's Government were prepared to make, and proposed a line starting from the mouth of the Moroco to the junction of the River Barama with the Waini, thence up the Barama to the point at which that stream approached nearest to the Acarabisi, and thence following Sir R. Schomburgk's line from the source of the Acarabisi onwards.

A condition was attached to the proffered cession, viz., that the Vene-

No. 123.

zuelan Government should enter into an engagement that no portion of the territory proposed to be ceded should be alienated at any time to a foreign Power, and that the Indian tribes residing in it should be protected from oppression.

No answer to the note was ever received from the Venezuelan Government, and in 1850 Her Majesty's Government informed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Carácas that as the proposal had remained for more than six years unaccepted, it must be considered as having lapsed, and authorized him to make a communication to the Venezuelan Government to that effect.

A report having at the time become current in Venezuela that Great Britain intended to seize Venezuelan Guiana, the British Government distinctly disclaimed such an intention, but inasmuch as the Government of Venezuela subsequently permitted projects to be set on foot for the occupation of Point Barima and certain other positions in dispute, the British Chargé d'Affaires was instructed in June 1850 to call the serious attention of the President and Government of Venezuela to the question, and to declare to them, "that, whilst, on the one hand, Great Britain had on intention to occupy or encroach on the disputed territory, she would not, on the other hand, view with indifference aggressions on that territory by Venezuela."

The Venezuelan Government replied in December of the same year that Venezuela had no intention of occupying or encroaching upon any part of the territory the dominion of which was in dispute, and that orders would be issued to the authorities in Guiana to abstain from taking any steps contrary to this engagement.

This constitutes what has been termed the "Agreement of 1850," to which the Government of Venezuela have frequently appealed, but which the Venezuelans have repeatedly violated in succeeding years.

Their first acts of this nature consisted in the occupation of fresh positions to the east of their previous settlements, and the founding in 1858 of the town of Nueva Providencia on the right bank of the Yuruari, all previous settlements being on the left bank. The British Government, however, considering that these settlements were so near positions which they had not wished to claim, considering also the difficulty of controlling the movements of mining populations, overlooked this breach of the Agreement.

The Governor of the Colony was in 1857 sent to Carácas to negotiate for a settlement of the boundary, but he found the Venezuelan State in so disturbed a condition that it was impossible to commence negotiations, and eventually he came away without having effected anything.

For the next nineteen years, as stated by Mr. Olney, the civil commotions in Venezuela prevented any resumption of negotiations.

In 1876 it was reported that the Venezuelan Government had, for the second time, broken "the Agreement of 1850" by granting licences to

No. 123.

trade and cut wood in Barima and eastward. Later in the same year that Government once more made an overture for the settlement of the boundary. Various delays interposed before negotiations actually commenced; and it was not till 1879 that Señor Rojas began them with a renewal of the claim to the Essequibo as the eastern boundary of Venezuelan Guiana. At the same time he stated that his Government wished "to obtain, by means of a Treaty, a definitive settlement of the question, and was disposed to proceed to the demarcation of the divisional line between the two Guianas in a spirit of conciliation and true friendship towards Her Majesty's Government."

In reply to this communication, a note was addressed to Señor Rojas on the 10th January, 1880, reminding him that the boundary which Her Majesty's Government claimed, as a matter of strict right on grounds of conquest and concession by Treaty, commenced at a point at the mouth of the Orinoco, westward of Point Barima, that it proceeded thence in a southerly direction to the Imataca Mountains, the line of which it followed to the north-west, passing from thence by the high land of Santa Maria just south of the town of Upata, until it struck a range of hills on the eastern bank of the Caroni River, following these southwards until it struck the great backbone of the Guiana district, the Roraima Mountains of British Guiana, and thence southwards to the Pacaraima Mountains. On the other hand, the claim which had been put forward on behalf of Venezuela by General Guzman Blanco in his Message to the National Congress of the 20th February, 1877, would involve the surrender of a province now inhabited by 40,000 British subjects, and which had been in the uninterrupted possession of Holland and of Great Britain successively for two centuries. The difference between these two claims being so great, it was pointed out to Señor Rojas that, in order to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement, each party must be prepared to make very considerable concessions to the other, and he was assured that, although the claim of Venezuela to the Essequibo River boundary could not, under any circumstances, be entertained, yet that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to meet the Venezuelan Government in a spirit of conciliation, and would be willing, in the event of a renewal of negotiations for the general settlement of boundaries, to waive a portion of what they considered to be their strict rights if Venezuela were really disposed to make corresponding concessions on her part.

The Venezuelan Minister replied in February 1881 by proposing a line which commenced on the coast a mile to the north of the Moroco River, and followed certain parallels and meridians inland, bearing a general resemblance to the proposal made by Lord Aberdeen in 1844.

Señor Rojas' proposal was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General of British Guiana, who were then in England, and they presented an elaborate Report, showing that in the thirty-five years which had elapsed since Lord Aberdeen's proposed concession natives and others

No. 123.

had settled in the territory under the belief that they would enjoy the benefits of British rule, and that it was impossible to assent to any such concessions as Señor Rojas' line would involve. They, however, proposed an alternative line, which involved considerable reductions of that laid down by Sir R. Schomburgk.

This boundary was proposed to the Venezuelan Government by Lord Granville in September 1881, but no answer was ever returned by that Government to the proposal.

While, however, the Venezuelan Minister constantly stated that the matter was under active consideration, it was found that in the same year a Concession had been given by his Government to General Pulgar, which included a large portion of the territory in dispute. This was the third breach by Venezuela of the Agreement of 1850.

Early in 1884 news arrived of a fourth breach by Venezuela of the Agreement of 1850, through two different grants which covered the whole of the territory in dispute, and as this was followed by actual attempts to settle on the disputed territory, the British Government could no longer remain inactive.

Warning was therefore given to the Venezuelan Government and to the concessionnaires, and a British Magistrate was sent into the threatened district to assert the British rights.

Meanwhile, the negotiations for a settlement of the boundary had continued, but the only replies that could be obtained from Señor Guzman Blanco, the Venezuelan Minister, were proposals for arbitration in different forms, all of which Her Majesty's Government were compelled to decline as involving a submission to the Arbitrator of the claim advanced by Venezuela in 1844 to all territory up to the left bank of the Essequibo.

As the progress of settlement by British subjects made a decision of some kind absolutely necessary, and as the Venezuelan Government refused to come to any reasonable arrangement, Her Majesty's Government decided not to repeat the offer of concessions which had not been reciprocated, but to assert their undoubted right to the territory within the Schomburgk line, while still consenting to hold open for further negotiation, and even for arbitration, the unsettled lands between that line and what they considered to be the rightful boundary, as stated in the note to Señor Rojas of the 10th January, 1880.

The execution of this decision was deferred for a time, owing to the return of Señor Guzman Blanco to London, and the desire of Lord Rosebery, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to settle all pending questions between the two Governments. Mr. Olney is mistaken in supposing that in 1886 "a Treaty was practically agreed upon containing a general arbitration clause, under which the parties might have submitted the boundary dispute to the decision of a third Power, or of several Powers in amity with both." It is true that General Guzman Blanco proposed that the Commercial Treaty between the two countries should contain a clause of

No. 123.

this nature, but it had reference to *future* disputes only. Her Majesty's Government have always insisted on a separate discussion of the frontier question, and have considered its settlement to be a necessary preliminary to other arrangements. Lord Rosebery's proposal made in July 1886 was "that the two Governments should agree to consider the territory lying between the boundary-lines respectively proposed in the 8th paragraph of Señor Rojas' note of the 21st February, 1881, and in Lord Granville's note of the 15th September, 1881, as the territory in dispute between the two countries, and that a boundary-line within the limits of this territory should be traced either by an Arbitrator or by a Joint Commission on the basis of an equal division of this territory, due regard being had to natural boundaries."

Señor Guzman Blanco replied declining the proposal, and repeating that arbitration, on the whole claim of Venezuela, was the only method of solution which he could suggest. This pretention is hardly less exorbitant than would be a refusal by Great Britain to agree to an arbitration on the boundary of British Columbia and Alaska, unless the United States would consent to bring into question one-half of the whole area of the latter territory. He shortly afterwards left England, and as there seemed no hope of arriving at an agreement by further discussions, the Schomburgk line was proclaimed as the irreducible boundary of the Colony in October 1886. It must be borne in mind that in taking this step Her Majesty's Government did not assert anything approaching their extreme claim, but confined themselves within the limits of what had as early as 1840 been suggested as a concession out of friendly regard and complaisance.

When Señor Guzman Blanco, having returned to Venezuela, announced his intention of erecting a lighthouse at Point Barima, the British Government expressed their readiness to permit this if he would enter into a formal written agreement that its erection would not be held to prejudice their claim to the site.

In the meanwhile, the Venezuelan Government had sent Commissioners into the territory to the east of the Schomburgk line, and on their return two notes were addressed to the British Minister at Carácas, dated respectively the 26th and 31st January, 1887, demanding the evacuation of the whole territory held by Great Britain from the mouth of the Orinoco to the Pomeroon River, and adding that should this not be done by the 20th February, and should the evacuation not be accompanied by the acceptance of arbitration as the means of deciding the pending frontier question, diplomatic relations would be broken off. In pursuance of this decision the British Representative at Carácas received his passports, and relations were declared by the Venezuelan Government to be suspended on the 21st February, 1887.

In December of that year, as a matter of precaution, and in order that the claims of Great Britain beyond the Schomburgk line might not be

No. 123.

considered to have been abandoned, a notice was issued by the Governor of British Guiana formally reserving those claims. No steps have, however, at any time been taken by the British authorities to exercise jurisdiction beyond the Schomburgk line, nor to interfere with the proceedings of the Venezuelans in the territory outside of it, although, pending a settlement of the dispute, Great Britain cannot recognize those proceedings as valid, or as conferring any legitimate title.

The question has remained in this position ever since; the bases on which Her Majesty's Government were prepared to negotiate for its settlement were clearly indicated to the Venezuelan Plenipotentiaries who were successively dispatched to London in 1890, 1891, and 1893 to negotiate for a renewal of diplomatic relations, but as on those occasions the only solutions which the Venezuelan Government professed themselves ready to accept would still have involved the submission to arbitration of the Venezuelan claim to a large portion of the British Colony, no progress has yet been made towards a settlement.

It will be seen from the preceding statement that the Government of Great Britain have from the first held the same view as to the extent of territory which they are entitled to claim as a matter of right. It comprised the coast-line up to the River Amacura, and the whole basin of the Essequibo River and its tributaries. A portion of that claim, however, they have always been willing to waive altogether; in regard to another portion, they have been and continue to be perfectly ready to submit the question of their title to arbitration. As regards the rest, that which lies within the so-called Schomburgk line, they do not consider that the rights of Great Britain are open to question. Even within that line they have, on various occasions, offered to Venezuela considerable concessions as a matter of friendship and conciliation, and for the purpose of securing an amicable settlement of the dispute. If as time has gone on the concessions thus offered diminished in extent, and have now been withdrawn, this has been the necessary consequence of the gradual spread over the country of British settlements, which Her Majesty's Government cannot in justice to the inhabitants offer to surrender to foreign rule, and the justice of such withdrawal is amply borne out by the researches in the national archives of Holland and Spain, which have furnished further and more convincing evidence in support of the British claims.

The discrepancies in the frontiers assigned to the British Colony in various maps published in England, and erroneously assumed to be founded on official information, are easily accounted for by the circumstances which I have mentioned. Her Majesty's Government cannot, of course, be responsible for such publications made without their authority.

Although the negotiations in 1890, 1891, and 1893 did not lead to any result, Her Majesty's Government have not abandoned the hope that they may be resumed with better success, and that when the internal politics of Venezuela are settled on a more durable basis than has lately appeared

No. 123.

to be the case, her Government may be enabled to adopt a more moderate and conciliatory course in regard to this question than that of their predecessors. Her Majesty's Government are sincerely desirous of being in friendly relations with Venezuela, and certainly have no design to seize territory that properly belongs to her, or forcibly to extend sovereignty over any portion of her population.

They have, on the contrary, repeatedly expressed their readiness to submit to arbitration the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Venezuela to large tracts of territory which from their auriferous nature are known to be of almost untold value. But they cannot consent to entertain, or to submit to the arbitration of another Power or of foreign jurists, however eminent, claims based on the extravagant pretensions of Spanish officials in the last century, and involving the transfer of large numbers of British subjects, who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British Colony, to a nation of different race and language, whose political system is subject to frequent disturbance, and whose institutions as yet too often afford very inadequate protection to life and property. No issue of this description has ever been involved in the questions which Great Britain and the United States have consented to submit to arbitration, and Her Majesty's Government are convinced that in similar circumstances the Government of the United States would be equally firm in declining to entertain proposals of such a nature.

Your Excellency is authorized to state the substance of this dispatch to Mr. Olney, and to leave him a copy of it if he should desire it.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 124.

Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, to the Marquis of Salisbury, February 3, 1896.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)," No. 18, p. 32.]

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you that I am instructed by the Secretary of State of the United States to make known to your Lordship that a Commission to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana has, under the authority of the Congress, been appointed by the President of the United States, which Commission is now in session at Washington, and has chosen Mr. Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, as its President.

Through its President, this Commission has suggested to the Secretary of State, that, being distinctly and in no view an arbitral Tribunal, but having its duty limited to a diligent and careful ascertainment of the facts touching the territory referred to and in dispute for the information of the President, it would be grateful for such assistance to that end as could be

No. 124.

obtained by the friendly co-operation and aid of the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela.

Wherefore I beg leave to make application to your Lordship that, if entirely consistent with your sense of international propriety, the Commission may be furnished with such documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives, or other evidence as may be within the power of Her Majesty's Government, as well as for any facilities which may conveniently be extended to assist the Commission in the purposes of its institution.

In communicating these wishes of the Commission to the Secretary of State, its President states:

"It is scarcely necessary to say that if either Great Britain or Venezuela should deem it proper to designate an Agent or Attorney, whose duty it would be to see that no such proofs were omitted or overlooked, the Commission would be grateful for such evidence of good-will, and for the valuable results which would be likely to follow therefrom. Either party making a favourable response to the wish so expressed by the President of the Commission would of course be considered only as *amicus curiæ*, and to throw light upon difficult and complex questions of fact."

The purposes of the investigation proposed by the Commission are certainly hostile to none—nor can it be of advantage to any that the effort to procure the desired information should fail of its purpose—the sole concern of the United States being the peaceful solution of the controversy between two friendly Powers.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) T. F. BAYARD.

No. 125.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, February 7, 1896.

[Reprinted from Blue Book "United States No. 1 (1896)," No. 19, p. 33.]

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's letter of the 3rd instant.

Any information which is at the command of Her Majesty's Government upon any subject of inquiry that is occupying the attention of the Government of the United States will be readily placed at the disposal of the President.

Her Majesty's Government are at present collecting the documents which refer to the boundary questions that have for some years been discussed between Great Britain and Venezuela, in order that they may be

No. 125.

presented to Parliament. As soon as the collection is complete, and ready for press, Her Majesty's Government will have great pleasure in forwarding advance copies to your Excellency.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 126.

Mr. Olney, Secretary of State of the United States, to Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, May 8, 1896.

No. 1118.]

SIR: I have received from the Commission appointed "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana" a communication, a copy of which is hereto annexed.

I fully appreciate the right of the British Government to ignore the request of the Commission for such references to documents as will enable it to verify the statements of the British Blue Book. It will be quite impossible, I think, for this Government to find any fault if the request is not acceded to. Yet, bearing in mind the manner in which the present effort of the United States to settle this long-standing boundary question is now regarded by the British Government—that it has been characterized in the highest official quarter as an endeavor to ascertain the truth in coöperation with Her Majesty's Government—I do not feel at liberty not to bring the request of the Commission to the immediate notice of that Government. The object of the commission in such request is unmistakably apparent upon the very face of its communication. While setting on foot an original and independent investigation of the source of knowledge, it desires such references to authorities cited as will at once facilitate its work and at the same time make it certain that nothing confirmatory of the British contention is by any inadvertence overlooked.

You will communicate this despatch, with its exhibit, to Lord Salisbury by reading the same to him at the first opportunity and leaving a copy, should he so desire—a copy being herewith enclosed for that purpose.

I am, etc.,

RICHARD OLNEY.

[*Enclosure in No. 1118.*]

Mr. Justice Brewer to Mr. Olney.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1896.

SIR: I beg to call your attention to the following situation:

A vital question before the Commission is whether there was ever any actual Dutch settlement west of the Poineroon and especially at or near Barima Point.

No. 126.

The claim is broadly made in the British Blue Book, "that by 1648 the Dutch settlements in Guiana extended along the coast the whole way from the River Maroni to the Barima." The corollary from this, of course, is that the treaty of Munster confirmed the title of the Dutch to this entire territory—a corollary that is sought to be enforced by the claim of subsequent, if not continued, occupation.

In support of this contention, it is stated in the Blue Book that "in 1684 the Dutch commander of Essequibo recommended that a strong little post should be established at Barima in place of the small watchhouse that already existed there." It is again stated that "in the same year (1757) the Spanish commandant on the Orinoco complained to the Dutch authorities of disorders at Barima, showing that the Dutch then had jurisdiction there." And again, that "in the same year (1764) the Dutch West India Company, in a memorial to the States-General, declared that the colony of Essequibo comprised that district of the northeast coast of South America which lies between the Spanish colony of Orinoco and the Dutch colony of Berbice, and was intersected not only by the chief river Essequibo, but also by various small rivers, as the Barima, Waini, Maroco, Pomeroon, and Demerera, wherefore also it bore the name of the colony of Essequibo and dependent rivers."

As authority for these statements, reference is simply made in a general way to The Hague records; no documents nor extracts from documents are given.

These general statements upon which the British Government apparently bases its right to Point Barima find no recognition, so far as we have yet ascertained, in the works of standard historians of the colony, either English or Dutch. In fact, the most eminent of these historians, Gen. P. M. Netscher, in summing up the whole controversy in an article published during the present year in the *Tijdspiegel*, seems to have found nothing in the Dutch archives to support the British contention.

Whether the Dutch really occupied Point Barima in 1648 or not, it would seem from a quotation given by General Netscher, taken from the archives of the Zeeland Chamber, that by 1680 at the latest such occupation, if it ever existed, had ceased and that the point had been definitely abandoned.

The latest of the English historians of the colony, Mr. Rodway, goes so far as to seem to put into the mouth of the Dutch West India Company not merely a refusal to establish a post at Barima Point, but the significant reply that "the Orinoco was too far away to be safe; if the Dutchmen went there, the Spaniards might want to go to Essequibo" (Rodway's *History of British Guiana*, vol. 1, p. 36). In view of the above seeming contradictions between the statements of the British Government and those of standard historians, it seems to us of the utmost importance to ascertain the precise wording and purport of the passages relied on by the authors of the Blue Book, and to ourselves have a thorough examination made of the

No. 126.

Dutch archives. With this end in view, we have concluded to send Prof. George L. Burr to Holland to make such an examination. It would assist him materially if the British Government would furnish him with a reference to the documents upon which the statements of the Blue Book are based, and it has occurred to us that there would be no impropriety in your communicating a request through our ambassador at London to furnish such information. Professor Burr's address will be care of the United States minister at The Hague.

I remain, etc.,

DAVID J. BREWER,
President.

No. 127.

Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, to The Marquis of Salisbury, May 16, 1896.

MY LORD: On Wednesday next I propose, with Your Lordship's permission, to pay my respects to you at the Foreign Office, and will then bring with me, for Your Lordship's information, an instruction this day received by me from the Secretary of State of the United States, accompanied by a copy of a communication to him from the Commission appointed to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela, the object of which, as explained therein, is to obtain references to certain authoritative documents bearing upon the statements of the Blue Book laid before Parliament in March last (Venezuela No. 1, 1896), and which will facilitate the duties with which the Commission has been charged, in relation to which I had the honor to address Your Lordship on the 3d of February last and to receive a courteous and favorable reply, for which I duly returned expressions of the gratification felt thereupon by my Government.

I have, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

No. 128.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Bayard, Ambassador of the United States at London, May 30, 1896.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: Her Majesty's Government have given immediate attention to the despatch from Mr. Olney which you left with me on the 19th instant, transmitting copy of a letter from the Commission appointed to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The letter contains a request that the Commission may be furnished with particulars of certain documents in The Hague archives referred to in the Blue Book relating to the question, which was presented to Parliament in March last.

No. 128.

The Commission appointed by the President of the United States, the objects of which were described in detail by Your Excellency in your note of the 3d of February, received from Her Majesty's Government, through Your Excellency, the information which had, at that time, been collected for presentation to Parliament.

Her Majesty's Government will shortly be in a position to present further papers in elucidation of the subject, and I will have great pleasure in forwarding to you advanced copies as soon as they are printed. I believe that you will find in them not only the particular Hague records to which attention is directed in Mr. Justice Brewer's letter, but all the other records of a similar character referred to in the British preliminary statement.

If, on the examination of the forthcoming Blue Book, it shall appear that there are any other documents in regard to which information is desired, Her Majesty's Government will be glad to render any assistance in their power towards furnishing such information.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to learn that Professor Burr is about to make an examination of the archives at The Hague, and will be happy to place at his disposal all the information they can give, with a view to assisting his researches.

I enclose a memorandum by Her Majesty's Attorney-General, who is advising Her Majesty's Government in this question, containing some further information and observations on the points raised in Mr. Justice Brewer's letter.

I have, etc.,

SALISBURY.

[*Enclosure.*]

Memorandum. The omission to print The Hague records in the appendix to the Blue Book Venezuela No. 1, of 1896, was due to pressure of time and to the mass of documents which had to be examined and translated.

The three documents to which reference is made in Mr. Justice Brewer's letter of the 6th of May, 1896, enclosed in Mr. Olney's despatch of the 8th of May, viz:

1. The document in the "Hague records" referred to in the "preliminary statement" at page 9 of the above-mentioned Blue Book, under date 1684, respecting the establishment of a post at Barima.
2. The document referred to at page 12, under date 1757, reporting complaints by the Spanish commandant to the Dutch authorities as to disorders at Barima; and
3. The memorial referred to at page 13, under date 1764—

No. 128.

will all be found printed in the appendix to the Blue Book which is now in course of preparation and which will shortly be issued and placed at the disposal of the United States Government.

All the other Hague records referred to or cited in the preliminary statement will also be printed in the same Blue Book, and they will be accompanied by a large number of other Dutch and Spanish documents corroborating and confirming the facts brought forward in the preliminary statement.

As regards the observation made in Mr. Justice Brewer's letter that the claim that Dutch Guiana extended to Point Barima finds no recognition, as far as the Commission have yet ascertained, in the works of the standard historians of the colony, either English or Dutch, this is not the place for an exhaustive examination of the views of historians. But upon this particular point, to which attention is called, the opinions of two modern historians quoted in the letter can scarcely be regarded as sufficient to rebut the facts advanced in the British statement, supported by the documents already or now about to be published and confirmed by historians who wrote at far earlier dates, and with full opportunity of knowing the real circumstances.

The statement quoted from the work of General Netscher that there is nothing in the Dutch archives to support the British contention must have been made with an imperfect knowledge of those documents. It will be found on examination that the original Dutch archives undoubtedly corroborate the British contention. The fact that at various dates, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the Dutch had occupied the territory in the neighborhood of Barima is completely established by the contemporary documents, both Dutch and Spanish.

Whether Barima was abandoned by the Dutch is a question which can only be satisfactorily dealt with upon a review of the whole history of the Dutch proceedings in regard to that place. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, there is certainly no sufficient evidence to warrant the statement that either the Dutch or the British abandoned it, still less that it was ever occupied by the Spaniards. As regards the citation from Mr. Rodway's history, it is sufficient to refer to Mr. Rodway's own summary of the question of boundary at page 168 of the third volume. He there says:

“ Of all the native tribes in tropical America, the Caribs were the most powerful. Notwithstanding the reports of its riches, which led to a number of expeditions in search of the golden city of Manoa d'Eldorado, Spain never obtained a footing in Guiana. On every occasion when an attempt was made, the intruders were driven out, so that for nearly a century the country was preserved intact. Then came the first Dutch traders, who proclaimed themselves enemies to Spain and friends of the

No. 128.

Caribs, with the result that small settlements were permitted in several places. Then, as the trade became of more importance, posts were established in the interior, and the whole country, from the Essequibo to the Orinoco, was opened to the Dutchman, though effectually closed to the Spaniard. It may be safely stated that if such a condition of things existed to-day in any part of Africa, the country would be considered as virtually belonging to the trading nation. By and by, as the trading stations became colonies, the Commandeurs Essequibo became arbitrators in disputes among the native tribes, and later again the Indians of the northwest, from the rivers Barima to the Pomeroon, and of the interior received annual presents in consideration of assistance in capturing runaway slaves and putting down disturbances. They were therefore in the position of protected native races, and it may be confidently affirmed that, although a Spaniard could not at that time safely travel in any part of Guiana, the Dutch, on the other hand, was free of the whole country.

"We have shown in former chapters that Spain disputed the right of Essequibo to hunt slaves at the mouth of the Orinoco, but we do not find that any serious quarrel resulted. About the middle of the seventeenth century there was a Dutch outpost at the mouth of the Barima, where a slave market of the Caribs was held. It was abandoned in the year 1680, probably because it did not pay, but certainly not from fear of the Spaniards; in fact, it was intimately connected with the Pomeroon colony, and when that failed the Barima post was necessarily given up."

The following citation from leading works on the subject of Guiana (to which others might be added) is sufficient to show that the testimony of standard historians and writers corroborates the British view of the facts.

Hartsinck, in his *Beschrijving van Guiana*, published at Amsterdam in 1770 (volume 1, p. 146), states:

"As we have before mentioned, Guyana may be now conveniently divided into four parts, as regards the present possessions established there by the European powers, viz.:

"I. Into Spanish Guyana, lying on both sides of the banks of the River Orinoco, extending westward as far as the Rio Negro and to the south as far as the River Barima, which is situated in 8° 5' north latitude and discharges itself into the mouth of the Orinoco, or, according to others, stretching to the east of the River Waimy, or Wainy, about 5 miles east of the Orinoco, the which serves as the southern boundary of Spanish and Dutch Guyana.

"II. Into Dutch Guyana, extending from Spanish as far as French Guyana; but as the boundary line between Dutch and French Guyana, it is a matter of dispute between the Dutch and the French whether the same should commence from the River Sinamari, lying about 5° 32', or from the River Marowine, in about 5° 50', the which dispute we shall consider more at length under the head of Surinam."

At page 257 of the same volume he states:

No. 128.

"Some bound Dutch Guiana on the west by the River Barima, which lies in $8^{\circ} 5'$ north latitude and discharges itself into the mouth of the Orinoco; others consider it as bounded on the west by the River Wayne, lying about 4 miles east of the Orinoco.

"The first rivers found in Dutch Guyana as we proceed (in a southeasterly direction) from the Orinoco are the Barima, about 1 mile wide, where we (the Dutch) formerly had a fort; 3 miles further, the Amacura, of the same width, and which, as well as the before-mentioned one, discharges itself into the Orinoco; full 3 miles to the eastward, the Moco Moco; not 2 miles further, the River Waine, three-fourths of a mile wide, but shallow."

Rolt, in his *History of South America*, published in London, 1756 (p. 500), writes:

"1. Dutch Guiana extends along the coast, from the mouth of the River Oroonoko, in 9° of north latitude, to the River Maroni, where the English formerly built a little fort, in $6^{\circ} 20'$ of north latitude."

Pestal, in his *Commantarii de Republica Batava* (published at Leyden, 1795), vol. 1, p. 177, says:

"From Spanish Guiana the frontier of Dutch Guiana, looking southward, is divided by the River Barima, which flows into the Orinoco, or, according to other opinions, by the more easterly River Wainy."

Baron Alexander de Humboldt, in his *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent during the years 1799-1804*, states as follows (English edition published in London, 1826, vol. 6, p. 162):

"The limits of Spanish Guayana on the north and west are, first, the Oroonoko from Cape Barima to San Fernando de Atababo, and then a line stretching from north to south from San Fernando towards a point 15 leagues west of the little fort of San Carlos. The line crosses the Rio Negro a little above Maroa. The northeast frontier, that of the English Guyana, merits the greatest attention on account of the political importance of the mouths of the Oroonoko, which I have discussed in the twenty-fourth chapter of this work. The sugar and cotton plantations had already reached beyond the Rio Pomaroun under the Dutch Government; they extend farther than the mouth of the little River Moroco, where a military fort is established. (See the very interesting map of the colonies of Essequibo and Demarara, published by Maj. F. de Bouchenroeder in 1798.) The Dutch, far from recognizing the River Pomaroun, or the Moroco, as the limit of their territory, placed the boundary at Rio Barima, consequently near the mouth of the Oroonoko itself; whence they draw a line of demarkation from north northwest to south southeast towards Cuyuni. They had even taken military occupation of the eastern bank of the small Rio Barima before the English in 1666 had destroyed the forts of New Zealand and New Meddleburgh, on the right bank of Pomaroun. Those forts and that of Kyk-over-al (look everywhere around), at the confluence of

No. 128.

the Cuyuni, Masaruni, and Essequibo, have not been reëstablished. Persons who had been on the spot assured me, during my stay at Angostura, that the country west of Pomaroun, of which the possession will one day be contested by England and the Republic of Colombia, is marshy, but exceedingly fertile."

May 28, 1896.

No. 129.

Heads of proposed treaty between Venezuela and Great Britain for settlement of Venezuela boundary question as agreed upon between Great Britain and the United States.

[Reprinted from UNITED STATES, *Department of State*. Papers relating to the Foreign Relations, etc. Transmitted to Congress, Dec. 7, 1896, Washington, 1897, pp. 254-255.]

I.

An arbitral tribunal shall be immediately appointed to determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela.

II.

The tribunal shall consist of two members nominated by the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and two members nominated by the judges of the British Supreme Court of Justice, and of a fifth juror selected by the four persons so nominated, or, in the event of their failure to agree within three months from the time of their nomination, selected by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway.

The person so selected shall be president of the tribunal.

The persons nominated by the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the British Supreme Court of Justice, respectively, may be judges of either of said courts.

III.

The tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might lawfully be claimed by the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain, respectively, at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela.

IV.

In deciding the matters submitted the arbitrators shall ascertain all the facts which they deem necessary to a decision of the controversy, and shall be governed by the following rules, which are agreed upon by the high contracting parties as rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the arbitrators shall determine to be applicable to the case.

No. 129.**RULES.**

(a.) Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make a good title. The arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district, as well as actual settlement thereof, sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription.

(b.) The arbitrators may recognize and give effect to rights and claims resting on any other ground whatever, valid according to international law, and on any principles of international law which the arbitrators may deem to be applicable to the case, and which are not in contravention of the foregoing rule.

(c.) In determining the boundary line, if territory of one party be found by the tribunal to have been at the date of this treaty in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall, in the opinion of the tribunal require.

**RICHARD OLNEY,
JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.**

November, 12, 1896.

APPENDIX

PART 6

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

No. 130.

West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Director-General and Council in Essequibo, June 20, 1777, directing that, for security of colony, friendship with Indians be cultivated.

[Translated from a Spanish translation of the original in archives at Georgetown, Demerara.]

We confirm by these presents the orders already given several times to cultivate friendly feelings with the Indians, which same may be of great service in recovering fugitive slaves, and as it appears to the Representative and Directors to be most necessary to attract the Indians and maintain friendly feelings in them that they may be always at the service of the Government, upon which the security of both colonies so greatly depends, it has been deemed necessary to order this by these presents to you very earnestly.

We believe it to be the more necessary to repeat these orders, in that they have been so badly fulfilled that even the staffs with silver knobs, which were sent to be presented to the chiefs of the Indians, have not been distributed to them, notwithstanding the express orders of the Representative and Directors, as seen in the inventory corresponding to the year 1776, which has been sent to us.

Besides this, the Representative and Directors are informed that the Indian chiefs never, or at least rarely, present themselves because they are not invited to do so, this being, nevertheless, very necessary, and that for this reason the trifles (or toys) sent, remain for the greater part in the shops (according to the inventory sent), while it would be expedient to present, from time to time, these trifles to the Indian chiefs in order to stimulate them to present themselves.

No. 131.

Extract from Treaty of Peace and Recognition between Venezuela and Spain, signed at Madrid, March 30, 1845.

[Translated from copy in *Coleccion de Tratados Publicos de Venezuela*, fol., Caracas, 1884, p. 75.]

ART. 1ST. Her Catholic Majesty making use of the powers invested in her by decree of the General Cortes of the Kingdom, dated December 4, 1836, renounces on her behalf and on behalf of her heirs and successors, the sovereignty, rights and titles belonging to her over the American territory, known under the old name of Captain-Generalcy of Venezuela, now the Republic of Venezuela.

ART. 2ND. By virtue of said renunciation and cession, Her Catholic Majesty recognizes the Republic of Venezuela as a free, sovereign, and independent Nation, consisting of the provinces and territories specified in its constitution and other subsequent laws, viz.: Margarita, Guayana, Cumaná, Barcelona, Caracas, Carabobo, Barquisemeto, Barinas, Apure, Merida, Trujillo, Coro, and Maracaibo, and any other territories or islands that may belong to said Republic.

No. 132.**Treaty as to Boundaries and River Navigation, between Venezuela and Brazil, signed at Caracas, May 5, 1859.**

[Translated from copy in *Coleccion de Tratados Públicos de Venezuela*, fol., Caracas, 1884, pp. 95-98.]

The Republic of Venezuela and His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, recognizing the necessity of reaching a final agreement as to the boundaries of their respective territories, in order to firmly establish that harmony happily existing between both countries, and remove any cause for discord; and wishing at the same time to facilitate and promote, between each other, freedom of communication over the common frontier and through the rivers on the portion belonging to each, have agreed to make a treaty for said purpose, and have appointed as their representatives, viz:

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Venezuela, Senor Licenciado Luis Sanojo, etc., etc., etc.

And His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, Señor Felipe José Pereira Leal, Official of the Order of the Rose, Knight of the Orders of Christ and St. Benedict of Aviz and of the Imperial Order of the Southern Cross, His Keeper of the Wardrobe, and Charge d'Affaires in the Republics of Venezuela, New Granada and Equador, etc., etc., etc.

Who, after having exchanged their respective powers, which were found in good and due form, have agreed to the following articles:

ART. 1. There shall be perfect, firm and sincere friendship between the Republic of Venezuela and its citizens, on the one part, and His Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil and his successors and subjects, on the other, in all their respective possessions and territories.

ART. 2. The Republic of Venezuela and His Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, declare and define the dividing line in the following manner:

1st. The dividing line to begin at the headwaters of the river Memachi and, continuing along the highest part of the ground, to pass along the headwaters of the Aquio, of the Tomo, and of the Guainia and Iquiare or Issana, so that all the waters running to the Aquio and Tomo shall belong to Venezuela, and those running into the Guainia, Xié and Issana, to Brazil; and to cross the Rio Negro, opposite the island of San José, lying near the Cucui rock.

2nd. From the island of San José, to continue in a straight line, cutting the Maturaca channel in the middle, or at the point agreed upon by the delimiting Commissioners and that may conveniently divide said channel; and thence passing along the Cupi, Imeri, Guai and Urucusiro hills, to cross the road which unites by land the Castano and Marari rivers, and along the Tapirapecó ridge of mountains, follow the summits of the Parima range of mountains, so that the waters running to the Padaviri, Marari and Cababuri, shall belong to Brazil, and those running to the Turuaca or Idapa or Xiaba to Venezuela.

No. 132.

3rd. To follow along the Parima ridge up to the angle formed by the latter with the Pacaramia ridge, so that all the waters running into the Rio Blanco shall belong to Brazil, and those running into the Orinoco, to Venezuela; the line to continue along the highest points of aforesaid Pacaramia ridge, so that the waters running into the Rio Blanco shall, as has been said, belong to Brazil, and those running into the Essequibo, Cuyuni and Caroni to Venezuela as far as the territory of both States may extend on their eastern side.

ART. 3. After the ratification of the present treaty, the two high contracting Powers shall each appoint a Commissioner, who, by common consent and within the shortest term practicable, shall proceed to the demarcation of the line at the points where it is necessary, in conformity with the above stipulations.

ART. 4. If during the demarcation, grave doubts should arise, resulting from a want of exactness in the indications of the present treaty; in the absence of correct maps, and of thorough explorations, said doubts shall be passed upon amicably by both Governments, to which same shall be submitted by the Commissioners, and the finding or decision resulting therefrom shall be considered as an interpretation of, or addition to, said treaty, it being understood that if such doubts should occur on one point, this shall not prevent the demarcation from continuing as to the other points indicated in the treaty.

ART. 5. If, for the purpose of fixing at any point, limits more natural or convenient to either nation, an exchange of territories should be deemed advantageous, this may be done, by opening new negotiations therefor, the demarcation, however, to be proceeded with, as if no such change was to be affected.

ART. 6. His Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, declares that, while treating with the Republic of Venezuela in relation to the territory situated to the westward of Rio Negro, and bathed by the waters of rivers Tomo and Aquio, whose ownership is claimed by the Republic of Venezuela, but which has already been claimed by Nueva Granada, it is not his intention to prejudice any title that the latter Republic may prove to said territory.

ART. 7. The Republic of Venezuela and his Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, agree in declaring free the communications between their States over the common frontier and that the passage of persons with their baggage over said frontier, be exempt from all national or municipal tax, said persons and their baggage being subject only to such police and fiscal regulations as each Government may establish in its own territory.

ART. 8. The Republic of Venezuela agrees to allow duly registered Brazilian vessels to pass from Brazil to Venezuela and *vice versa*, through the rivers Negro or Guainia, in the portion belonging to it, Casiquiare

No. 132.

and Orinoco, provided they observe the fiscal and police regulations established by the superior authorities of Venezuela.

In reciprocity thereof, and by way of compensation, His Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, agrees to allow Venezuelan vessels, duly registered, freely to cross from Venezuela to Brazil, and *vice versa*, through the rivers Negro or Guainia, and the Amazon, in the portion exclusively belonging to him, and to go out to the ocean and *vice versa*, provided they observe the fiscal and police regulations established by the competent Brazilian superior authorities.

It being understood and declared that in said navigation is not included that from port to port of the same nation, or of coast navigation along rivers, which the High Contracting Parties reserve for their respective citizens and subjects.

ART. 9. The regulations established by the High Contracting Parties must be the most favorable to navigation and trade between both countries.

Each of the States shall adopt on that portion of the rivers corresponding to it, in as far as it be possible, and by mutual consent, a uniform system of river police; and shall also strive to attend to the convenience of said uniformity as regards the fiscal system and method it may establish in the ports of entry.

ART. 10. No Brazilian vessel can be considered as having the conditions requisite to be regularly registered for the aforesaid navigation, in the waters of Venezuela, if her owner and captain should not be subjects of the Empire of Brazil.

No Venezuelan vessel can be considered as having the conditions requisite to be regularly registered for the aforesaid navigation in the waters of Brazil if her owner and captain should not be citizens of the Republic of Venezuela.

In the crew of the vessels of each of the High Contracting Parties there must be at least one-third Venezuelans or Brazilians, or two-thirds riparian foreigners, and at all events the captain must belong to the nation whose flag is borne by the vessel.

ART. 11. The vessels referred to in the preceding article can trade in such ports of Venezuela or Brazil as are or may hereafter be opened for the purpose by the respective governments.

If the arrival at said ports should be caused by main force, and the vessel should leave with the cargo she brought, no dues shall be charged for entry, stay or clearance.

ART. 12. Each one of the two governments shall designate the places, besides the ports of entry, wherein vessels, whatever their destination, may communicate with the shore, either directly or by means of boats, in order to repair damages, get supplies of fuel or other needed objects, and in order

No. 132.

that these and the ones generally called "*de boca abierta*," or *without waist* (?), not carrying goods for trading purposes, but only passengers, may stop and pass the night.

At these places the local authorities, although the vessel may proceed in direct transit, shall demand the exhibition of the list of her crew and passengers, and of the manifest of her cargo, viséing all or some of these documents free of charge.

The passengers shall not be allowed to land there without having first obtained the consent of the corresponding authority, to whom, for the purpose, they shall exhibit their passports to be examined by same.

ART. 13. Both governments shall reciprocally give notice of the places destined by them for the communications provided for in the preceding article; and should either deem it advisable to make some change therein, it shall notify the other with the necessary anticipation.

ART. 14. All communication with land, not authorized, or at places not designated, except in the cases of main force, shall be punished by a fine, in addition to the other penalties incurred by the offenders, according to the laws of the country where the offense was committed.

ART. 15. The discharge of part or all of her cargo, outside the ports of entry, shall be permitted to any vessel only when, by reason of distress, or other extraordinary circumstance, she should be unable to continue her voyage, provided her captain (where this may be possible) shall previously apply to the officers of the nearest fiscal station, or in defect thereof, to any other local authority, and he shall submit to such measures as these officers or authorities may judge necessary, to prevent any clandestine importation.

The measures that may have been taken by the captain, of his own accord, before notifying said officers or local authority, shall be justifiable if he should show that they were indispensable for the safety of his vessel or of her cargo.

The goods thus discharged, if re-exported on the same vessel or on smaller ones, shall pay no duties whatever.

ART. 16. All transshipment made without previous authorization, or without the formalities prescribed in the preceding article, is subject to fine, besides the penalties imposed by the laws of the country upon those committing the crime of contraband.

ART. 17. If by reason of violation of the police and fiscal measures concerning free river transit, some seizure of merchandise, vessel or small craft should be effected, said seizure shall be removed at once, upon presentation of a bond or guarantee sufficient to cover the value of the objects seized.

If the violation should have attached no penalty other than a fine, the

No. 132.

offender, on presentation of the same guarantee, may proceed on his voyage.

ART. 18. In cases of shipwreck or any other misfortune, the local authorities shall lend all the assistance within their means, both for saving the lives, vessel and cargo, and for gathering and keeping what has been saved.

ART. 19. If the captain or owner of the cargo, or the one representing him, should wish to convey same from said place, directly to the port of its destination, or to any other, he may do so without paying any dues, except only the charges for salvage.

ART. 20. If the captain of the vessel, or owner of the merchandise, or the person representing him should not be present to meet the charges for salvage, these shall be paid by the local authority, and made good by the owner or his agent; or by the merchandise, whereof shall be sold at public auction, according to the laws of each of the countries, what may be required for this object, and for the payment of the corresponding duties. As for the remaining merchandise, it shall be dealt with according to the laws of each country, relating to cases of shipwrecks in territorial waters.

ART. 21. Each State can establish a duty destined toward the expenses of lighthouses, signal buoys and any other assistance afforded by it to navigation; but said duty shall be collected only on vessels or boats going directly to its ports, or touching at them (except in cases of *force majeure*) should they load or discharge there.

Beyond this duty, river navigation shall neither directly nor indirectly be burdened by any other impost whatsoever.

ART. 22. Both High Contracting Parties, realizing how expensive are the undertakings of steam navigation, and that at the outset no Venezuelan or Brazilian Company established for steam navigation over the fluvial highways could bring any profit;

They reciprocally engage to promote same, in the manner and through the means to be subsequently stipulated by especial conventions and agreements.

ART. 23. All the stipulations of this treaty, not referring to boundaries, shall remain in force during the period of ten years, to count from the date of the exchange of the respective ratifications; after which they shall continue to subsist until one of the High Contracting Parties shall notify the other of its desire to have them withdrawn, and they shall cease twelve months after the date of said notification.

ART. 24. The present treaty shall be ratified by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Venezuela or by the person in charge of the executive power thereof, and by His Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil; and

No. 132.

the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Caracas or at Rio Janeiro within the term of one year from the date of its approval by the Venezuelan Congress, or before, should it be possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Venezuela, and of His Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, by virtue of our full powers, do hereby sign the present treaty, affixing thereto our respective seals.

Done in the City of Caracas, Capital of the Republic of Venezuela, on the 5th day of May in the year of our Lord 1859.

LUIS SANOJO.

FELIPE JOSÉ PEREIRA LEAL.

No. 133.

Extract from letter from Professor G. L. Burr to S. Mallet-Prevost, September 14, 1896, as to Schomburgk's Physical Map and the Curumu Post.

[Printed from copy of the original.]

I have purposely held this letter from day to day, that I might return once more fresh to my inspection of these maps, and satisfy myself as to some suspicion or conjecture which had arisen in my mind since the day before. I have this morning again studied most carefully, with glass and with naked eye, the final map—the so-called “Physical Map” (“British Guiana No. 422”)—of Schomburgk, of 1844. There is surely on it no suggestion of boundary anywhere and I cannot believe there ever has been. No trace or suggestion of erasure can be found by the most careful study in all lights.

I note, however, this morning something else that interests me upon this map. At the mouth of the Curumu, the Hebert map, following the first Schomburgk map of 1841, represents just across the Cuyuni, a fort, describing it as the “*Cariya*. Site of the former Spanish *Destacement de Cuyuni*.” This the British Blue Book (“Venezuela No. 5”) declares a mere quotation from Humboldt, and since proven an error. This final Schomburgk map of 1844 also places this post on the south bank of the Cuyuni, but a mile or two below the point opposite the mouth of the Curumu, and describes it only as “*Cadiva*” (“in Rns.”)—which clearly means “in ruins.” I shall beg to be allowed to photograph this map. The change from “*Cariya*” to “*Cadiva*” as well as the “in rns.” surely implies added knowledge: he has since been at the spot on his way from Roraima. It is now clear where the Leipzig and the Stanford maps get their wording: but they are not as clear as to the place. Schomburgk's map even pictures these ruins conventionally thus: (= = =)

Most truly yours,

GEORGE L. BURR.

No. 134.

Note respecting a charter proposed for Essequibo and Demerara by G. A. W. Ruysch, June 22, 1803; by Prof. G. L. Burr.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission Report, Vol. 2, p. 657, foot note.]

Under date of June 21, 1803, one reads in the minutes of the Council of the American Colonies: "The President stated to the meeting that he had received from a former member of this Council, G. A. W. Ruysch, a charter drafted by him for the agricultural colonies of the State, with the request that if he saw fit he would present it to the Council, that the Council might make at its convenience such use of it as it should deem proper." The charter was referred to the Committee on Policy, and is never heard of again. The document itself bears a marginal memorandum, stating that it was submitted to the Council of the Colonies on June 22, 1803. Ruysch, who on July 8, 1802, had been granted leave of absence because of ill health, had resigned from the Council on April 1, 1803.

No. 135.

J. Calcaño Mathieu, Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, to José Andrade, Venezuelan Minister in Washington, as to the Venezuelan, Brazilian and Guianan frontier; May 23, 1898.

[Printed from translation of certified copy of the original.]

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.
Department of Foreign Public Law.
No. 761.

CARACAS, May 23, 1898.

MR. MINISTER:

In the Brief recently presented by Venezuela, in the question of her boundaries with British Guiana, this frontier has been claimed: "The boundary line between the United States of Venezuela and the Colony of British Guiana, begins at the mouth of the Essequibo river; thence runs southward along the waterway of said river to its union with the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers; thence around the island of Kykoveral, leaving it on the east; thence along the waterway of said Essequibo river to the line separating the territory of the United States of Venezuela from the territory of the United States of Brazil."

The boundary with Brazil, agreed upon in the treaty of May 5, 1859, should be along the summit of the Parima ridge of mountains to the angle formed by the latter with the Pacaraima ridge, continuing along its highest points, so that the waters that run into the river Branco belong to Brazil, and to Venezuela those falling into the Essequibo, Cuyuni and

No. 135.

Caroni rivers, as far as where the territories of both States extend on their eastern side.

Up to the present, only the boundary line from the principal head of the Menachi to the Cupi hill has been fixed upon the ground by the Commissioners of both parties who met in 1880. The rest of the line has not been set by mutual agreement, but only by the Brazilian Commissioners. His work having been presented to Venezuela for her acceptance, she has withheld it, because she holds that the concurrence of her representatives is indispensable, natural and rightful.

The question now is to find out how the boundary proposed in the Brief of Venezuela can be connected with the frontier of the latter and Brazil. The wording made use of in the Agreement wherein it is fixed, is too vague, namely: "As far as where the territories of both States extend on their eastern side." The Commissioner of Brazil who traced by himself the final portion of the line, carries it up to a point which he calls S. Anai, without naming the Essequibo.

In the map of Brazil of 1880 by C. Brockes and C. Held, the limit with Venezuela is placed at a distance, leaving out part of this, including its sources, in British Guiana.

In the book entitled "Nociones sobre Corografía del Brasil, for Joaquin Manuel de Madeco," which is accompanied by said map, we read: "The lines of the frontier of Brazil with British Guiana are two: the first on the north, and the second on the east; in the first, as also in Dutch Guiana, France disputes the right of Brazil; in the first it is England that disputes it, the origin of her unexpected claims and diplomatic controversies being the action of the President of the Province of Para, in compelling an English missionary who was teaching the Indians there, to leave the territory that had always been considered and recognized as Brazilian, up to the Pacaraima mountains, the acknowledged boundary line. *The outcome of the negotiations between the respective governments, was the neutralization of the territory situated between the Tacutú and Regumuri rivers, until the necessary explorations should finally determine the true boundaries.*"

The following maps should be consulted:

1st.—Atlas of Codazzi, whereof in No. 10 a territory is marked on the south, extending to the Acarai Mountains, and embracing the upper part of the Essequibo, from the mouth of the Rupununi, with the note: "Territory considered as usurped by the English."

2nd—The map attached to the statistical year-books of Venezuela wherein the same extension is given it on the southeast.

3rd—Schomburgk's map of 1840, which gives the claims of Venezuela as he understood them, of Brazil and of Great Britain.

4th—The aforesaid map of Brockes and Held.

5th—The maps of Surville, Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, and Requena which

No. 135.

extended the boundaries of Spanish Guiana to the Tumucuraque mountains, making it confine with the present Dutch Guiana and with the French.

Besides the above-mentioned maps, the sketches are forwarded of the Venezuelan-Brazilian frontier, set in 1879-1880 by the joint Commission of both countries, and of the continuation of same to its termination by only one Commissioner of Brazil.

It is desired that from this study should result, not only the connection of the frontier of Venezuela and Brazil with that of Venezuela and British Guiana, but also a standard which may serve to appreciate the merit of the demarcation made unilaterally from the Cupi hill to the S. Anay.

Although Codazzi in his geography makes the boundaries of Venezuela and Brazil to coincide at the mouth of the Rupununi, this is done without taking into account the usurpation which he himself points out in his map. See Montenegro, Geography of Venezuela, and Marmol's pamphlet on the boundaries of Guiana.

The study herein recommended, is very urgent; it is required for the 27th instant, with the return of the accompanying maps.

I am your very attentive servant,

J. CALCAÑO MATHIEU.

No. 136.

Minister of Public Works to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Venezuela, as to the Venezuelan-Brazilian and Guianan frontier; June 7, 1898.

[Printed from translation of certified copy of original.]

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS. }
D. de V. de C. A. y C. }
No. 294. }

CARACAS, June 7, 1898.

TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

Present.

As the result of the study of the subject which you are pleased to submit to the consideration of this Ministry, in your note of May 23, 1898, No. 761, F. P. L., I have the honor of reporting to you as follows:

The tracing of the boundaries between Venezuela and Brazil presents no difficulty from its western extremity to Monte Anay, a mountain belonging to the Pacaraima range; but from this point toward the east the following doubt occurs: Whether the line of demarcation proceeds directly until it cuts the Essequibo river at the mouth of the Rupunini, as set down in Codazzi's Atlas (Map of the Canton of Upata), or turns toward the south in the direction of the headwaters of the Essequibo river, separating the waters of the latter from those of the Branco river, as shown on the maps

No. 136.

published in the statistical year-books of Venezuela and on Bianconi's Map of 1889.

The question, therefore, is reduced to ascertaining whether the headwaters of the Essequibo belong to Venezuela, or not.

The treaty agreed upon between Brazil and Venezuela, on May 5, 1859, says that the boundary between both Nations should follow "along the summit of the Parima range of mountains to the angle formed by the latter with the Pacaraima range, so that all the waters running into the river Branco should belong to Brazil, and those running into the Orinoco, to Venezuela, the line to continue along the highest peaks of said Pacaraima range, so that the waters running into the river Branco should, as has been said, belong to Brazil, and those running into the Essequibo, Cuyuni and Caroni, to Venezuela, as far as where the territories of both States extend on their eastern side."

By virtue of this clause, it is clear that the boundary line, to the east of Monte Anay, should not deviate from the division of waters mentioned in the Treaty, but follow them up until the eastern extremity of the Republic is reached, which is, according to the Brief presented by Venezuela, the waterway of the Essequibo. Now, as the above mentioned division of waters turns towards the south, and as it cannot cut the Essequibo, except at its headwaters, it follows that the latter point becomes precisely the conjunction of the southern and eastern frontier of Venezuela. It is so set down in the explanatory map which I have the honor of subjoining to the present note.

To Venezuela, therefore, belongs the territory comprised within Monte Anay, the mouth of the Rupununi and the headwaters of the Essequibo river; an ownership which is furthermore verified by the following documents:

1st.—In the geographical map of Don Francisco Requena, 1796, which contains the boundary line between the dominions of Spain and Portugal, it is shown that the old Captain Generalship of Caracas extended to the east until it conjoined with French Guiana, comprising in its territory all the headwaters of the Essequibo.

2nd.—In the map of Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, 1775, and in the chorographic map of Nueva Andalucia, made by Surville in 1778, it is seen that all the basin of the Essequibo lying south of the mouth of the Rupununi river, belonged at the time to Spanish Guiana.

3rd.—From the Direction issued February 4, 1779, by the Intendant-General of Venezuela, wherein rules are given for settling the province of Guiana, it is inferred that the lands belonging to Spain extended eastward until they reached the confines of French Guiana, leaving on one side the territories of Dutch Guiana, while those of the Crown of Portugal remained on the south.

4th.—In the map of Mannert, 1803, it also appears that the headwaters of the Essequibo belonged to Nueva Andalucia.

No. 136.

5th.—In the Geography of Montenegro, Vol. IV., page 3, we read the following: "The easternmost part of Venezuela is the one which touches French Guiana, toward $2^{\circ} 10'$ latitude north, and $56^{\circ} 4'$ longitude west" (Greenwich). And further on it adds that the line marking the eastern frontier of the Republic cuts the river Essequibo toward $4^{\circ} 12'$ north latitude, and continues along the summits of the Tumucuraque range, until it confines with French Guiana at the intersection of said range with the Acaray mountains. The boundary line then swerves back along the latter range up to a point where the Acaray mountains meet the Pacaraima range, thus leaving all the headwaters of the Essequibo in Venezuelan territory.

6th.—Codazzi's Atlas (Map No. 10) notes that the territory in question was then considered as usurped by the English, which is an indication that it did not belong to them legitimately.

From the foregoing exposition it appears that the Republic has a right to all the headwaters of the river Essequibo. But, as in the Brief presented by Venezuela, and for reasons that have no doubt been duly considered, only the waterway of said river has been claimed as a frontier, it follows, in the opinion of the undersigned, that the demarcation that should be maintained is the one traced on the accompanying map, namely, *the waterway of the Essequibo, from the point where it empties into the sea to its headwaters, continuing thence to Monte Anay along the range of mountains which divide the waters of the Essequibo from those which run into river Branco.*

The paragraph transcribed by the Señor Minister of Foreign Relations, from the work of Don Joaquín M. de Macedo, regarding the neutralization, agreed upon between England and Brazil, of the territory lying between the Tacutú and Regumuri rivers, can be no argument against this conclusion, for it is known that England illegally occupies all the headwaters of the Essequibo, as can be seen in the aforesaid Atlas of Codazzi (Map No. 10).

The Señor Minister also desires that the study recommended by him to this Ministry, should result in a standard which may serve to appreciate the merit of the demarcation made unilaterally by the Brazilian Commission, from the Cupi hill to the Anay range.

Upon this point I beg to state, that having compared the geographical co-ordinates of some angles of the line in question, with those corresponding to the same points of the line traced in the map accompanying the statistical year-books of Venezuela, there appear some slight discrepancies as to the latitude; but regarding the longitude the discrepancies amount to $1^{\circ} 25'$ against Venezuela. The proper thing to do, in this case, would be to send a Venezuelan Commission who upon the ground would ascertain which of the parties was in fault. If this is not practicable for the present, and if the settlement of the question is urgent, I am of opinion that it would be advisable to accept the frontier traced in the

No. 136.

Brazilian map, since it was made by an honorable and competent Commission of that country, but with the following proviso:

“Inasmuch as there are differences between the line of demarcation fixed unilaterally by the Brazilian Commission, and the one set down in the official map of Venezuela, the latter Republic accepts the former line, with the condition that should there be any inaccuracy in the geographical co-ordinates of some of its points, these shall be corrected; so that in definitive the frontier line should always mark the division of waters mentioned in the Treaty of 1859.”

It should also be borne in mind that the map presented by the Brazilian Commission offers more differences as compared with that of the statistical year-book of Venezuela, than is the case with the Atlas of Codazzi, the only scientific work we have upon the subject.

The foregoing is in reply to your note of May 23, of the current year.

God and Federation.

A. SMITH.

No. 137.

Notes and comments on the British Case by Dr. Rafael Seljas, dated June 20, 1898.

On pages 17 and 18 of the British Case we read:

The Spanish Colonists who occupied the territory which is now Venezuela, Equador, and Colombia, declared their independence of Spain in 1810, and the war of independence extended for a time into the Orinoco district. At this time, and up to the year 1816, as may be seen by the Table of Missions in the Appendix, the savannah land between the Orinoco and the Yuruari was still in part occupied by the Capuchin Missions.

In May 1817, however, the rebel troops collected the missionaries at Caruachi, and then massacred them. The General in command had intended to take the missionaries to Tupuquen and Tumeremo, which were described as the outermost in the Eastern district.

The natural consequence of this action was the rapid decay of the Mission villages, and the territory relapsed into a state of barbarism.

In the passage above quoted, grievous confusion has been made between Venezuela, New Granada and Equador, the idea being conveyed that in 1810, they formed *one* people, and that it rose in revolt simultaneously. Nothing could be less exact. They were three separate peoples. One was called the Captaincy-General of Venezuela, the other, the New Kingdom of Granada or Viceroyship of Santa Fé (Holy Faith), and the third, the Kingdom or Presidency of Quito.

They had different governments, and they worked and acted with entire independence from one another, although under the common dependence to Spain. Venezuela began her independence on the 19th of April, 1810,

No. 137.

depriving Captain-General Emparan of his power, banishing him and other Spanish officials, and establishing a *Junta* to take charge of the government named by King Ferdinand, in imitation of those which had been formed in Spain. On the 5th of July, 1811, seven provinces of those which composed the Captaincy-General of Venezuela declared their independence of Spain. In that same year they constituted themselves into a federal republic after the model and example of the United States of America. During the course of the war which Spain waged against them, Venezuela and New Granada mutually helped each other, and that was why Bolivar, who had conquered in both territories, urged their union in 1819, by means of a law to that effect, when the Venezuelan Congress met at Angostura. This law was approved by the Congress of Venezuela and Colombia, assembled in the town of Rosario de Cúcuta, in the year 1821, and the union was a sort of common nationality, in a simple or consolidated form, not a federal union. The new republic was called Colombia, and its life lasted ten years, for in 1830 Venezuela and Equador separated from New Granada, and again assumed their independent existence.

As regards Colombia it had been made a viceroyship by the Spanish government the last time in 1743. It had under its control, for some time, the provinces of Guayana, Cumaná, Margarita and Maracaibo; but, in 1777, these were incorporated into the Captaincy-General of Venezuela forever.

In the year 1810, the revolution of New Granada, following the example of Venezuela, established a *Junta* that should take the place of the Viceregal Government named by Spain. This took place on the 20th of July. From 1812 on, the provinces began to proclaim their independence.

With respect to the Presidency of Quito, it named its *Junta* on the 23rd of September, 1810, and did not declare its independence from Spain until the 11th of December, 1811. It did not incorporate itself into Colombia till 1824, as appears by the decree published by its Congress, on the 11th of July, General Francisco de Paula Santander, Vice-President of Colombia, being its acting President, and Señor José Manuel Restrepo being Secretary of State for the Interior at the time. Here are the proofs:

The act of independence of Venezuela, proclaimed the 5th of July, 1811, begins thus: "We, the representatives of the united provinces of Caracas, Cumaná, Barinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Mérida and Trujillo, which form the American Confederation of Venezuela, in the Southern Continent, in Congress assembled, and having due regard to the full and absolute possession which we enjoy of our rights, which we justly and legitimately recovered on the 19th of April, 1810, as a consequence of the campaign of Bayona, and the occupation of the Spanish throne by conquest, and the succession of another dynasty, constituted without our consent, etc.

No. 137.

It ends with the following words:

"We, therefore, in the name and by the will and authority of the virtuous people of Venezuela, solemnly declare to the world, that the United Provinces are and ought to be, from this day forth, in fact and by right, free, sovereign and independent States; and that they are absolved from all submission and dependence to the crown of Spain, or to those who call themselves its possessors and representatives, and that as a free and independent State, it has full power to assume the form of government that shall be most in conformity with the general will of its people; to declare war, make peace, enter into alliances, arrange treaties of commerce, boundaries and navigation; to do and execute all the other acts which free and independent nations do and execute." *

The fundamental law of the union of the peoples of Colombia:

"We, the representatives of the peoples of New Granada and Venezuela, in general Congress assembled,

"Having carefully examined the fundamental law of the Republic of Colombia, agreed to by the Congress of Venezuela, in the city of Santo Thomé de Angostura, on the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, and whereas,"

"In the name and under the auspices of Almighty God, we have decided to decree, and do hereby decree, the solemn ratification of the fundamental law of the Republic of Colombia, of which mention has been made, in the following terms:

"Article 1st: The peoples of New Granada and Venezuela are united into one nation, under the express condition that its government shall be, now and ever, popular representative in form.

"Art. 2nd: This new nation shall be known as and denominated by the title of *Republic of Colombia*.

* * * * *

"Done at the palace of the Congress of Colombia, in the town of Rosario de Cúcuta, on the 12th of July, in the year of Our Lord 1821, the eleventh of our independence." (The signatures follow, and the "Be it executed" of the Vice-President of the Republic, Señor Castillo, countersigned by the Minister of the Interior, Señor Diego B. Urbaneja, on the 18th of the same July).

DECREE of the Congress of Colombia, June 11th, 1824:

The Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Colombia, in Congress assembled * * * decree:

Article 1st.—What has been accorded and decreed, by the towns, corporations and important persons of the City of Quito, on the 29th of May of the year 12, relative to separating from the monarchy of Spain

* See Compendium of the History of Venezuela, from 1797 to 1830, by Rafael Maria Baralt and Ramon Diaz.

No. 137.

and joining the Republic of Colombia; and rewarding the divisions of Colombia and Perú, that waged the Southern campaign, and particularly the President Liberator, the Vice-President of the Republic and General Antonio Sucre, is hereby approved.”*

The facts relative to the establishment of Juntas and declarations of independence of New Granada and Quito, have been taken, among other sources, from the work of Doctor José Manuel RESTREPO, entitled *Revolution of the Republic of Colombia*, 2nd edition, Bearnçon, 1858.

With regard to the death of the missionaries, it was a misfortune, which has nothing whatever to do with the question of the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana, and which was due solely to the excitement of the officers under whose charge they were, and who acted by their own authority.

Two evident and well-proven inaccuracies in the afore-mentioned paragraphs of the British Case, and relating to historical points, which can easily be ascertained in many works, more or less recent, and without doubt to be found in the well-stocked English libraries, should put the arbitrators on their guard against accepting the assertions of the said book without the presentation of proofs.

On pages 69 and 70 of this same book [British Case], its compilers return to the same subject and repeat the same errors.

It now becomes necessary to go back and trace the history since the beginning of this century of the territory occupied by the Spanish Missions. It will be shown that the Missions had ceased to exist and that the territory had relapsed into a state of barbarism.

In 1810 the Province of Venezuela declared itself independent of the Crown of Spain. In the course of the wars which followed, the Missions were overrun by the patriot troops in 1817, and most of the missionaries were murdered.

At this time the Missions had not been extended beyond the limits which they had in 1788. A declaration made by José Felix Blanco, who was in charge of the Missions at the time of these murders, and who made the declaration in order to show that Bolivar was not responsible for them, states that it had been proposed to imprison the missionaries in the Missions of Tupuquen and Tumeremo, which, he says, were “the last in the Eastern District;” and a Table, published in the official records of the State of Guayana, which purports to show the Missions existing in 1813, when a Decree was passed suppressing them, shows that no new Mission had been established since Tumeremo in 1788.

By a Decree of Congress at Angostura in 1820 the Missions were divided into five districts, but it appears that as organized religious communities they had practically ceased to exist. Padre Blanco, above mentioned, who had been appointed to take charge of them in July 1819, and who governed during the year 1820, stated after-

* Laws of the Republic of Colombia, comprising all the laws, decrees and resolutions decreed by its Congresses from the year 1821 to the last Congress of 1827. Reprinted carefully from the Bogotá official edition. 3 volumes. Caracas, 1840.

No. 137.

wards that when he took charge of them "they were already wretched skeletons ; those of the Upper and Lower Caroni did not exist, nor those of the south, except Pudedpa, Ayma, and Pastora as mere shadows. The desolation of those of the centre had reached to such a lamentable extremity that San Antonio, for example, which at my departure in November of 1817 consisted of 900 Indians, when I returned in July 1819 had only something under 100."

The compilers of the British Case reassert their error that Venezuela declared itself independent in 1810 from the Crown of Spain, and they take great pains to prove that the Missions had ceased to exist at the beginning of the century and that their territory had lapsed into a state of barbarism. To this end, they recall the fact that Father Blanco who had had charge of them in 1817, and again from 1819 to 1820, tells of the decadence they suffered between the first and second period.

Even if this were true, it would in nowise invalidate the rights of the nation that had established itself in those places. The degree of prosperity or decadence of a people has no bearing on the question of its rights. Supposing a certain property were converted into a desert, it would not follow that its owner would thereby lose his rights to it. To pretend that the State to which it belongs has abandoned a certain territory, because of its state of decay, is absurd.

Still less can the British Government have recourse to such reasoning since it brings forth as an argument in favor of the rights acquired by the Dutch, in the Cuyuni, that in 1703, they had a post established in the highest part of that river, which did not last one month; another which was destroyed by the Spanish in 1758; and still another, which was quickly abandoned, no vestige whatever of them being left.

How different is this case from that of the Missions of Guiana, which, if they have fallen off, still they have not therefore been abandoned, but on the contrary have been very carefully preserved, and many of them have figured as a part of the political divisions of Guiana, not to speak of other places, as may be seen, that in the department called *Heres*, are included districts called, *Ciudad Bolivar*, Victoria, Carolina, *Barceloneta*, Borbón, Moitaco, Piedra, Puruci, Maripa, Aripao and *Piacoa*. In the Department Guzman Blanco, the districts *Upata*, *San Felix*, formerly Puerto de Tablas, *Cupapuy*, Palmar, *Miamo* and Guri, together with the hamlets *San Antonio*, Carachi, and Altagracia, comprised within Upata, and San Pedro de Las Rocas, comprised in Guri." In the department of Roscio, the districts of *Guasipati*, Nueva Providencia, *Tumeremo*, *Pastora* and Callao.

In the department of Cedeño Caicara, La Arenosa, San Rafael, Sesenta, San Pedro, Punta Brava de Orinoco, El Oso, Santa Rita, El Banco, Santa Lucia, El Mato, El Zamuro, El Peñón, Punta Brava, La Bendición, Guacimal, La Soledad, Morono, *San Antonio*, Sacuima, Jan José de Guarna, *La Concepción*, Guamalito, La Guayra, Chacirifra, Capuchino, Las Mercedes, Las Lajitas and Guaniamo.

No. 137.

Cuchivero, with the suburbs, Chicharro Danta, Las Raices, Punta de Cerro, Las Adjuntas, Temblador, El Eslabón, Guarirumana, *San Francisco*, Mata, La Candelaria, Quilma, San Joaquin, La Mata, Soronia, San José, Barrichú and Tierra Colorada.

Altagracia, with the suburbs Santa Bárbara, *La Pastora*, Los Cochinitos, *San José*, Buena Vista, Tucuragua, Chirivital and San Isidro.

“The years of war and desolation of the times of independence being over, the authorities of Venezuela founded anew, Pimchin, Tomo, Tiriquin, San Felipe, Buena Vista, Santa Cruz, San Pedro, San Antonio and Santa Barbara, and lately, at great expense, and under the enlightened direction of a high functionary with his corresponding staff, Venezuela nourishes those settlements, introducing civilization, the care of the fields, the breeding of domestic animals and commerce with Angostura, in order to reap, some day, the fruit of its labors and sacrifices.”

Thus said Señor Fermin Toro, Minister Plenipotentiary of Venezuela, to Señor Colonel Joaquin Acosta, Plenipotentiary of New Granada, in the course of the discussion had by them in 1844 relative to the boundary limits of both republics. (Reply, on the 10th of September, by the Plenipotentiary of Venezuela, upon the point in dispute of the Upper Orinoco, Casiquiare and River Negro.*)

The law of Colombia of October 4, 1821, abolished the tribute imposed upon the Indians, ordered that their services should be rightfully rewarded and made them the equal, before the law, of the other citizens. It absolved them, for a period of five years, from the payment of duties and all other civil contributions, with respect to the entailed estates and other effects they might possess in common. It ordered that the reservations of land assigned to them by the Spanish laws, should be distributed among them, with full rights and titles to possession. It assigned the sources whence the stipends of the clergy in their several parishes should be taken. It decreed the continuance of their natural protectors, who were charged with attending to the communities over which they exercised control, without abridging the rights of the Indians to exercise all other acts and to appear both before a civil and criminal court, as all other citizens are entitled to, the Indians being privileged by being permitted to plead gratuitously, as the poor are entitled to do. It preserved their communities, charged with economic functions, which were especially designed to the better administration, concentration and distribution of the goods of the community, subject to the parochial judges, and to last while the entailed estates were being divided. And, lastly, it authorized the settlement of other citizens in the Indian territorial reservations, but upon condition that these new settlers should pay rent for the ground they might occupy,

* See pages 376 and 377, Volume 3, of the official publication, entitled *Titles of Venezuela in its boundaries with Colombia*, submitted and arranged in their order, according to the deposition of the illustrious American and Regenerator of Venezuela, General Antonio Guzman Blanco, President of the Republic, Caracas, 1876.

No. 137.

and not injure or molest the Indians in their pastures, plantations or other products of their entailed estates.

The law of Colombia of August 3, 1824, ordered the distribution of the public lands in proportionate areas to each one of the heathen tribes that expressed the desire to abandon its nomad life and to settle down into formal parochial districts, ruled and governed as were the others in the republic; that they be aided, in every way possible, in proportion to their number and necessities; that they be provided with parish priests, secular and regular, in the new, as well as in the old districts, that lacked them; that fathers or priests be selected from other dioceses for these missions, when the diocese proper should be without any ecclesiastics for the said purpose; that these parishes be supplied with the effects and holy vessels required.

The Colombian law of May 1st, 1826, ordered that the Indian tribes that inhabited the coasts of Grajira, Darien and Mosquitos, and the other uncivilized tribes existing in the republic, should be protected as Colombian citizens worthy of the consideration and special care of the Government; that the necessary measures should be taken looking to their civilization and to the establishment of a mutual and intimate communication with the neighboring settlements; and that special regulations to govern their commerce with the natives and with strangers should be issued.

On its part, Venezuela on the 1st of May of 1841, published a law upon the government and civilization of its Indians. By this it authorized the Executive to carry out that object and to gather them into towns, under the direction of the proper authorities, and under a special legislation, suitable to their circumstances, until they should be in a position to be placed under the general law of the Republic. The Executive was ordered to name the number of the *priestly missionaries* he deemed necessary for the settlements of the Indians, being authorized to call them from foreign countries, and to pay their trip and transportation to their respective places, and to assign them the proper payment or pension. It ordered that every Indian family that consented to live under the care of the missions and in settlements, should be given a quantity of public lands and tools of agriculture, seeds for the field, some cattle, the necessary clothing and some domestic animals. It also empowered the Executive to grant public lands to the families of Venezuelan citizens or foreigners that should like to establish themselves in an Indian settlement. It ordered that Congress should put down in its Budget every year, the sum required to attend to the payment of pensions and other expenses of the reduction and civilization of the Indians; and that the Executive should decree the necessary laws for the organization of the *Missions* or new settlements of the Indians; should make all convenient special arrangements for their commerce with the native Colombians and with foreigners, should specify the duties of the missionaries, and should fill up the gaps which might be noticed in the law.

No. 137.

By virtue of this law, the President of the Republic, on the 18th of August, 1841, issued a decree, organizing the native Indian settlements of Guayana, and another, the 20th of the same month, upon the organization of the District of the Rio Negro. Both were declared null and void by the decrees of the 15th of October, 1842. In the first of the new decrees, the reduction and civilization of Indians in the province of Guayana was organized, by a general division of the territory and the authorities; a Director-General being created, vice directors, circuit chiefs and *missionaries*; setting forth the duties of the *missionaries*, the powers of the public officers in the civil and criminal affairs relating to the Indians, the funds of the Missions, their administration and employment, and the assignment of the State officers, with various other provisions.

The second of these decrees concerned the organization of the District of Rio Negro, and its provisions were similar to those of the first.

But among the State officials which it established, it put the so-called *doctrineros* (teachers of doctrine) by the side of the circuit chiefs, with the proviso, among others, that they should teach the Indians the Spanish language and Christian doctrine.

On the 22nd of October, 1842, the President promulgated a decree relative to the Indians of the Goajira, and an organic constitution or set of laws for the regulation of its commerce, and the reduction of the Indians of Maracaibo. Here again *Missionaries* begin to reappear, to whom a sum of money is assigned with which to pay them.

On the 6th of November, 1845, the decree of the District of Rio Negro was revoked; but the *Missionaries* were retained, as well as the *Superintendents of Missions*.

It is known, that about that time, some priests were brought hither from Spain, among whom Father Olegario, of Barcelona, is still among us here, as the parish priest of La Pastora; and also that visitors to the Missions were appointed, whose reports were considered and indications followed.

In 1856, a greater importance was given to said regions of the East, by the creation of the new province of Amazonas, composed of the District of the Rio Negro, and fixing the boundaries that separated it from Guayana. The reduction and civilization of the native Indians was again confided to *Missionaries*.

Although this decree has been reformed and the title of *province* has been changed to that of *territory*, in consequence of the adoption of the federal designation, the real nature of things has remained the same. As late as 1891, the presence of *Missionaries* was solicited to administer to the Indians, and some of them are still here.

It will thus be seen, that the Government of Venezuela has continued with perseverance the object of civilizing the native Indians, and to this end, has employed the efficacious co-operation of the *Missionaries*; that these have always been treated with the greatest consideration and res-

No. 137.

pect; that here they are not put to death, because the incident of 1817 had its origin and explanation in the fatal circumstances of the war against the Spanish yoke; and lastly, that the Indian towns of Guayana have not been abandoned anew to relapse into a state of barbarism, but have become part of the organization of the political departments, into which that territory is to-day divided.

Caracas, June 20th, 1898.

(Signed) RAFAEL SEIJAS.

No. 138.

Notes and Comments on the British Case by Dr. Rafael Seijas, dated June 20, 1898.

In 1896, some English newspapers objected to some of the translations presented or published in British Blue Book, Venezuela No. 1 (1896), and these exceptions appeared so justly taken that a list of *errata* was added, in order to correct some of the errors specified. One of these was found in an extract of secret information, relative to the possessions of the King of Spain in America, in which it was said that,

It appears that the Dutch settlements in Guayana extend from close to the River Amazonas to the Orinoco;

which was corrected to read,

It appears that the Dutch settlements in Guayana already extended from close to the River Amazon at least as far as the Pomeroon.

Mention was also made of a document, entitled, "General Description of all His Majesty's Dominions in America, 2 vols., MS. Anonymous, 1640 (?)," * to be found only in the King's Library, Royal Palace, Madrid. To the suggested date of 1640 it was objected that the colony of Pomaroon did not exist at that time; accordingly when the same document is now presented in the British Case, Appendix, volume I, pp. 179-181, with the following note added: "It is difficult to fix the date of this document. It could not well have been earlier than 1665, at which date the colony in Pomaroon was in its prime. On the other hand, the mention of a colony on the Wiapoco points to 1676, or thereabouts."

The passage referred to says thus, in the Spanish text: "Twenty leagues to leeward on the Paumaron river, is the town of New Calandia, which is very large and rich in products, as it contains the largest factory to be found in all this coast, and so they exercise great care in protecting it, as it is already very near the Orinoco river, where the Presidio of Goyana [Guayana] is situated, and which belongs to your Majesty."

In the Venezuelan Brief of 1896,† exception was also taken to a translation

* Blue Book, Venezuela No. 1 (1896), p. 56.

† The case of Venezuela, a reply to the British Blue Book, etc., Atlanta, Ga., 1896, p. 135. NOTE: This book forms part of Vol. 9, U. S. Com. Reports.

No. 138.

of a letter from the Prefect of Missions, Brother Benito de la Garriga, who had written: "*Other Dutchmen* had settled much to this side up the Cuyuni, near the mouth of the Curumo, which is not far distant from the Cavallapi Mission, and afterwards they withdrew." Instead of *Other Dutchmen*, the translation read, "*Other Dutch families*;" and besides, it suppressed the last clause, viz.: "*and afterwards they withdrew*."

This same letter is reprinted in the British Case, Appendix, vol. iv., pp. 19-24, where the first error noted above is permitted to stand, but the second having been corrected; as the words "*but afterwards withdrew*" have been added (p. 23).

One objection was as well founded as the other, and the translators should have corrected both mistakes.

In any case, if *other Dutchmen* had established themselves far to the north of the Cuyuni about 1769, and *they afterwards withdrew*, all argument deduced from this fact disappears; because, if the Dutch had considered the Cuyuni as theirs, they would have remained there, instead of retiring. Had they remained, they would have been expelled by the Spaniards, as Father Garriga says a group of them were driven out, by his denunciation, in 1758, for having constructed a cabin or hut on the coast of that river for the purpose of buying *poitos* [Indian slaves]. It is proven that the barrack was not re-established till some years afterwards, first in one place, and afterwards in another, and finally was abandoned altogether.

In the Venezuelan Brief of 1896,* in the article entitled "Occupation," a translation of an opinion of the Spanish Council of State, relative to Don Manuel Centurion, was pointed out as defective; as an attempt was made to belittle him, when, on the contrary, the afore-mentioned Council praised his services and considered them worthy of a still higher recompense.

Now, in the British Case, Appendix, vol. iv, pp. 148-160, there appears the report of the Council of the 16th of February of 1776 and 20th of April following, with its text entire, both in English and in Spanish. Various passages, which had been omitted before have now been inserted, and the errors in translation to which reference had been made have been corrected.

In the Venezuelan Brief of 1896,† attention was also called to the following passage, published in the Blue Book, Venezuela No. 1 (1896), page 23, and which was made to refer to the Missions:

In 1817 General Bolivar, President of Colombia (with which Venezuela was then incorporated), whose headquarters were at Angostura, issued a decree of the Government of Guyana in the following terms:

"General Vicente Sucre, Governor of Guyana, must be considered not only as Governor of the Fort of Old Guayana, but also as Military Governor of the Orinoco as far as its old mouth."

* The Case of Venezuela, a reply to the British Blue Book, etc., 80. Atlanta, Ga., 1896, p. 138 et seq. Note: This book forms part of vol. 9 of U. S. Com. Report.

† The same.

No. 138.

It was objected that in the year 1817 Colombia did not exist, and therefore, General Bolivar could not have been its President; that Sucre was not a General at the time, but a Colonel; that the decree related not to *one fort*, but to *the forts* of Old Guayana; that there seemed to be no reason for calling the Department of the Lower Orinoco the *Orinoco as far as its old mouth*; and it appeared probable that the compiler of the Blue Book had left incomplete the expression of his thought.

The fault has now been rectified, in British Case, Appendix, vol. vi, p. 8, in which the decree of Bolivar is published in its entirety, as it stands in the collection of Blanco and Azpurria, and it is couched in the following terms:

“Simon Bolivar, the Supreme Chief, to the Governor of Guayana.

“To the Governor General of Guayana.”

“HEADQUARTERS AT ANGOSTURA.

December 17th, 1817, 7th.

DEAR GOVERNOR:

Colonel Vicente Sucre is to be considered not only as the Governor of the forts of Old Guayana, but also as the Military Commander of the Department of the Lower Orinoco, entrusted with the command of the line formed by the chain of towns from Carmache to Piacoa, as its immediate Commander. I pray your Excellency to so apprise him, and to communicate the fact to those who should be so informed.

God keep your Excellency many years.

SIMON BOLIVAR.”

But the object in bringing forth this document is not expressed.

2. Then this remark was made:

It is impossible to appreciate the relevancy of the citation made by the Blue Book, wherein the translator says *General* instead of *Colonel* Sucre, *fort* instead of *forts* of Old Guiana, and *of the Orinoco to the old mouth* instead of *Department of the Lower Orinoco*—as is expressed in the aforesaid resolution. There being no apparent connection between the words quoted and the question of boundary, it seems probable that the compiler of the Blue Book did not complete the expression of his idea.

This same remark might again appropriately be made, because, although it is true that the original document of Bolivar has been quoted and that it has been translated less incorrectly than before, it is nevertheless true, that no mention of this decree is to be found in the arguments or exposition of the British side of the question, nor any reference whatever as to the purpose of its introduction. Even the words which the Blue Book No. 1 contained with reference to it have been omitted from the latest English documents.

No. 138.

It has been asserted by some, that the question refers to a decree issued by the *Liberator*, under date of October 15th, 1817, after he had taken possession of the province of Guayana. In this document, it appears to be divided into 3 departments. The third is known as the Lower Orinoco, with the following boundaries: To the North, the streams of the Orinoco from the mouth of the Caroni to where the Rio Grande empties into the ocean *and the coast of the sea as far as the fort Muruca, inclusive*. To the East and South, the boundaries are the foreign possessions, the Western boundaries are determined by the Eastern boundaries of the Central Department.

These latter are "the streams of this river (Caroni) up to its origin, in a straight line toward the Parime lake, and thence, to the Amanovise river, as far as its union with the Parime river."

This decree was sent by the Governor of Guayana, Señor Pedro Folastero, with his report of December 6th, 1831, to the Deputy of that province, Señor Manuel de Aurrecochea, and it is certified to by Señor Felipe Delepiani, Secretary, under date of the 3d of the same month. It came to this Ministry, with the following report of the Governor of Guiana, Señor Pedro Navarro, who, on the 5th of October of 1841, said to the Secretary of State at the office of the Treasury Department:

"Investigating the question of the boundaries of Guiana that this government is now discussing with the English nation, there came to my notice that Señor Manuel de Aurrecochea, Custom House Superintendant at this port, retained in his keeping a certified copy, bearing the signature of the secretary of the State Department in Guiana, of the royal letter patent, issued by the King of Spain at Aranjuez, on May 5th, 1768, and of the decree published by the *Liberator President of Colombia*, at Angostura, the 15th of October, 1817, together with a document in which the Governor of that province handed them over to Aurrecochea, as the representative of that district in 1831."

"Yesterday I officially requested Mr. Aurrecochea to send me the aforesaid three documents, which he very patriotically has already done. And as they may prove of use to the government in the said question, I hasten to forward them, by the present mail, precisely as they came to my hands, as there is no time to make authorized copies of them."

"In the meantime, I am still awaiting the information which your Excellency desired to know, in your communication of the 2nd of last month, and to ascertain which I have addressed myself to all the province; and it would afford me great satisfaction if I could find something among the results of my labors, that might prove of use, and which I would hasten to inform you of.

I remain, Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) P. NAVARRO."

No. 138.

The document to which Señor P. Navarro refers is as follows:

"Venezuela. Government of the Province of Guayana."

Angostura, Dec. 6th, 1831.

To the Deputy of this Province,

Manuel de Aurrecochea.

"Obediently to your communication, dated 3rd of the present month, you will find enclosed the two copies, duly authorized and sealed, by the undersigned, the Secretary of this government, relative to the decrees to which Your Excellency refers with regard to creating this portion of the territory of Venezuela into a province, according to the royal letter patent of the 5th of May, 1768, and the decree issued by General Bolivar, during his term as *Supreme Chief*, on the 15th of October, 1817.

"I have the honor to fulfil your Excellency's wishes, these documents having been obtained from a private individual, because our Archives contain nothing referring to the matter.

With best regards, I beg leave to remain,

Obedient servant,

(Signed) PEDRO VOLASTERO."

Nothing more is required to make it clear that the decree attributed to Bolivar is not an authentic document, because it is not to be found in the government archives at Guiana and the copy herewith presented was furnished in 1831 to the Governor, Pedro Volastero, by an *individual whose name is not even mentioned*.

It may be noted, in passing, that the Royal decree of May 5, 1768, is not, as has been said, the one which created the province of Guiana, but treats of adding to it the many settlements of the *upper and lower Orinoco and the River Negro* (Black river). The province of Guayana already existed in 1762, as the title bestowed on Colonel Don Joaquin Moreno de Mendoza, the 4th of June of that year, proves, he being named officer for the whole district, said territory being considered a military command. As for the rest, according to Alulo, there had been Governors in Guayana since 1568, when Don Diego Fernandez de Zerpa went there, with the title of Governor, of whatever he might conquer, by means of his men, arms and ammunition. It was then called New Andalucia, and it included Cumaná. Afterwards the latter was separated from Guayana; this occurred in the year 1762.

Going back to Bolivar's decree, it is observed that the Venezuelan government has never made use of it, nor mentioned it at all, and that it is not to be found in any official publication. Neither was it included among the documents collected for the public life of the Liberator, by men as well informed as Señores Doctor Francisco Javier Yanes, General José Félix Blanco y Ramón Azpurúa, nor is it cited in the respective histories of Restrepo, Montenegro, Baralt, Austria, O'Leary or Larrazábal.

But there is still more. Bolivar, as the Supreme Chief of Venezuela, did not possess the authority to determine the territorial boundaries. This pertained solely to the Congress that would assemble after the war,

No. 138.

and the Colombian Congress, which met in Cucuta, in the year 1821, fixed the boundaries as follows:

The territory of the republic of Colombia will be that comprised between the boundaries of the old Captaincy-General of Venezuela, and the Viceroyship and Captaincy-General of the New Kingdom of Granada, but the determination of its precise limits is reserved for a more opportune time.

This is said in Article 5 of the fundamental law of the union of the peoples of Colombia. The Constitution of the Republic of Colombia, which came later on, said, in Article 6:

The territory of Colombia is the same that was comprised in the old viceroyship of New Granada and the Captaincy-General of Venezuela.

And the 7th says:

The people within the expressed limits, that are still under the Spanish yoke, at whatever time they may become free, will become part of the republic, with rights and representation equal to those of the others, who compose it.

The Government of Colombia, far from believing that the boundary with the British Guiana was at the Moroco, said through its illustrious Minister, Doctor Pedro Gual, five years after the date of the aforementioned decree of Bolivar, viz., July 12th, 1822, to Señor José Rafael Revenga, appointed first-class Minister to the Government of His Britannic Majesty, in the list of instructions:

. . . Allow me, nevertheless, to call your special attention to article 2 of the draft of the treaty on limits. The English are now in possession of Dutch Guiana, being therefore our neighbors on that side. Therefore you must agree as exactly as possible upon the dividing line between one and the other territory, in accordance with the latest treaties between Spain and Holland. The colonists of Demerara and Berbice have usurped a large tract of land that, according to said treaties, *belongs to us on the side of the Essequibo river*. It is absolutely necessary that said colonists either place themselves under the protection of and submission to our laws, or else retire to their former possessions. To this end they should be granted the necessary time according to the provisions in the draft for the treaty.

This passage is taken from the book "Diplomatic Annals of Colombia," by Pedro Ignacio Cadena, official edition, Bogota, published by Manuel de J. Barrera, 1878, and is reproduced as the first document of the "Official History of the discussion between Venezuela and Great Britain, on their Guiana boundaries"; and which was presented to the Commission at Washington.

Another distinguished person, Señor Doctor José Maria Restrepo, Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Colombia, in the Atlas, which accompanied his history of the revolution in Colombia, published for the first time in 1827, wrote this note, brought forward by Dr. Eduardo Calcaño, in his communication to Earl Derby, on the 14th of November, 1876: "*The boundaries of the Guiana, which to day is English, were traced in conformity to the possession that Spain had as far as the Essequibo river, and it is marked in the best maps published in England itself.*"

CARACAS, JUNE 20, 1898.

(Signed) RAFAEL SEIJAS.

No. 139.

Affidavit of Davis Francis Turnbull, of North Cambridge, Massachusetts, U. S. A., Engineer, as to a survey of the Lower Orinoco, April 16, 1897.

[From the original.]

My name is Davis Francis Turnbull; I am a citizen of the United States, at North Cambridge, Massachusetts. I am an Engineer by profession, and was educated at the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University.

I returned a few weeks ago from Imataca, on the lower Orinoco river in Venezuela. I lived there one year engaged upon and in connection with an iron mine owned by my father, Mr. George Turnbull, but at present worked by a syndicate, by whom I am employed.

Our mail station is Barancas, which is on the Orinoco, about five miles above where the Macareo branch leaves the Orinoco, and which is a landing place of the steamers that run from Trinidad to Ciudad Bolivar. Our telegraph place is "the Castle"—"old Guayana." This place is an ancient military post with two forts; one just rebuilt. We have a steam launch and canoe, with which we are in the habit of going for mail, etc., and I have, in one or the other of these, gone up and down the river a very great many times. In doing this I have made running surveys of the river and know it pretty thoroughly from Imataca to Barancas. I have also been down the river to Barima, and part way up the Amacura and the Brazo Barima.

I proceed to give a geographical account, particularly of the South bank of the Orinoco between "Old Guayana" and Barima Point. It can be understood from any late map of the region; but even the best maps which I can find of it do not give the course of the river, nor the islands in it with entire correctness, and do not intelligently represent the characteristic geographical features of the south side of the Orinoco at this point. I annex to this affidavit a map prepared by myself, which I believe to be correct. Besides my own knowledge, I have availed myself of a running survey made by the U. S. Steamship Kearsarge four or five years ago.

The Orinoco is a river of large volume and is subject to periodical rises. It begins to swell about April or May, remains high throughout the summer, falls in the autumn, and reaches its lowest point in the early part of March. At Ciudad Bolivar it rises sometimes 60 feet; usually near 50 feet. Near the sea and below the head of the passes, where the water-ways are much larger and from proximity to the sea, the water has a better chance to run off, the rise is much less; the rise at Imataca is not far from fifteen feet. The river is heavily charged with mud, and in the region I am speaking of it makes large deposits very rapidly in edies and slack water spots; and, upon a slight change in force or direction of the current, will rapidly cut away what has previously been deposited by it—the alluvial banks as well at the flats and bars. Below Las Tablas the main river is divided into channels separated by islands, or it may be looked at as being very

No. 139.

wide and much filled with large islands. Of course, in some of these channels the current is strong and there is considerable scour.

The Orinoco has a delta on its north side and on its south side consisting of the usual delta swamp formation, intersected with bayous generally large and deep in proportion to the amount of water which passes through them, but more or less obstructed by mud banks or bars, and, in the case of the smaller ones, by fallen trees. Pretty much the whole seems to be covered with a dense growth of swamp trees. The banks of the water-courses where the current is more active are often or perhaps for the most part raised into natural dykes, behind which the ground slopes off and is under water in the wet season.

On the North side and in descending the river, the really firm land stops about at the head of Brazo Macareo; below that is the delta. At Barancas the land is a little above high water; thence, in following the Macaroo pass, for example, the surface rapidly falls to below high water, and at the ocean ends in flats, which run well out to sea below low water.

On the South side there is firm land down as far as Imataca. It does not consist of a continuous firm bank to the river, but of a series of spurs which run out east-northeast from the main Imataca range of mountains. The river runs to the north of east; the main Imataca range trends to the south of east, so that it recedes from the river. These spurs run out obliquely towards the river. As the general course of the Orinoco is to the east, these spurs approach it obliquely, and thus serve to keep the river from cutting to the south. Between these spurs there are what one may call bays filled with river mud more or less consolidated into swamp or firm savannah, and sometimes bayou branches or arms start off from the river, follow the foot of the hills for a while and then rejoin the river. Near Sta. Catalina this arm which follows the foot of the hills is so large as to be virtually a main stream, which thus seems to make a great bend at its south side, leaving large islands between it and the northern channel. As this channel runs about east-northeast, the spurs, which run in about the same direction, seem to lie parallel to the river. Amongst these ranges of hills, none of which are high, and which, so far as I have learnt, are rather rolling, there are savannahs of grass, under water in their lower portions in the wet season, but dry and firm in the high parts. The ridges are generally timbered. Near the river and streams the undergrowth of bush and vines is very thick; when the ground is drier the forest is more open and comparatively easy to pass through.

These spurs which, on the south bank, reach down the river as far as the town of Imataca (back of which the main range of the Imataca mountains trends off more to the south), the ends of these spurs seem to stop further off to the south and the sort of great natural bay thus left by them has been filled up with mud and sand, making the great southern delta of the Orinoco.

No. 139.

Thus, if a person coming down the river, finds on the south bank of the river more or less firm land until he gets to Imataca; below that nothing but delta swamp, largely under water in the wet season, with an occasional bank of hummock where a few Indians live. The spurs terminate too far back from the river to be visible.

Imataca town is in $8^{\circ} 29'$ north latitude and $61^{\circ} 18'$ longitude west from Greenwich.

Thus from the Imataca range a series of spur-like formations run out in an E-N-E. direction towards the Orinoco; these prevent the river, in general terms, from cutting away its south bank. Between each of these low ridges there is a drainage stream which finds its way into the Orinoco; and the lower portion of each of these streams generally flows through an alluvial swamp-like region.

Opposite and on the south side of Tortola Island the southern branch of the Orinoco has a large bend flowing E-N-E; and here the river and ridges are approximately parallel. Sta. Clara (the American Balata factory) and Sta. Catalina (a Venezuelan village—*i. e.*, white people and mixed white and Indians) are on this channel. This south bank here is firm, except occasionally there is the mouth of a creek with a bit of swamp. Sta. Clara and Sta. Catalina are the ends of two subordinate spurs which come out to the river. These two towns stand on two ledges with wet land between them. Sta. Clara is about 60 feet above the river and Sta. Catalina is 50 feet. In high water the river here rises 15 to 18 feet.

Piacoa is two or three miles up stream from the Tortola cross-channel, about 20 miles above Sta. Catalina. This is above the oblique spurs which I have spoken of; and here there is a low range forming the true river bank, with a little alluvial deposit in front of it at places. Behind this low range, which is parallel to the river and also to the main range far inland, there is a stretch of savannah, and then another rolling range, and so on. The "Castle" (Old Guayana) is on a strong and rocky headland, forming part of this same range. This rocky range seems to cross the Orinoco river at the Castle and is the first rock large enough to cross the river which one meets in ascending. Piacoa stands on the lower northern slope of the most northern of these parallel rolls, about a mile back from the main river, but is reached by a waterway about 20 feet wide, deep enough for light draught steam launches. The main-water way from Piacoa by Santa Catalina is about a mile wide. Not far below Piacoa caño a ledge crosses the river emerging as the high land at the western end of Tortola island and making a bad whirlpool where it crosses the river.

The oblique spur which I have been speaking of and which may be considered the most westerly one, reached the Orinoco finally at St. Helena; but long before reaching there, it breaks down into a mere succession of low hills connected by slight ridges. At St. Helena it ends in a very low ledge, 10 or 15 feet above the river and runs under the river. This rocky termination is called Punta Piedra by the pilots.

No. 139.

Next east of this is another of these E-N-Espurs. Between these two ridges is a considerable drainage stream the precise position and character of which I do not know. Men have crossed it pretty well up in passing from one ridge to the other.

The ridge back of Sta. Catalina is heavily-wooded with much balata—balata is a tree which sometimes reaches 100 feet in height. Generally speaking the ridges are wooded, and after you get back a few miles back from the river or stream the vines and underbush ceases and there is comparatively clear walking through the forest. There are also, near the streams, savannahs, wet or dry according to the season.

East of the last ridge I have spoken of comes the Toro river. The next considerable spur or ridge to the east is the one which terminates at the town of Imataca, close to Corisimo caño and island. Between the Toro river and Corasimo is a large stretch of savannah (flooded in the very highest water, but good for grazing), intersected with some caños.

Considering now Imataca town: It stands on the north slope of the last end of the spur from the Imataca mountains. This spur is here about 175 feet high. Beyond it however are some low detached hills which might be considered as prolongations of it—some on Corisimo Island, and one a little lower down, say 100 feet high. These are the last hills seen in descending the Orinoco. About here the main Imataca range (consequently its spurs) trend off towards the south and therefore appear to recede from the water. The intervening land is Orinoco delta. The hill on which the town of Imataca is situated has an iron mine now worked in metamorphosed rock; all these hills are of a similar formation. There is much clay hardened with iron thereabouts.

Below this to the ocean, the banks of the Orinoco are entirely alluvial swamp or delta.

Imataca town, which rises directly from the water, stands strictly speaking not on the Orinoco but on the Corisimo. The Corisimo is however not a drainage stream simply but rather a part or arm of the main river. It makes in from the Orinoco proper as a waterway 350 yards wide, with a wide channel carrying 30 feet of water and more. This reaches to the town of Imataca, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the river proper, and then bends to the east-northeast, and gets back to the Orinoco. This waterway is, at Imataca town, as large and deep as I have stated and so continues, substantially, until it again reaches the main river. I have been through it in a steam launch. The Orinoquito, a caño which joins the Corisimo with the Aquire, appears to be about 100 feet wide, but is so clogged with fallen trees that steam launches do not use it. It is a good canoe stream.

On the north side of the Orinoco proper from the Macareo down to about opposite Sacapana, there were, a few years ago, a string of conucos or farms on the natural dyke of the river edge, worked by half-breeds. We do not call these people Indians; the principal population hereabouts is of these persons; St. Catalina is full of them. They are Venezuelans in

No. 139.

this district. They are a mixture of Spanish and Indians, with sometimes a little negro. Pure whites are generally called *Castillanos*. In the Piacoa district there are some very good families of pure blood—some of the Della Costas, for example.

This strip of ground which I have spoken of as cultivated is marked on the "Kearsarge" survey as cultivated ground. But in 1892 (a year of great flood) it was flooded and drowned out, and has not been cultivated since. The people mostly moved to Sta. Catalina and Piacoa. The "Kearsarge" survey is a running survey made by the United States steamship *Kearsarge* when she went up the Orinoco to Ciudad Bolivar about 1892 or 1893.

(Signed) D. F. TURNBULL.

Sworn to before me April }
16th, A. D., 1897. }

ROBERT LEVI,
[SEAL.] Notary Public.

No. 140.

Affidavit of Eugenio J. Monge as to a journey from Trinidad to Angostura and thence down the Cuyuni, June 27, 1898.

[From the original.]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, SS.:

E. J. MONGE, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

In the early part of 1896 I made a trip from Trinidad to Angostura, entering the Orinoco by way of the Macareo. The southern bank of the Orinoco from the head of the delta upstream is generally open country, with here and there bits of wood, but free from forests. After remaining a short time at Angostura, I descended the Orinoco as far as the Caroni and San Felix. Leaving San Felix and traveling in a southeasterly direction, our party crossed a range of hills somewhat wooded, but easy to traverse. Descending on the other side of this range we reached Upata, which lies in a savannah country. From Upata we proceeded through savannahs to Guacipati. From the latter place we continued to El Callao and from there to Tumeremo, traveling all the time through savannahs. During the latter part of this journey, and before reaching Tumeremo, a well defined line of thick forest was visible on our left, running in a general direction from northwest to southeast. After bearing Tumeremo we traveled in a southwesterly direction, some fifteen or twenty leagues to a place called Boca del Monte, where a stockyard is located. Boca del

No. 140.

Monte is situated at the entrance to the forest region, the line of the forest here running from northeast to southwest. From Boca del Monte we traveled in a southerly direction though a little to the east, for a distance of about ten leagues through a country covered by an impenetrable forest. The road is cut directly through this forest and connects Boca del Monte with the Venezuelan town of El Dorado at the junction of the Cuyuni and the Yuruan. El Dorado is built upon ground which has been cleared of the forests, and on the opposite side of the Cuyuni is the British frontier station, which has also been built upon cleared ground.

(Signed) EUGENIO J. MONGE.

Sworn to before me this }
27th day of June, 1898. }

EDW. A. MOSELEY,

[SEAL.]

Notary Public.

APPENDIX

PART 7.

Documents printed in the Venezuelan Case and here printed again
accompanied by the original Spanish text.

The following documents bear the same numbers as in the Venezuelan Case Vol. 2, viz.: 438, 463, 464, 467, 468 and 471. They are printed from certified copies which have been procured at the request of the Agent of the British Government, made in accordance with Article VII of the Treaty of Arbitration.

No. 438.

Diary of Matheo Beltran, Commander of the Revenue Cutter in the Orinoco, 1785.

[Printed from a certified copy of the original in the Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas.]

Diario. Guayana y Junio 23, de 1785. Diary. Guiana, June 23, 1785.

Dia 23. Haviendo salido de esta Capital por mandado del S^r Gov y Com^{te} Grâl D^a Miguel Marmion haciendo la derrota á la boca grande de Orinoco, y de alli pasarme al caño de Barima el mismo dia á las diez de la noche llegamos al Puerto de San Miguel.

Ytt. 24. Al amanecer embarcamos el Cazabe, y en aquellas mismas horas salimos del dho Puerto, y á las doze del dia llegamos al Presidio, y empezé á componer la Lancha.

Ytt. 25. Al amanecer compusimos las Armas, y hizimos los cartuchos del cañon, y de los Pedreros, y el mismo dia á las dos de la tarde nos largamos á nuestro destino con cuatro Indios tres mios, y uno que me dio el S^r Comt^e D^a Anton^o Perella, p^r que los que saqué del Capital se fueron, y aunque el S^r Comt^e le escrivió al Padre no las quiso mandar.

Ytt. 26. Amanecimos en las Islas de Portuguesas, y á las ocho del dia encantramos dos curiaras de Indios Guaraunos, y me dieron por noticia que estaba una Goleta pescando en la boca de Guayna, y spre. voy siguiendo mi derrota. El mismo dia á las onze de la noche dormimos en la buelta del Diablo.

23d day. Having left this capital by order of the Governor and Commander-General Don Miguel Marmion, steering in a straight course to the great mouth of the Orinoco, from thence passing into Barima creek, on the same day, at ten o'clock at night, we arrived at the Port of San Miguel.

24th day. At dawn we took on board the cassave, and at that same hour we left the said port, and at twelve o'clock we arrived at the Presidio, and I began to put the launch in order.

25th day. At daybreak we put our arms in order and made the cartridges for the cannon and for the swivel guns; and, on the same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we set forth on the way to our destination, with four Indians, three being mine and one being given to me by the Commander, Don Antonio Perella, because those whom I took out of the capital went away, and although the Commander wrote to the *father* he would not send them back.

26th day. Daybreak found us at the Portuguese islands, and at eight o'clock in the morning we found two *curiaras* belonging to Guarauno Indians, who informed me that there was a schooner fishing in the mouth of the Waini, and I steered straight ahead; the same day, at eleven o'clock at night, we slept at the Vuelta del Diablo.

No. 438.

Ytt. 27. A las tres de la mañana me lebé y á las ocho de la mañana encontramos quatro curiaras de Indios de la Mission de Morocure en la boca de Arature con el Artillero Jossef-Maria por mandado del S^r Com^o hiba el dho Artillero, y dos Indios Guaraunos llebaban de Pratico p^a el dho caño que heran de una Rancheria de la boca, y me dieron por noticia que estaban tres negros á dentro biviendo con unos Indios, y por cuio motivo les impedi á que entrasen en ella hasta que yo no retornara mi viaje, y les quité los dos Indios para que fueran conmigo: El mismo dia á las tres de la tarde encontramos tres Indios caribes del Pueblo del Cumaco de la Mission de los Padres Capuchinos Cathalanes los quales me dijeron que habian bajado por las cavezeras del caño de Barima en cáscaras de palo á los quales no se les encontro Liz^a ninguna, y preguntadoles por noticias del caño de Barima me dijeron que no habian visto nada: y no se les encontraron en su curiara nada mas de nueve Achas, y un Mapire de Zirumas, y el mismo dia dormimos en la punta de Cangrejo.

Ytt. 28. A las diez del dia me lebé, y á las dos de la tarde llegamos á la boca de *Macuro*, y estube aguardando las Marea para seguir mi destino y en este tiempo mande á buscar tres capitanejos que el uno vivia á dentro de *Amacuro* en las casas que heran de los caribes el tpo antepassado, y los otros dos vivian en la boca de la Mar entre el caño de Barima, y *Amaruco*, y los hice preguntar que si adentro de

27th day. At three o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor, and at eight o'clock we found four "curiaras" of Indians, belonging to the mission of Morocure at the mouth of the Arature, with the gunner, Josef Maria, by order of the Commander; the said gunner, went, with two Guarauno Indians as guides for said creek; they were from a hut on the mouth, and they informed me that there were three negroes inside living with some Indians, for which reason I forbade them to enter the place until my return from the trip, and I took the two Indians from them to accompany me. The same day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we met three Carib Indians from the village of Cumaco of the mission of the Catalan Capuchin Fathers and they informed me that they had come down from the headwaters of the Barima creek in bark canoes, and no permit was found on them, and having asked them for news of the Barima creek they told me they had seen nothing, and nothing was found in the curiara but nine hatchets and one *Mapire de totumo* [water gourd] and that same night we slept at Cangrejo [crab] Point.

28th day. At ten o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor, and at two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the mouth of the Amacura, where I waited for the tide to go on my way; meanwhile I sent for the three chieftains, one of whom lived at *Amacura* in the dwellings that belonged to the Caribs in time past, and the other two lived at the mouth of the sea, between Barima creek and *Amacura*, and I ordered them

No. 438.

Amaruco havia Negros viviendo con Indios Caribes; y me dijeron que no, que aun caribes habia tampoco.

Ytt. 29. Me lebé á las onze de la noche, y á las dos de la madrugada me di fondo en la boca de Barima, y al Amanecer el dia despache al Patron en una curiara con ocho hombres de bijia caño arriba, y á las cinco de la tarde bolvio á bordo, y me dijo que no habia visto nada, solamente que havia visto una Piragua, y dos curiaras que estaban escondidas en el Monte á donde tenian la Rancheria unos Indios Guaraunos tierra adentro, y al cabo de poco rato aparecieron dos curiaras de Indios Guaraunos y hicimos venir uno abordo, y me dijeron que heran Indios de Sacopana que huyendo de los Indios Caribes, y que se hallaban dentro del caño de Barima, y Amacuro cerca de tres mil Indios huyendo del rigor tan grande de Orinoco, y preguntado por el Interprete Indio de la misma Nacion llamado Afortunado, que si en el Rio de Barima havia Barcos de alguna Nacion ó algunos Negros viviendo con los Indios en el monte dijo: que no: que solamente en Guayna entraban Goletas de Demeraria, y Esquivo á Pesqueria, y a cortar Timite para Cobijar, y Fabricar sus casas.

30. Dormimos en la boca de Mura.

1º de Julio. A las cinco de la mañana atravezamos á la boca de Guayma y visitandola toda no se ha encontrado nada mas que adonde estuvieron les Olandeses pescando,

to be asked whether there were any negroes living at Amacura with Carib Indians and they said there were none, nor even any Carib Indians there.

29th day. I weighed anchor at eleven o'clock at night, and at two o'clock in the morning I anchored at the mouth of the Barima, and at daybreak I sent the coxswain in a *curiara*, with eight scouts, up the creek, and at five o'clock in the afternoon he returned, saying that all he had seen was one dug-out and two *curiaras* concealed in the bushes, where some Guarauano Indians had a hut inland; and a short time after that some Guarauano Indians appeared in two *curiaras* and we made them come on board, and they told me that they were Indians from Sacupana fleeing from the Carib Indians, and that on Barima creek and Amacuro there were about 3,000 Indians fleeing from the severity (the floods?) of the Orinoco, and being asked by the Indian interpreter of the same nation, named Afortunado, as to whether there were any vessels of any nation on the river Barima or any negroes living with Indians in the woods, he replied that there were none, and that only in Waini did any schooners enter from Demerara and Esse-quiibo for fishing purposes and to cut *timite* to cover and build their dwellings.

30th day. We slept in the mouth of the Mura.

1st day of July. At five o'clock in the morning we crossed to the mouth of the Waini, and after visiting every part of it nothing was found but the places where the Dutch

No. 438.

y salando Pescado, (y vino bien con lo que dijo el Indio), que el día último que habian estado dos Golelas cargando Timite y una Pescando, y que se habian ido; y pregunté á Silvestre Rodriguez haver si sabrá otra parte alguna donde se podia lograr el encargo que le hicieron, y respondió que no pues habian dicho los Capitanejos de Amacuro que adentro no habia negros ni caribes, que desde que sacaron los caribes que mandaron á sacar los de esta capital desde entonces que no habia ninguno, y el mismo me regresé á la capital.

2. Sali de Guayna y vine al caño de Barima.

3. A las cinco de la tarde me largué de la boca de Barima, y el mismo día á la tarde vinieron cuatro curiaras de Guaraumo á bordo que venian de buscar cangrejos, y dijeron que sus Capitanejos estaban aprontando para venir á esta Capital, y pregunte otra vuelta haver si sabian de algunos negros que estaban en Amacuro ó si sabian si estaban en otros algunos caños cercanos; dijeron que no: que solamente unos días atras habian bajado unos olandeses con unos Poytos á las cabeceras de Barima; y que ya se los habian llevado á Essequibo: el mismo día á las siete de la noche me largue de la dicha boca.

4. Amaneci en la boca de Aratures, y despache al patron con la curiara por el caño arriba, con gente á una rancheria de Guaraunos que habia adentro,—y mande que me

were fishing and salting fish (and this agreed with the information given by the Indians), and that the last day of the month there were two schooners loading "timite" and one fishing, and that they had gone; and I asked Silvestre Rodriguez whether he might know of any other place where we might fulfill the commission entrusted to us, and he answered that he did not, for the chieftains of Amacuro had said that there were no negroes there, neither Caribs; that those that were in this capital were ordered to be taken away, and since then there had been none, and on that same day I returned to the capital.

2d day. I left Waini and came to Barima creek.

3d day. At five o'clock in the afternoon I sailed from the mouth of the Barima, and on the same day in the afternoon there came some Guaraunos in four *curiaras*, who were returning from crabbing, and they said that their chiefs were making ready to come to this capital. I enquired once again whether they knew of any negroes dwelling in Amacura, or whether they knew if there were any in the neighboring creeks, and they said no, that only some days previous some Hollanders had come down with a few Poytos to the head-waters of the Barima, and that they had taken them to Essequibo; that same day, at seven o'clock in the evening, I sailed away from said mouth.

4th day. At daybreak I was at the mouth of the Arature, and I despatched the coxswain up the creek in a *curiara*, manned with some sailors, to a hut of Guaraunos,

No. 438.

trujieran el Capit^a. á bordo, y vino con él á las onze del dia, y quando estuvo á bordo, se le hizo preguntar haver si en Arature o en Amacuro ú en otros caños inmediatos habian algunos negros viviendo con la Nacion Cariba, y responde á que no que nunca lo habian oido ni visto: y en las mismas horas seguí mi destino, y dormí en la pasa de Juncos.

5°. A las cuatro de la mañana me lebé, y vine á dormir al caño de Loran por no haber tenido viento.

6°. A las cuatro de la mañana me lebé y vine á dormir á la boca de Sacupana.

7. Por la mañana despache al Patron á una rancheria de Indios que habia adentro del caño á saber algunas noticias donde las encontró bacías y se bolvió á bordo, y luego me puse á la vela para la capital, y el mismo dia dormí en la vuelta de la Portuguesa porque se calmó el viento.

8. Me levé á las cinco de la mañana y vine al Presidió á las ocho de la noche.

Dia nueve—me mantuve esperando las cartas del Sr. Comt^a.

Dia diez.

Dia onze. Salimos del Presidio, y venimos á amanecer á la boca de Caroni.

El dia doce. Subimos á San-Joaquin en busca de un poco de tabaco que se hallaba en el Puerto para la Administracion, el mismo dia dormimos en la dicha boca: el dia trece al amanecer me levé para la Capital.

that was inland, with orders to bring the chief to me, and they returned with him at eleven o'clock in the day, and when he came on board I had him interrogated as to whether he knew of any negroes living with Carib Indians either at Arature or Amacura, or other nearby creeks, and he answered that he had neither seen nor heard of any; and at the same hour I went on my way and slept in the *Pasa de Juncos*.

5th day. At four o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor and slept that night in Loran creek, as there was no wind.

6th day. At four o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor and slept at the mouth of the Sacupana.

7th day. In the morning I sent off the coxswain to an Indian hut, which was up the creek, to get information. He found them empty, and came back on board, and then I set sail for the capital, and that same night I slept off the Portuguesa, because the wind died out.

8th day. I weighed anchor at five o'clock in the morning and arrived at the Presidio at eight at night.

9th day. I awaited letters from the Commandant.

10th day.

11th day. We left the Presidio and arrived at daybreak at the mouth of the Caroni.

12th day. We went up to San Joaquin for some tobacco, which was at the port for the Administration. The same day we slept in said mouth.

13th day. I weighed anchor at daybreak, bound for the capital.

No. 438.

Es copia á la letra del original de su contenido que queda en el Archivo de la Secretaria de este Gobierno.

Guayana 16. de Septiembre de 1785.

(firmado) MARMION.
(Rúbrica.)

A true copy of the original, which is on file in the archives of the office of the Government Secretary.

Guayana, September 16, 1785.

(signed) MARMION.
(Rubric.)

No. 463.

Letter from Luis Antonio Gil in Guayana to Pedro de Lerena, dated March 10,* 1792, as to the Trouble with the Indians on the Cuyuni.

[Printed from a certified copy of the original in the Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas.]

No. 44.

El Gob^o Int^o de Guay^{na}.

Avisa la novedad ocurrida en el Rio Coyuni y el levantamiento ó fuga q^e han hecho los Indios del Pueblo de Cura, uno de los que Doctrinan los P. P. Capuchinos Catalanes.

Por la copia que adjunto dirixo á V. S. como lo executo á la capitanía General reconocerá la novedad ocurrida en el Rio Coyuni, que desagua al de la Colonia de Esquibo, la noticia de la reunion de los Indios provistos de Armas de fuego, y abrigados de una Estacada en la Isla, mas abajo de la boca del Rio Masuruni, que se le une al de Coyuni necesita confirmacion; pero no obstante a precaucion, y por lo que pueda suceder, he dado mis providencias de auxiliar en el modo posible que permiten las circunstancias presentes, á aquel Sargento Commandante que está destacado en la casa fuerte ó Garita del Rio Coyuni; encargándole se asegure de la certidumbre del asunto; pues de realizarse es preciso reforzar aquel Puesto, por ser una abenida abierta

No. 44.

The temporary Governor of Guiana, giving information of the trouble which occurred on the river Cuyuni and of the revolt or flight of the Indians of the town of Cura, which belongs to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Catalanian Capuchin Fathers.

By the copy which I hereby send to Your Excellency, as I also do to the Captaincy-General, Your Excellency will be informed of the trouble occurring on the river Cuyuni, which flows into that of the Colony of Essequibo; the news of the gathering of the Indians provided with fire-arms and protected by an entrenchment of stakes on the island further down on the mouth of the river Mazaruni, which flows into the Cuyuni, needs confirmation; but, notwithstanding, for the sake of precaution and for fear of what might happen, I have given my instructions for aiding, in case of need, as far as present circumstances will allow, the Sergeant Commander, who is detailed in the stronghold or sentry-post on the Cuyuni river, charging him to ascertain the truth

* Erroneously printed 1 in Venezuelan Case, vol. 2, p. 480.

No. 463.

para la Colonia de Esquivo y paso para los fugitivos y para los que no lo son, y transitan aqual Rio; y debe desbanezarse, tambien es indispensable meditar el modo mejor, y mas seguro de la subsistencia de la tropa que lo guarnece, como sobre esto le hago una insinuacion al P^o Prefecto de los Capuchinos Catalanes de estas Misiones, en carta de 22 de Febrero ultimo.

Aunque el mismo Preft^o me avisa la fuga de los Indios del Pueblo de Cura sin decirme el num^o des Almas, se ha sabido por particulares noticias, que pasaban de ochocientos con algunos que se les agregaron de otras dos Misiones inmediatas, habiendo marchado en seguimiento de estas Gentes el expresado Sarg^o Bommon con el auxilio de los vecinos de la villa de Upata que le remitió el Tent^o y los Milicianos de esta Capital que pudo recoger de pronto de los que hacen el servicio en aquella escolta dispersos en diferentes y distintos Pueblos, hasta ahora no se save con que resultas ha regresado.

En este estado se hallan las noticias que comprehenden las cartas avisos de la adjunta Copia, y segun respectivamente se fueren realizando ò desvaneciendo, pasaré a V. S. las mas puntualmente.

Dios guarde a V. S. muchos años.

Guayana 10 de Marzo de 1792.

(firmado) Luis Ant^o Jil,

(Rúbrica.)

of the matter. In case our fears are realized it will be necessary to strengthen that stronghold, it being an open avenue for the Colony of the Essequibo and a road for the fugitives and for others who are not fugitives and wish to travel by the river to leave the place; it is also indispensable that some means should be devised for the subsistence of the troops who man this place, and to this end I make a suggestion to the Father Prefect of the Catalanian Capuchins of these Missions, in a letter dated February 22d ult.

Although the same Prefect advised me of the flight of the Indians from the village of Cura, without informing me of their numbers, I have had private information that there were over eight hundred of them, together with others who joined them from two other Missions in the vicinity—Sergeant Bommon having set out to pursue the fugitives, aided by such of the residents of the town of Upata as could be collected at that time by the lieutenant, and also the militia of this capital, and who served as a guard, dispersed in various distant towns. Up to the present time I know nothing of the results of the steps they have taken.

This is the state of affairs, as shown by the letters, copy of which is enclosed, and according as events transpire I shall keep Your Excellency promptly advised of the same.

God save Your Excellency many years.

Guiana, March 10, 1792.

(signed) Luis Ant^o Jil.

(Rubric.)

No. 464.

Letter from the Superintendent-General Sub-Delegate of the Royal Treasury, Don Pedro de Lerena, to the Temporary Governor of Guayana, Don Luis Antonio Gil, dated Caracas, April 11, 1792.

[Printed from a certified copy of the original in the Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas.]

Por la representación de V. S. de 10 de Marzo ult^o N^o 14 y copia de los avisos dirigidos por el Prefecto de las misiones de Capuchinos de esa Prov^a y Sarg^t Comand^o destacado en la Garita del rio Cuyuni, he visto la fuga ejecutada por los Indios del Pueblo de Cura y sus inmediatas Misiones hasta en num^o de 800 o más personas, y espero que las acertadas providas que V. S. ha tomado para hacerlos restituir a sus respectivos domicilios, no se malogren, y tengan el buen éxito que apetece, pero para tranquilizar las inquietudes de esas gentes que viven en la oscuridad de su origen, convendria mucho se esforzase V. S. á persuadir á algunas familias de Europeos o Criollos a que se estableciesen en los Pueblos de Indios á proporcion del num^o de estos que habiere en cada uno de ellos, que el trato de aquellos les enseñe el idioma Español y las racionales xp^{na}. costum bres de que Carecen.

Dios, &c.,

Caracas 11 de Ab^l de 1792.

(Rúbrica)

S^{or} Gob^r Int^o de la Prov^a de Guayana.

By Your Excellency's note of March 10th ult., No. 44*, and copies of notices addressed by the Prefect of the Missions of the Capuchins of that province, and the Sergeant Commandant detached to the fort of the river Cuyuni, I am in receipt of the information of the flight of the Indians of the village of Cura and the neighboring missions, in number 800 or more, and I hope that the wise provisions you have made for their restoration to their respective dwellings will meet with the success they so well deserve and is so much to be desired, but, in order to calm the anxiety of these people living in the obscurity of their origin, I would advise it as very expedient that Your Excellency should persuade some European families or creoles to establish themselves in the Indian towns in numbers in proportion with those in each one, to the end that, by contact with the former, they may learn the Spanish language and the Christian manners which they lack.

God, etc.

Caracas, April 11, 1792.

(Rubric)

To the Temporary Governor of the province of Guayana.

* Document number 463 *supra*.

No. 467.

Letter from the Intendant General of the Army and of the Royal Treasury to the President-Governor and Captain-General, dated Caracas, October 8, 1796.

[Printed from certified copy of original in the Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas.]

Incluyo a V. S. el exped^{te} sre. la fundacion de la villa de Españoles en la Horqueta ó union de los Rios Cuyuni y Curiamo de la Prov^a de Guayana al abrigo de una casa fuerte y un Pueblo de Indios Guaicas que con el objeto de imponerse del estado de dha fundacion me pide V. S. por oficio de 4. del pretente mes.

Dios, &c.

Caracas 8 de Oct^a de 1796.

(Rúbrica)

S^r Presid^{te} Gob^r y Cap^a G^l.

I enclose to Your Excellency the papers [*expediente*] regarding the establishment of the Spanish town on the fork or union of the rivers Cuyuni and Curumo, having for defense a stronghold or fort and a town of Guaica Indians, which Your Excellency asked of me for information regarding the condition thereof, in Your Excellency's official communication of the 4th of the present month.

God, etc.

Caracas, October 8, 1796.

(Rubric)

To the President-Governor and Captain-General.

[*Enclosure in above.*]

Mi más venerado Jefe:

En atención en que en este viaje se ha de concluir la casa fuerte y que han de quedar milicianos como actualmente se hallan cuatro, paso á que VS. me diga, si los bastimentos se han de bajar por cuenta de la Real Hacienda ó de los milicianos, en atención á que para bajar dichos víveres se han de tomar peones de estas misiones por no haberlos en el Cuyuni, aunque me parece sería mui conveniente que á lo menos hubiesen algunas familias no tan sólo para los víveres sino para otra urgencia que se pueda ofrecer; pues los milicianos que están en dicho destino están mui espuestos á muchas contingencias, así de víveres como de otro, por estar mui distantes de cualquier auxilio, y más no teniendo á

My most venerated Chief:

Considering that the block-house must be finished this time, and that there must remain militia-men, there being at present four, I beg Your Worship to inform me whether the provisions are to be brought down at the expense of the Royal Treasury or at that of the militia-men, the transportation of the said provisions requiring peons from these missions as there are none in the Cuyuni, although it seems to me that it would be convenient to have here at least some families, not only for the provisions but for any other emergencies which might arise; for the militia-men thus employed are very much exposed to many contingencies with regard to victuals and in other respects, as they are very

No. 467.

quien poder mandar de correo: aunque por ahora no hay novedad, aunque se ha tenido noticia *que en una isla que está más abajo de la boca del Maseroni están diferentes naciones de Yndios armados con armas de fuego y una estacada*, pero pienso que se habrán armado para en caso que los vayan á coger.

Dios guarde á VS. muchos años.

Upata—29 de enero de 1792.

PEDRO TOMÁS BOMMON.

Señor Gobernador Don Luis Antonio Gil.

far from any assistance, and still more, not having any one to send as messenger; although for the present there is nothing particular, yet news has arrived that *in an island which is below the mouth of the Maseroni, there are various nations of Indians armed with fire-arms and a stockade*; but I believe that they must have armed themselves in apprehension of an attempt to catch them.

God preserve Your Worship many years.

Upata, January 29th, 1792.

PEDRO TOMÁS BOMMON.

To the Governor, Don Luis Antonio Gil.

Reservada—Órdenes y auxilios que se le han remitido al Sarg. Comte. del Río Cuyuni por el Gobierno.

Conviene que con la mayor eficacia brevedad, y certidumbre en lo posible se asegure V. M. de la noticia que me ha comunicado en carta de 29 de enero último; *de que en una isla que está más abajo de la boca de Masaruni están diferentes naciones de Yndios armados con armas de fuego y una estacada*; pues en iguales circunstancias aunque falte razón positiva del caso no deben despreciarse sino mientras pueda realizarse la verdad del suceso, tomar todas aquellas providencias precautelativas de alguna sorpresa que intenten los Yndios sea en esas misiones ó en otra parte de la provincia, como de ordinario lo acostumbran; y es más de recelar cuando como V. M. me previene se hallan provistos de armas de fuego en contravención de las ordenanzas generales que nos rigen, y mucho más si se atiende con madura reflexión á la cualidad y cir-

Private—Orders and assistance sent by the Government to the Sergeant commanding the River Cuyuni.

It is convenient that with the greatest efficacy, brevity, and certainty, you should assure yourself of the information you have communicated to me in your letter of January 29th, ultimo, viz., that *in an island which is below the mouth of the Mazaruni there are various nations of Indians armed with fire-arms and a stockade*; for in such circumstances, although the facts have not been proved, and while the truth is being ascertained, no measures of precaution should be neglected, in provision of any surprise projected by the Indians against those missions, or against any other part of the province, as is generally their custom; and there is more reason for distrust when, as you tell me, they are provided with fire-arms in contravention of the general ordinances which govern us, and still more if serious attention is paid to the quality and circum-

No. 467.

cunstancias de unas naciones vagantes, que sin abrigo de otras más civilizadas no podrían ser habilitadas de semejante armamento, en las fronteras de nuestras posesiones, ó por mejor decir dentro de las nuestras mismas: consideraciones que en calidad de buena providencia y á fin de evitar cualesquiera sorpresa ó tumulto que pueda maquinarse contra nosotros me obligan á tomar la de remitir á V. M. por ahora 250 cartuchos de fusil con el Cabo veterano de milicias José Montanchez para municionar su gente y encargarle estrictamente que V. M. en persona pase á la casa fuerte del Cuyuni, donde subsistirá hasta segunda orden. Que tomando la gente que más á propósito le pareciere de los milicianos que se hallan de escolta en esas Misiones hasta el número de veinte plazas incluso los ocho que Ud. tiene y el expresado Cabo Montanchez, reunidos en aquel puesto continúen el servicio: las que mantendrá Ud. en observancia sin hacer de su parte hostilidad ni movimiento alguno sino en caso que lo ataquen sostener el puesto sobre la defensiva dando aviso de cualesquiera novedad que ocurra. Que absolutamente cierre V. M. el paso hacia la parte de Essequibo sea Yndios ú otras castas de gente, pero los que de aquella colonia suban á las Misiones procurará asegurarlos en la casa fuerte; los examinará con la mayor precaución y sutileza para venir en conocimiento del motivo, asunto ó negocios con que transitan; aprehenderá y embargará, cualesquiera generos, efectos ó frutos que conduzcan y con particular esmero los papeles, cartas ó libros que se les halle,

stances of these vagrant nations, which, if they were not protected by other more civilized ones, could not be provided with such armament on the frontiers of our possessions, or rather, within our own. By virtue of such considerations, and as a good measure, in order to avert any surprise or disorder which may be planned against us, I have decided to send you, for the present, 250 gun cartridges with the veteran militia corporal, José Montanchez, so as to supply your men, and strictly enjoin you to proceed personally to the Cuyuni blockhouse where you will remain until further orders. You will choose from among the militiamen on service in those missions, those you may deem fittest up to the number of twenty, including the eight you have and the aforesaid Corporal Montanchez, so that they continue their service assembled together in that place; and you will remain in observation, without committing, on your part, any act of hostility or making any movement whatever. In case of an attack, you will defend the place and give notice of anything new occurring. You will completely close the passage towards Essequibo, both to Indians and other kinds of people; but you will try to secure in the blockhouse those who come up from those colonies to the Missions; you will examine them with the greatest precaution and tact so as to become acquainted with the motive, matter, or business of their journey; you will seize whatever goods, effects or products they may carry, and particularly the papers, letters or books found upon them; and you will

No. 467.

haciendo V. M. el más prolijo escrutinio en el compartimiento de los buques, cajas, ropas, maletas y cualesquiera otra parte donde V. M. considere los puedan ocultar; de modo que por falta de diligencia no llegue el caso de pasarlos; de que le hago á V. M. responsable, sin que en ningún concepto en esta parte le admita excusa, disculpa ni pretexto alguno por fundado que sea. Que esté V. M., tanto de día como de noche, con la mayor vigilancia y ante-ladas prevenciones como si de una hora á otra esperase algún golpe de manos del enemigo, para que por omisión ó descuido no suceda una desgracia mediante á que así lo dicta la razón y la prudencia en semejantes casos, mayormente conociendo V. M. por prácticas experiencias, las astutas traidoras asechanzas de los indios salvajes, y mucho más si son inducidos ó dirigidos por alguna oculta mano de distinta penetración que la suya; á este intento pues formará V. M. una estacada de palo á pique á modo de línea de circumbalación, en aquella distancia regular que le parezca, quedando en el centro la garita ó casa fuerte, dejando troneras, ó los claros suficientes para en un caso de ataque defenderse V. M. con la fusilería y rechazar al enemigo, que considero nunca será de fuerzas tan aventajadas que V. M. con honor de nuestras armas no pueda obligarles á desistir de su empeño; y también para que con la oscuridad de la noche no puedan incendiar la expresada garita ó casa fuerte. Todos los días mañana y tarde hará V. M. la descubierta por agua y tierra en distancia que le permita la fuerza de gente y las cir-

make the most minute search in all parts of the vessels, boxes, clothes, trunks, or wherever you think that they may have hidden them; so that the case may not occur that, for lack of diligence, they should pass them, for which I make you responsible, without admitting in any way, in this respect, any excuse, exculpation or pretext whatsoever, however well founded it may be. You will maintain, by day and by night the greatest vigilance and precaution, as if you were hourly expecting a sudden attack from the enemy, so that no omission or carelessness may be cause of a disaster; because it is so ordered by reason and prudence in such cases, and particularly when you know by practical experience the treacherous cunning and artifices of the savage Indians, the more so if they are led or directed by people of greater intelligence than theirs. To this effect, then, you will construct a wooden stockade as a line of circumvallation, at the distance you may deem suitable, having in the centre the block-house or strong-hold, and leaving loop-holes or sufficient spaces, in order that, in case of attack, you may defend yourself by musketry and repel the enemy, who, in my opinion, will never be so strong that you may not, for the honor of our arms, be able to oblige him to abandon his enterprise, and also for the purpose of preventing him from setting fire to the said block-house or strong-hold, under cover of the darkness of the night. Every day, morning and afternoon, you will send for water and earth, to the distance permitted by the force you may dispose of

No. 467.

cunstancias, pero nunca alejándose más que un tiro de cañon, y si alguna vez se retirasen con novedad que merezca atención tomará sus providencias á proporción según los accidentes y ocurrencias que aquí no se han podido preveer, atendiendo á su situación, caso y principal objeto de esa comisión. Hasta aquí es pensado lo más crítico que pueda suceder según la noticia de V. M. y la propensión natural de los indios á novedades y su conocida inconstancia, pero si llega á desvanecerse ó salir incierta la noticia, siempre se mantendrá V. M. en la garita ó casa fuerte sea con el todo de la gente que se le ha señalado ó la que le parezca basta para el resguardo ó defensa de aquella avenida, manteniéndose siempre con aquella vigilancia y buena disposición que si por el enemigo estuviese amenazado, dándome aviso de cuanto ocurra. Por separado prevendré á V. M. lo necesario por lo qe. respecta á los víveres y demás puntos concernientes á la subsistencia de la tropa de su mando y conclusión de la garita ó casa fuerte, por ser esta orden reservada y que no debe V. M. descubrir ni manifestar á persona alguna en ninguna parte ni en el todo de ella.

Dios guarde á V. M. mucho saños.
Guayana 17 de Febrero de 1792.

LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

Señor Sargento Comandante
PEDRO TOMÁS BOMMÓN.

and by circumstances, but never further than a cannon-shot, and if it ever happen that your people are obliged to retire by circumstances worthy of attention, you will take measures proportionate to the accidents and occurrences which cannot be here foreseen, attending to the condition, case and principal object of that commission. Thus far, the most critical circumstances have been taken into consideration, in virtue of the information given by you and the natural propensity of Indians to surprises and their well known fickleness. But if the report proves to be groundless rumors you will always remain in the block-house or stronghold, either with all the force which has been assigned to you, or with such part as you may consider sufficient for the wardship and defence of that road; always maintaining vigilance and good order as if the place were threatened by the enemy, and giving me notice of all that occurs. I will communicate to you separately what is necessary concerning the provisions and other points relating to the subsistence of the troop under your orders, and to the conclusion of the block-house or stronghold, this being a confidential order which you must not disclose or intimate to any person whatever, either partly or totally.

God preserve you many years.

Guayana, February 17th, 1792.

LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

To the Sergeant Commander, Pedro
Tomás Bommon.

No. 467.

J. M. J. Mi Co y R. P. Luis P. S.

Carta de aviso del Misionero del pueblo de Tupuquen al Padre Prefecto del levantamiento ó fuga que han hecho los indios del pueblo de Cura, situado á las márgenes del río Yruario, que se le reúne al Cuyuni.

Le hago este expreso para que dé aviso luego al P. Manuel de Castell-Tesot de que el viernes en la noche se fué toda la gente del pueblo de Cura, y el sábado al anochecer vino el mismo miliciano de Cura á darme el aviso, después dice el soldado que volvieron algunos, que puede ser que no lleguen á veinte los que han quedado, estos que volvieron decían que se iban porque los del monte los querían matar al pueblo; estos son los motivos que dan por ahora. V. C. R. haga otro expreso en donde se hallare el P. Man^l y le pueda mandar esa misma carta, hago este expreso hasta Upata para que no se entretenga la canoa, como acostumbran más que uno los mande por expreso, y lo más este mío que vaya hasta Altagracia para que le den luego las providencias que se pudieren. En esta misma data hago expreso á Bommon al Cuyuni para que pase á Cura con unos soldados.—*Vale.*

Tupuquen y Febrero 12 de 92.

(Firmado)

S. FR. LEOPOLDO DE BARZNA.

Carta de aviso del Padre Prefecto al Gobierno, y remisión del antecedente.

Con la que va adjunta V. S. verá la novedad que ocurre en esta Misión y como se ha levantado el pueblo de mayor número de almas que teníamos, como V. M. podrá

Letter from the Missionary of the village of Tupuquen to the Father Prefect, giving notice of the rising or flight of the Indians of the village of Cura, situated on the banks of the River Yruario, which joins the Cuyuni.

Jesus Maria Joseph
—My Dear and Reverend Father Luis, P.

S.:

I send you this express so that you may inform Father Manuel de Castell-Tesot

that on Friday night all the people of the village of Cura went away, and on Saturday, at nightfall, the militiaman of Cura came himself to give me the news; and he further told me that a few had returned, that the persons who remained are perhaps not twenty in number, that the fugitives who returned said that they went away because those from the woods wanted to kill the people of the village; these are the reasons they give for the moment. Your Reverence may send another express wherever Father Manuel may be and can forward to him this same letter. I send this express as far as Upata in order that the letter may not be delayed, as usually happens with letters, although they be sent by express, and this one of mine shall go as far as Altagracia, so that all possible measures be immediately taken. On this same date I send an express to Bommon at the Cuyuni, so that he may proceed to Cura with some soldiers.—*Vale.*

Tupuquen, February 12th, '92.

S. FRAY LEOPOLD DE BARZNA.

Letter of notification from the Father Prefect to the Government, and transmission of the antecedent.

The enclosed will acquaint you with the event which has occurred in this Mission, and how there has been a rising of the village which,

No. 467.

ver en el censo general; y á punto fijo no se sabe el por qué, aunque se expresa en la carta, es creible habrá (Está roto el papel) he tomado las providencias que me han sido posibles para poder recoger los Indios, aunque dudo de lograr el fin por la poca fuerza y resguardo en que se encuentran nuestros pueblos.

Dios guarde á V. M. muchos años.

Caroni, Febrero 16 de 92.

FRAY HERMENEGILDO DE WICH.

Señor Gobernador Comandante General é Intendente DON LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

of all of ours, contained the greatest number of souls, as you may see in the general census; and the reason why is not precisely known, for although, as it is expressed in the letter, it is credible that it may . . . [words wanting] . . . I have taken all possible measures in order to bring back the Indians, although I think I shall not succeed on account of the weak and unprotected condition of our villages:

God preserve you many years.

Caroni, February 16th, '92.

FRAY HERMENEGILDO DE WICH.

To the Governor Commandant-General and Intendant, Don Luis Antonio Gil.

Carta escrita por el Gobierno al Prefecto avisándole las providencias que ha tomado para la defensa y resguardo del Río Cuyuni, (no se entiende).

El cabo Josef Montanchez con dos milicianos y un cajón de municiones para el Sargento Pedro Tomás Bommón, lo despacho en esta ocasión á quien se servirá V. P. R. mandar se le franquee el carruaje necesario para el pronto tránsito hasta su destino. Al Sargento Comandante Simón Denia le prevengo, que si el del Cuyuni Pedro Tomás Bommón le pidiere el auxilio de 12 á 16 hombres de los milicianos de la escolta de su mando, se los franquee sin retardo que atrase el real servicio y al mismo tiempo le advierto á Denia que en case mui urgente y de reconocida necesidad pida al Teniente de Upata el auxilio de gente que baste á remediar lo que ocurra, pues que el corto número de plazas de tropa veterana y mili-

Letter written by the Government to the Prefect, informing him of the measures taken for the defence and wardship of the River Cuyuni.

I hereby despatch the corporal Josef Montanchez, accompanied by two militiamen, and with a box of ammunition for Sergeant Pedro Tomás Bommon; and Your Reverend Paternity will be pleased to see that he is provided with the necessary means of conveyance, so that he may quickly reach his destination. I send orders to the Sergeant Commander, Simon Denia, that in case the Sergeant Commander of the Cuyuni, Pedro Tomás Bommon, should ask him for the aid of twelve or sixteen militiamen of the escort under his command, they are to be given to him without any delay which might hinder the royal service, and at the same time, I instruct Denia that in case of great emergency and of recog-

No. 467.

cias que escasamente hay para la diaria fatiga no me permite despachar desde esta capital más retuerzo que el expresado cabo y los dos soldados. Para proveer de víveres al Sargento Bommon y la gente de su mando en Cuyuni, es preciso se tome algún medio más seguro y menos falible, sobre cuyo particular puede V. P. R. prevenirle al Sargento Bommon para que se pongan de acuerdo, de qué modo, y por qué tiempos se hayan de hacer las remesas, con consideración á que un miliciano no tiene más prest que dos reales diarios, de que se ha de mantener y vestirse, de recargarles las conducciones que precisamente han de ser cotosas de modo, que además de no alcanzarles dos reales solos para su alimento, quedarán empeñados y vestidos como Adanes; por esto pues, Mi R. P. y porque el servicio de estas gentes resulta en utilidad y procomún de las Misiones de los naturales y de los Misioneros que los doctrinan, parece que no sería de extrañar que estos mismos en cuyo beneficio resulta el servicio, correspondiesen de algún modo por vía de justa equidad y por una especie de remuneración á lo menos en la moderación de los precios de víveres, sus trasportes y los carruajes en las marchas de los soldados, pues que lo permiten sin perjuicio de tercero los fondos del común: punto en que no dudo que parará V. P. R. la atención y deliberará lo conveniente sirviéndose darme aviso de la resulta.

Dios guarde á V. P. M. R. muchos años.

Guayana, 22 de Febrero de 1792.

(Firmado) LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

nized necessity, he is to ask from the Lieutenant of Upata the assistance of sufficient people for the remedying of the occurrence; because the scanty number of veteran troops and militia-men, which scarcely suffice for the daily routine service, does not allow me to send from this capital a greater re-inforcement than the aforesaid corporal and the two soldiers. In order to supply Sergeant Bommon with provisions and the men under his orders at Cuyuni, it is necessary to adopt surer and less fallible means, and in this respect, Your Reverend Paternity can communicate with Sergeant Bommon, so that both may agree as to the manner, and on what occasions remittances are to be made; bearing in mind that a militia-man has no more pay than two reals per day with which to feed and clothe himself, and if the transportation, which must be costly, be charged to them, not only will two reals alone be insufficient for their food, but they will run in debt and dress like Adam. On this account, my Reverend Father, and for the reason that the services of these people are profitable and of public utility to the Missions, to the natives, and to the missionaries who direct them, it would seem natural that the latter, who derive profit from the service, should, in equitable justice, make some return as a sort of remuneration, at least by moderation in the prices of provisions, their transportation and conveyance during the march of the soldiers; since the funds of the community allow this without prejudice to any one, Your Reverend Paternity will undoubtedly give attention to this point, deciding upon

No. 467.

what is most convenient, and will please inform me of the result.

God preserve Your Very Reverend Paternity many years.

Guayana, February 22d, 1792.

LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

M. R. P. Prefecto Fray Hermenegildo de Wich.

Contestación del Gobierno á la carta del P. Prefecto sobre avisos del levantamiento, ó fuga de los Indios del pueblo de Cura.

Con carta de V. P. R. de 16 del corriente recibí la en que en 12 del mismo le da á V. R. el P. Fr. Leopoldo

de Barcelona la noticia de la fuga de los Indios del pueblo de Cura y las prontas providencias que ha tomado me persuado serán mui adaptadas á las circunstancias del caso, I. V. R. puede estarlo que de mi parte estoy tomando con toda actividad y eficacia las que considero convenientes sobre que comunicaré á V. R. sin pérdida de tiempo; mientras tanto espero se servirá despachar expresos á la ligera á fin de inquirir y asegurarse tanto del paradero de los fugitivos cuanto el motivo y causas que han tenido para semejante resolución; pedirá V. R. informes á los misioneros de las fronteras y á cualesquiera otro sugeto que tuviere por conveniente para instruirse circunstancialmente de lo que sucede y descubrir si acaso hay algún resorte oculto que los induce cómo y de dónde nace el principio de esta causa y qué agente la mueve; encargando V. P. M. R. á quienes pida sus informes, lo ejecuten con la mayor eficacia, prudencia, disimulo y prontitud, de modo que pueda descubrirse la verdad si fuese posible; y de todo V. P. R. me pa-

To the Most Reverend Father Prefect, Fray Hermenegildo de Wich.

Answer of the Government to the letter of the Father Prefect, relating to news of the rising or flight of the Indians of the village of Cura.

Together with the letter of Your Reverend Paternity of the 16th of the present month, I received the letter dated the 12th of the same month, wherein the Father, Fray Leopoldo de Barcelona, gives Your Reverence news of the flight of the Indians from the village of Cura, and the prompt measures you have taken are, I am sure, well adapted to the circumstances of the case. Your Reverence can also be sure that, on my part, I am taking, with all activity and efficiency, those which I consider convenient, and respecting which I will inform Your Reverence without loss of time. Meanwhile, I hope you will quickly send expresses for the purpose of inquiring about, and making sure of the whereabouts of the fugitives, as well as the motive and cause to which is due their resolution. Your Reverence will ask for information from the missionaries of the frontiers and from any other individual you may think fit, for the purpose of learning circumstantially what is happening, and of discovering if there be any secret influence bearing upon the Indians, how and where is the origin of these circumstances, and by what agent they are set at work. Your Very

No. 467.

sará puntuales avisos sin pérdida de instantes para yo en su vista y según las circunstancias más ó menos gravantes exijan dar las providencias más conformes al mejor servicio del Rey.

Dios guarde á V. P. M. R. muchos años.

Guayana, 22 de Febrero de 1792.

(Firmado) LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

M. R. P. Prefecto FR. HERMENEGILDO DE WICH.

Reverend Paternity will enjoin the persons, from whom information is required, to proceed with the greatest efficacy, prudence, caution, and promptness, so that the truth may be discovered if possible. Of all these proceedings, Your Reverend Paternity will send me prompt notice, without losing a moment, so that upon receiving such notice, and according to the circumstances, more or less serious, the most suitable measures may be taken for the better service of the King.

God preserve Your Very Reverend Paternity many years.

Guayana, February 22d, 1792.

LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

To the Most Reverend Father Prefect, Fray Hermenegildo de Wich.

Es copia literal de las cartas originales y de su contenido.

(Firmado) GIL.

A true copy of the original letters and their contents.

Gil.

No. 468.

Letter from the President-Governor and Captain-General to the Intendant General of the Army and Royal Treasury, dated Caracas, October 14, 1796.

[Printed from a certified copy of the original in the Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é Yntendencia de Caracas.]

Devuelvo á V. S. el expediente que me incluyó á su oficio del día 8 sobre la fundación de una Villa de Españoles y casa fuerte en la Horqueta, ó unión de los Rios Cuyuni y Curumo in la Prov^a de Guayana, que solicitó por el día 4.

Dios gne. á V. S. m^a a^a Caracas 14 de Octub^o de 1796.

(Firmado) JOACHIN DE ZUBILLAGA.

(Rúbrica.)

S^t. Ynt.^o gral de Ext^o y R^o H^{da}.

I hereby return to Your Excellency the papers [*expediente*] which your Excellency enclosed in the note of the 8th in regard to the establishment of a Spanish town and stronghold on the fork or union of the rivers Cuyuni and Curumo, in the province of Guayana, which I asked for on the 4th inst.

God save Your Excellency many years.

Caracas, October 14, 1796.

(signed) JOACHIN DE ZUBILLAGA.

(Rubric.)

To the Intendant-General of the Army and Royal Treasury.

No. 471.**Spanish troops in Guiana in 1800 and where stationed.**

[Printed from a certified copy of the original in the Antiguos Archivos de la Capitanía General é
Yntendencia de Caracas.]

**ESTADO QUE MANIFIESTA LA FUERTE EFECTIVA DE LA TROPA QUE SE HALLA SOBRE LAS ARMAS OT DIA
DE LA FECHA EN ESTA PROVINCIA DE GUAYANA, Y DESTINOS DONDE SE HALLAN.**

No.

Compañías.	En la Capital.					En las Fortalezas, de Antigua Guayana.					En Rio Negro.			En Secaupana.		En el Guayuni.		Parti-me.	Oau-ra.	Misio-neo.	total.	
	Capa.	Fente.	Suba.	Sergs.	Tambo.	Cabos y solda.	total.	Capa.	Fente.	Suba.	Sergs.	Tambo.	Cabos y solda.	total.	Sergs.	Cabos y solda.	total.	Cabos y solda.	Cabos.	Solda.	Grat.	
Compa. del Rl Opó. de Artillería.	1					1	1	1	1			2	1	26	39			1	2			31
Compañías veteranas.	2	1	1	1		1	2	1	2	1	3	5	62	70	1	2	13	13	1	9	2	114
Compa. de Milicias de Blancos.	1			3	1	64	68						2	2							70	
Idem de Pardos.							1	1			3	1	90	94			8	8			102	
Idem de Morenos.							1	1			2		38	40							40	
totales.	4	1	1	4	1	68	71	4	5	1	10	7	218	235	1	2	17	19	1	10	267	

Guayana, 14 de Octubre, de 1800.

FRANCISCO PIRAZES, V. B.
FRANCISCO OROZCO.

Es copia de su original. Guayana, 16 de Octubre, de 1800.
(Firmado) Ynciarle,
(Rubricas).

[Translation.]

**STATEMENT OF THE EFFECTIVE FORCE OF THE TROOPS IN ARMS AT THIS PRESENT DAY AND DATE IN
THE PROVINCE OF GUIANA, AND WHERE STATIONED.**

No. 2.

Guayana, October 14, 1800.

A copy of its original. Guayana, October 16, 1800.
(Signed) Ynciarle.
(Rubric.)

FRANCISCO PIRAZES, Visd.
FRANCISCO OROZCO.

